



THE CYCLE OF SPRING

By the courtesy of the Artst Babu Ashtuma Halda

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE

No 130

## THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION

(Translation of a paper read by Rabindranath Tagore).

IT is superfluous to talk of the utility of learning. Yet, even from the viewpoint of utility controversies arise. We often hear doubts expressed as to its tendency to detract from the efficiency of the agriculturist at his plough, or to hamper the woman in her worship of her lord and master, and of her god. The idea, that the darkness of bandaged eyes is better than the light outside for the bullock which has to turn the mill, is only natural. And in a country where to go on turning the mill of routine is accounted the highest duty, wise men may well look askance at all light as an enemy.

Nevertheless we may regard daylight as greater even than an assistant in our daily work—as an awakener to wit. And it is a yet more important thing that in light men come together, and in darkness they separate. Knowledge is the greatest unifying principle in man. The student in a remote corner of Bengal may be nearer to the educated person at the furthest extremity of Europe than the latter to his illiterate neighbour. Let us leave aside, for a moment, the question of the supreme utility of this world-wide kinship in knowledge, which bridges all gaps of time and space, to consider the unthinkable of depriving any human being, on any pretext whatsoever, of the supreme joy of it.

When we realise how dim and far between are the torches of this knowledge in this India of ours, we can understand how difficult for us is this path of union through knowledge, the path that all the world is seeking to tread today. And though occasional measures have been taken to improve the method of imparting education, the difficulties in the way of its spread are as immense as ever.

The river courses only along the edge of the country, the rain showers from all

over the sky, and that is why as a friend to the crops the place of the river is much lower. Moreover the very depth and strength of the river depend on the rains. Those who now occupy in our country the throne of thunder bearing Indra are as sparing of their showers as they are profuse in their thunderings, with which flash the lightning of their derisive scorn against the educational results of Babudom. If only our educational authorities had had to go through the same artificial ripening as have the unfortunate Babus, they would not have delayed to furnish scientific reasons to show that this softening at the top and immaturity at the core can only be due to the want of sunlight in the process.

They may retort that when the West was West, and had not yet got astride the East, the latter hardly showed a deeper culture in the dialectical wrestling and grammatical snare weaving which used to go on in its *chatuspathis* and *tols*. These were there, I admit, but therein I see nothing different from the empty and barren academical habit which dies hard in all countries, except perhaps that in a fallen country the outward appendages of learning tend to loom larger than its inner strength. But it was only of such academical lore that the pandits in their corners had the monopoly, on the other hand, the life blood of the culture of the time used to flow unimpeded through the veins of the whole of Society, strong and living. Be it the ryot at his plough or the woman in her zenana, there were various approaches through which this life-giving stream could reach and vitalise them. So, whatever its other defects may have been, the body politic was sufficient unto itself.

Not so our foreign learning of today, which remains so much a thing of the school or college that it is kept hung up

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## The Message says —

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## New India says —

It is a most instructive and representative selection that he has made, and includes the opinions of many distinguished persons both in India and in the West. The first forty nine pages give us the editor's own views on many aspects of the question, under the title, "Fitness for Self Rule." Everyone agrees—even many British officials in India—that self rule is the ideal towards which India should move, but when we begin to discuss the question in detail and as a matter with which the country will have to deal in a practical way in the near future then all sorts of objections are raised. With the most common of these the author deals very satisfactorily, bringing forward the facts of history and the pronouncements of writers and speakers of note to show that these objections are not of any serious importance. "India and Democracy" by Sister Nivedita is the next paper. The main question here considered is that implied in the remark "English Democracy cannot be planted in India. India is not fitted for it." The author points out that it is not English democracy that is wanted but the right of Indian democracy to find self expression in its own country and among its own people. And as for India being unfit for democratic institutions—she quotes at some length instances of democratic methods which have been recorded in literature as the ideal of the people of ancient India.

Mr John Page Hopps writes on Home Rule for India, and urges Indians to make some effort to inform the British public in England of their needs and wishes, and, later, in another short article, he gives an account of an interview he had with Alfred Russell Wallace in which he asked the great naturalist his opinion on the question of Self Rule for India. A very interesting contribution by Mr Abinash Chandra Das gives an account of popular assemblies in ancient India. It is impossible to enumerate all

the many interesting points dealt with. We can only recommend the book to our readers as full of a great deal of information worth having.

## The West Coast Reformer says —

We have received from the Modern Review Office, Calcutta a neatly got up booklet entitled *Towards Home Rule*. The book is a timely publication, which effectively disposes of some of the silly arguments advanced against the ideal of Self Government for India, by interested people. In the opening paper on "Fitness for Self Rule" the position taken up by those critics is closely analysed and demolished. Mr Lionel Curtis of the notorious Round Table organisation also comes in for his due share of notice. Altogether, a very strong case in favour of granting Self Government for India has been made out, and the book is undoubtedly a step towards Home Rule.

## The Commonwealth says:—

Ever since its starting, the *Modern Review* has been devoting a great deal of attention to the subject of Home Rule, and various articles have appeared in India discussing why we need Home Rule and whether the time to have it is not overdue. No contemporary event bearing on that movement has failed to find a place in its columns, and the attention of the readers has been very often drawn to incidents happening in countries enjoying Self Rule—events of the type which are quoted in India to show that we are not yet fit to govern ourselves. Our past and contemporary history has also been utilised very freely to prove our incapacity. Hence, month by month, the *Review* was making a valuable contribution to current Home Rule literature, and it was a good idea which has induced the Editor, Mr Ramanandi Chatterjee, to publish the most striking of such contributions in a small book of 132 pages. He has wisely decided not to republish much on the question whether we need Home Rule, for no Indian asks such a ridiculous question to-day. If any thinking persons have still stood aloof from the Home Rule movement, it is because they doubt our fitness to manage our own affairs, and the present book has much valuable information for them.

The very first chapter is on "Fitness for Self Rule." In its 48 pages, every conceivable objection advanced by our enemies has been scrutinised and its hollowness exposed. Here is one typical instance.

The most interesting chapter, at any rate just at present, is that dealing with the caste system. This alleged obstacle is examined in two ways. Whether the caste system has disqualified for attaining Home Rule countries where it exists in one way or other, and secondly, whether it can be a serious obstacle in Self Governing India.

The book contains much authoritative evidence that racial feuds were very rare when India had Self Rule as they are rare now in those parts of India which still enjoy Self Rule as Hyderabad or Kashmir. The various quotations collected in its pages are equally telling and no Home Ruler propagandist should be without the volume. A more efficacious remedy to cure an Anti Home Ruler is not now available in the market.

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# THE EVES

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE NATION

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**T**HE peoples are living beings having their distinct personalities. But nations are mere organizations of power. And therefore their inner aspects and outward expressions are monotonously the same everywhere. Their differences are merely the differences in degree of efficiency.

In the modern world the fight is going on between the living spirit of the people and the methods of nation organising. It is like the struggle that began in Central Asia between man's cultivated area of habitation and the continual encroachment of desert sands till the human region of life and beauty was choked out of existence. When the spread of higher ideals of humanity is not held to be important the hardening method of national efficiency gains in strength and at least for some limited period of time it proudly proves itself to be the fittest to survive.

But it is the survival of that part of man which is the least living. And this is the reason why dead monotony is the sign of the spread of the nation. The modern towns which present the physiognomy of this dominance of the nation are everywhere the same from San Francisco to London from London to Tokyo—they show no faces but mere masks.

The peoples being living personalities must have their self-expression and this leads to creations. These creations are literature, art, social symbolism and cremonials. They are like different dishes in one common feast adding richness to our enjoyment and understanding of truth. They are making the world of man fruitful of life and variedly beautiful.

But the nations do not create, they merely produce and destroy. Organizations for production are necessary even the organisations for destruction may be so,

but when actuated by greed and hatred they crowd away into a corner the living man who creates. Then the harmony is lost and the people's history runs at a breakneck speed towards fatal catastrophe.

Humanity, where it is living is guided by inner ideals but where it is a dead organisation it becomes impervious to them. Its building process is only an external process and its response to the inner moral guidance has to pass through obstacles that are gross and non-plastic.

Man as a person has his individuality, which is the field where his spirit has its freedom to express itself and to grow. Man as the professional carries a rigid crust around him which has very little variation and hardly any elasticity. This professionalism is the region where men specialise their knowledge and organise their power, where they mercilessly elbow each other in their struggle to come in front. Professionalism is necessary without doubt but it must not be allowed to exceed its healthy limits to assume complete mastery over the personal man making him narrow and hard exclusively intent upon pursuit of success at the cost of his faith in ideals.

In ancient India professions were kept within limits by social regulation. They were considered primarily as social necessities and secondarily as the means of livelihood for the individuals—thus man being free from the constant urging of unbounded competition could have leisure to cultivate the completeness of his nature.

The idea of the nation is the professionalism of the people which is becoming their greatest danger, because it is bringing them enormous success making them impatient of the claims of higher ideals. The greater the amount of success the stronger are the conflicts of interest and

jealousy and hatred which it arouses in men's minds and thereby makes it more and more necessary for living peoples to stiffen into nations. Because with the growth of nationalism man has become the greatest menace to man, therefore the continual presence of panic gords that very nationalism into ever increasing menace.

Crowd psychology is a blind force. Like steam and other physical forces it can be utilised for creating a tremendous amount of power. And therefore rulers of men who out of greed and fear are bent upon turning their peoples into machines of power try to train this crowd psychology for their special purposes. They hold it to be their duty to foster in the popular minds universal panic and unreasoning pride of their races and hatred of the others. Newspapers, school books and even religious services are made use of for this object and those who have the courage to express their disapprobation of this impious cult of blindness are punished in the law courts or socially ostracised. The individual thinks even when he feels but the same individual when he feels with the crowd does not reason and his moral sense becomes blurred. This suppression of higher humanity in crowd minds is productive of enormous strength. For the crowd mind is essentially primitive, its forces are elemental and therefore the nation is ever watchful in taking advantage of this enormous power of darkness.

The instinct of self preservation of a people has to be made the dominant one at particular times of its crises. Then for the time being the consciousness of its solidarity becomes aggressively wide awake. But in the nation this hyperconsciousness is kept alive for all time by all kinds of artificial means. A man has to act the part of a policeman when he finds his house invaded by burglars. But if that remains his normal condition then his consciousness of his household becomes acute, making him fly at every stranger passing near his house. This intensity of self consciousness is nothing of which a man can feel proud certainly is not healthful. In like manner incessant self consciousness of a nation is highly injurious for the people. It serves its immediate purpose but at the cost of the eternal man.

When a whole body of men train themselves for a particular narrow purpose then it becomes its interest to keep up that purpose and preach absolute loyalty to it. Nationalism is the training of a whole people for a narrow ideal and when it gets hold of their minds it is sure to lead them to moral degeneracy and intellectual blindness. We cannot but hold firm the faith that this age of nationalism of gigantic vanity and selfishness is only a passing phase in civilisation and those who are making permanent arrangements for accommodating this temporary mood of history will be unable to fit themselves for the coming age of the true spirit of freedom.

With the unchecked growth of nationalism the moral foundation of man's civilisation is unconsciously undergoing change. The ideal of the social man is unselfishness but the ideal of the nation like that of the professional man is selfishness. This is why selfishness in the individual is condemned while in the nation it is extolled. This leads to a hopeless moral blindness confusing the religion of the people with the religion of the nation. Therefore we find men feeling convinced of the superior claims of Christianity because Christian nations are in possession of the greater part of the world. It is like supporting a robber's religion by quoting the amount of his stolen property. Nations celebrate their successful massacre of men in their churches. They forget that Thugs also ascribed their success in manslaughter to the favour of their goddess. But in the case of the latter their goddess frankly represented the principle of destruction. It was the criminal tribe's own murderous instinct deified the instinct not of one individual but of the whole community, therefore held sacred. In the same manner, in modern churches selfishness, hatred and vanity in their collected aspect of national instincts do not scruple to share the homage paid to God.

Of course pursuit of self interest need not be wholly selfish. It can even be in harmony with the interest of all. Therefore ideally speaking the nationalism which stands for this expression of the self interest of a people need not be ashamed of itself. But what we see in practice is that every nation who has prospered has done so through its career of aggressive selfishness either in commercial adventures or in foreign

possessions or in both. And his material prosperity not only feeds the selfish instincts of the people continually but impresses men's minds with the lesson that for a nation selfishness is a necessity and therefore a virtue. It is the emphasis upon the idea of the Nation ever growing in strength in Europe which is becoming the greatest danger to man both in its direct activity and its power of infection.

We must admit that evils there are in human nature and they come out in spite of our faith in moral laws and training in self control. But they carry on their foreheads their own brand of infamy, their very success adding to their monstrosity. Therefore all through man's history there will be some who will suffer and others who will cause suffering. The conquest of evil will never be a fully accomplished fact but a continuous process in our civilisation like the process of burning in a flame.

Creation is the harmony between the eternal ideal of perfection and the infinite continuity of its realisation. So long as the positive ideal of goodness keeps pace with the negative incompleteness of attainment so long as there is no absolute separation between them we need not be afraid of suffering and loss.

Therefore in former ages when some particular people became turbulent and tried to rob others of their human rights they sometimes achieved success and some times failed. And it amounted to nothing more than that. But when this idea of the Nation which has met with universal acceptance in the present day, tries to pass off the cult of selfishness as a moral duty simply because that selfishness is guaranteed in stature then it not only commits depredations but attacks the very vitals of humanity. It unconsciously generates in peoples minds an attitude of defiance against moral law. For they are taught by repeated devices the lesson that the Nation is greater than the people and yet this Nation scatters to the winds the moral law that the people have held as sacred.

It has been said that a disease becomes most acutely critical when the brain is affected. For it is the brain which is constantly directing the siege against all disease forces. The spirit of national selfishness is that brain disease of a people which for the time being slows itself in reflexes and clenched fists in violence of

talk and movements all the while shattering its natural system of healing. It is the power of self sacrifice the moral faculty of sympathy and co operation which is the guiding spirit of social vitality. Its function is to maintain a beneficent relation of harmony with its surroundings. But when it begins to ignore the moral law which is universal and uses it only within the bounds of its narrow sphere then its strength becomes like the strength of madness hurting itself in the end.

What is worse this moral aberration of peoples decked with the showy title of patriotism proudly walks abroad passing itself off as high moral influence. Thus it has spread its inflammatory contagion all over the world proclaiming its fever flush to be the best sign of health. It is causing in the hearts of the peoples naturally inoffensive a feeling of envy at not having their temperature as high as their delirious neighbours and not being able to cause as much mischief as these others do but merely having to suffer it.

I have often been asked by my western friends how to cope with this evil which has attained such sinister strength and dimension. In fact I have often been blamed for merely giving warning but offering no alternative. When we suffer as a result of a particular system we believe that some other system would bring us better luck. We are apt to forget that all systems produce evil sooner or later when the psychology which is at the root of them is wrong. The system which is national to day may assume the shape of the international to morrow but so long as men have not forsaken their idolatry of primitive instincts and collective passions the new system will become a new instrument of suffering or at best will become ineffectual. And because we are trained to confound efficient system with moral goodness itself every ruined system makes us distrustful of moral law.

Therefore I do not put my faith in any new institution but in individuals all over the world who must think clearly feel nobly and act rightly thus becoming the channels of moral truth. Our moral ideals do not work with chisels and hammers but like trees spread their roots in the soil and branches in the sky without consulting architects for their plans.

This is the reason why when I met in Japan a young idealist from Iwano I became

(70)

Puri,

14th February : 1893.

Some people have a mind like a photographic wet plate ;—unless they fix the picture then and there, it is apt to fade. That is the case with me. I want at once to write down in a letter whatever of interest I see. Such a quantity of things to describe passed before me on the way from Cuttack to Puri, I could have recorded any number of vivid pictures had I but the time to write them down as I saw them.

But these few tiresome days have come between, and now I find many of the details have grown hazy. Another reason for this is the sea, which in Puri lies before me night and day. It has captured the whole of my attention, leaving me no opportunity to hark back to the incidents of the journey.

After our midday meal on Saturday, B—Babu, Balu and I placed our rugs on the back seat of a hired phaeton, *leaned back* against our pillows, and, with a servant mounted on the coach box, made a start.

Where our road crossed the Katjun\* river we had to leave the carriage and get into palanquins. The grey sands of the river stretched away in every direction. They rightly call it the *bed* of the river in English. It is indeed like a bed which the sleeper has left in the morning. Every movement of the river, as it rolled from side to side, and pressed with the weight of its water now here, now there, is left impressed on the hollows and billows of its sand bed, which has not been made since.

At the further edge of this vast sandy course, the thin crystal-clear stream of the river is seen. In the *Meghaduta* of Kalidas there is a description of a *Yaksha* woman, pining for her banished husband, *lying merged in the edge of her deserted bed, like the thin, last phase of the old moon, against the limit of the eastern horizon*. This thin, worn river, athirst for the rains, furnishes another simile.

A fine road runs from Cuttack to Puri. It rises high out of the fields on either side, and is shaded with great big trees, mostly mangoes, which in this season are in flower, charging the air with their cloying fragrance. It passes by village after

village, surrounded with groves of mango, *aswattha*, cocoanut and date palm.

Here and there half-dry watercourses crossed our path, and near these, strings of mat-covered bullock-carts were drawn up ; little thatched sweet-meat shops lined the road-side ; and in shelters under the shade of trees, pilgrims were busy attending to their meals. At the sight of each newly arriving carriage or cart, beggars swarmed round with a variety of wails in a medley of tongues.

As we drew nearer and nearer to Puri, the concourse of pilgrims grew denser and denser, some scattered in groups along the road, others under the trees or by the side of pools, stretched in repose, or cooking their food. At frequent intervals there came temples, pilgrim rest-houses and big artificial tanks.\*

Then, to our right hand there spreads a lake-like sheet of water beyond which the temple of Jagannath towers into view, and, suddenly, as we emerge from a clump of trees, we see before us a broad stretch of sand, edged with a deep blue line—the sea !

(71)

Balía

11th March : 1893.

It is a tiny little house-boat. I can see that the main reason of its existence is to take down the pride of tall people like myself. Every time I absently rise with any suddenness, I get a tremendous wooden slap on the top of my head,—which is very delecting. So I spent the whole of yesterday, downcast. Even this I did not mind so much, but when fate added to its blows by giving me a sleepless night for the mosquitoes, I felt it was really too bad.

The cold weather has disappeared and it is getting warm. The sun is decidedly hot and a moist warm breeze is blowing on my back through the open window. To day we are quit of our allegiance both to the cold and to civilisation, and our coats are hanging up on the pegs. There is no going to mark the fractional parts of time, its broad division into day and night being enough for us here. No salaaming liveried orderlies are about, so we can lazily take our uncivilised ease without a qualm.

The birds are singing and the big leaves

\* One of the branches of the Mahanadi

\* Rectangular pieces of water

of the banyan tree on the bank are making a rustling sound. The sunlight reflected off the ripples is dancing on the walls of our cabin. At Cuttack, what with B—Babu's going to court, and the children going to school, there was no forgetting the value of time, or the bustle of civilised society. Here everything moves with leisurely slottu

(72)

Tiran,  
March 1893

From inside a brick built house clouds and rain are all very well, but they do not add to the comfort of the two of us confined in this little boat. Dripping water from a leaky roof may be good for the bumps which the latter gives the head but it serves all the same to fill up the cup of our misfortune.

I thought we had finished with the rains, and that Nature after her shower bath, would be drying her hair with her back to the sun, her green *sari* spread on the branches over the fields, her spring coloured scarf, no longer damp and limp fluttering gaily in the breeze. But that aspect of hers is not with us yet and day after day is cloudy, without a break.

I have prepared myself for the worst by borrowing a copy of Kalidas's *Meghaduta* from a friend in Cuttack and keeping it by me. If in the Pandua residence, the sky over the spreading fields before me should become softly moist with blue grey clouds then it will be nice to repeat passages out of it.

Unfortunately I cannot get anything by heart, and the keen enjoyment of being able to repeat lines of poetry at will is not for me. By the time I have rummaged out the book and hunted for the place I often cease to want the poem. It is as cruel as feeling sad and wanting to weep, but having to wait for a phial of tears to be dispensed by the chemist!

So when I leave town I needs must take quite a number of books with me. Not that I read every one each time but I never know beforehand which might be wanted. How convenient it would have been if men's minds had regular seasons. When we travel in winter we take only our warm clothes, and we leave our rugs behind in summer. If only we knew when it would be winter in our minds and

when spring we could provide ourselves with prose and poetry books accordingly.

The seasons of the mind, however, are not 6\* but 52, like a pack of cards, and which one the whimsical player within us will turn up next there is no knowing. So I have an endless variety of books at hand from Nepalese Buddhist Literature to Shakespeare, the majority of which I shall probably not touch.

I am hardly ever without the old *Vaishnava* poets and the Sanskrit classics, but this time I happened to leave them out and so as luck would have it, wanted them all the more. The *Meghaduta* would have been the very thing while I was wandering about Puri and Khurda giri—but there instead of the *Meghaduta* I had only Curd's Philosophical Essays!

(73)

Cuttack,  
March 1893

If we begin to attach too much importance to the applause of Englishmen, we shall have to get rid of much that is good in us, and to accept much that is bad from them.

We shall get to be ashamed to go about without socks on our feet but cease to feel shame at the sight of their ball dresses. We shall have no compunction in throwing overboard our ancient manners, nor any in emulating their lack of courtesy. We shall leave off wearing our *achkans* because they are susceptible of improvement but think nothing of surrendering our heads to their hits, though no head gear could well be uglier.

In short, consciously or unconsciously, we shall have to cut our lives down to the measure of the clapping of their hands.

Wherefore I apostrophise myself and say O Earthen Pot! for goodness' sake get away from the Metal Pot! Whether he comes for you in anger, or merely to give you a patronising pat on the back, you are done for, and go down all the same. So pay heed to old Aesop's sage counsel, I pray,—and keep your distance.

Let the metal pot ornament wealthy homes you have your work to do in those of the poor. If you let yourself be broken

\* The recognised seasons in Upper India are :  
Spring, Summer, the Rains, Autumn, the Dew and Winter.



you will have no place in either, but merely return to the dust, or at best you may secure a corner in a bric à brac cabinet,—as a curiosity. It is more glorious by far to be borne to fetch water by the meanest of village women

(74)

Calcutta,  
19th April 1893

It is only when we commune alone with nature, face to face, that it becomes at all possible to realise our pristine and profound relations with the sea

As I gaze on the sea and listen to its eternal melody, I seem to understand how my restless heart of to-day used then to be dumbly agitated with its heaving, desolate waters, when in the beginning there was no land, but only the sea all by itself

The sea of my mind to-day is heaving much in the same way, as though something were being created in the chaos beneath its surface,—vague hopes and uncertain fears, trustings and doubtings, heavens and hells, elusive, inscrutable feelings and imaginings, the ineffable mystery of beauty, the unfathomable depths of love, the thousand and one ever new kaleidoscopic combinations of the human mind, of which it is impossible even to be conscious until alone with oneself under the open sky, or beside the open sea

(75)

Calcutta,  
30th April 1893

Yesterday I was lying on the terrace roof till ten o'clock in the night. The moon was near its full, there was a delicious breeze, no one else was about. Stretched out there alone, I glanced back over my past life. This roof terrace, this moonlight, this south breeze—in so many ways are they intertwined with my life. I am keeping cool my bottled memories 'in the deep delved earth' for my old age, and hope to enjoy them then drop by drop, in the moonlight on the roof terrace

Imagination and reminiscence do not suffice a man in his youth—his warm blood insists on action. But when with age he loses his power to act and ceases to be worried by an abundance of motive force then memory alone is satisfying

Then the lake of his mind, placid like the still moonlight, receives so distinct a picture of old memories that it becomes difficult to make out the difference between past and present

(76)

Sheldah  
May 1893

I am now back again in the boat, which is my home. Here I am the sole master, and no one has any claim on me or my time. The boat is like my old dressing gown—when I get inside I step into a great, loose fitting, comfortable leisure. I think as I like. I imagine what I please, I read or write as much I feel inclined to, or with my legs on the table and my eyes on the river. I steep myself to the full in these sky filled, light filled, rest filled days

After this interval it will take me some days to get over the awkwardness of renewing my former relations with my old friend, the Padma. By the time I have done some reading and writing and wandering by the river side however, the old friendship will come back quite naturally

I really do love the Padma immensely. As the elephant, *Airavat* is for Indra,\* so is she my favourite steed,—albeit not thoroughly tamed and still a little wild. I feel I want lovingly to stroke her neck and back

The water is very low now, and flows in a thin, clear stream, like a slim fair maiden gracefully tripping along with a soft, clinging garment following her movements

While I am living here the Padma, for me is a real live person so you must not mind my talking about her at some length, nor run away with the idea that all this news about her is not worth putting into a letter. These, in fact, are the only personal paragraphs I am in a position to communicate from here

What a difference of outlook comes upon one in the course of the day that separates this place from Calcutta. What, there, seems only sentimental or rhapsodical is so true here

I really cannot dance any more before the footlights of the stage called the Calcutta public. I want to go on with

\* The Jupiter Pluvius of Hindu Mythology

the midst of the utter loneliness of that cloud covered mountain side

I said to myself,—“This is rather promising,—here is a romance in the making To meet a woman ascetic weeping on a hill top in Darjeeling is something out of the common.”

It was not easy to make out to what religious order she belonged, so I asked her in Hindi who she was and what was the matter At first she gave me no answer, but only looked at me through the mist and through her tears I told her not to be afraid She smiled and answered me in perfect Hindustani,—

“I have done with fear long ago, neither have I any shame left Yet there was a time, Babuji, when I lived in my own zenana, and even my mother would have to get leave before he entered But now I have no purdah left in the wide world”

I was slightly annoyed at being called ‘Babuji,’ because my dress and manners were completely European and it nettled me not a little to be suspected by this ignorant woman of belonging to the Babu class

For a moment, I thought I had better put an end to this romance at its very start, and, like a railway train of Sahibdom, steam off with my nose in the air and rings of cigarette smoke floating behind me But my curiosity got the upper hand I assumed a stiff and superior air, and asked

‘Do you want my assistance?’

She looked in my face with a steady gaze and answered —

‘I am the daughter of Ghulam Qadir Khan, the Nawab of Badraon’

Where Badraon was and who in the world was its Nawab and why in the name of all wonder his daughter should have become an ascetic, weeping and crying at the bend of the Calcutta Road,—all this I could neither imagine nor believe But I said to myself that there was no need to be too critical for the story was getting interesting So with all due solemnity I made a deep salaam and said

“Pardon me, Bibi Sahiba, I could not guess who you were”

The Bibi Sahiba was evidently pleased, and beckoned me to take a seat upon a rock near by, and said with a wave of her hand

‘Baithiye’ (please sit down)

I discovered by her manner that she had the natural grace and power to command, and somehow I felt it was an unlooked for honour to be allowed to take a seat on that hard, damp, moss covered rock by her side When I left my hotel, in my overcoat, that morning I could never have imagined that I should be privileged to sit on a muddy stone by the daughter of Ghulam Qadir Khan of Badraon, whose name might be ‘Light of the Realm’ or ‘Light of the Universe’ etc,—and this at the bend of the Calcutta Road

I asked her, ‘Bibi Sahiba, what has brought you to this condition?’

The Princess touched her forehead with her hand and said

‘How can I say who did it?—Can you tell me who has banished this mountain behind the purdah of the clouds?’

I was in no mood just then to get involved in a philosophical discussion So I accepted her word for it and said —

Yes, it is true Princess Who can fathom the mystery of Fate? We are mere insects

I would have argued out the point with her at another time, but my ignorance of Hindustani stood in the way Whatever little knowledge of Hindi I had picked up from the servants could never have carried me through a discussion on fate and free will at the Darjeeling road side with the Princess of Badraon, or with any one else for the matter of that

The Bibi Sahiba said ‘The marvellous romance of my life has just come to its close on this very day With your permission, I will tell you all about it’

I caught up her word quickly—“Permission?—It would be a privilege to hear!”

Those who know me will understand that, in the language I used I honoured Hindustani more in the breach than in the observance On the other hand, when the Princess spoke to me, her words were like the morning breeze upon the shimmering fields of golden corn To her, an easy flow and graceful eloquence came naturally, while my answers were short and broken This was her story —

‘In my father’s veins there flowed the imperial blood of Delhi That is why it was so difficult to find me a suitable husband There was some talk of my betrothal to the Nawab of Lucknow, but my father hesitated, and in the meanwhile there broke out the Mutiny of the sepoys

against the Company Bahadur Hindustan was blacened by the cannon smoke'—

Never in all my life before had I heard Hindustani spoken so perfectly by a woman's lips. I could understand that it was a language of princes, unfit for this mechanical age of modern commerce. Her voice had the magic in it to summon up before me, in the very heart of this English Hill Station, the sky capped domes of Moghal palaces of white marble, the gaily caparisoned horses with their trailing tails, the elephants surmounted by howdahs richly light, the courtiers with their turbans of all different gorgeous colours, the curved scimitars fastened in magnificent sashes, the high pointed gold embroidered shoes, the leisurely flowing robes of silk and muslin and all the unbounded courtly ceremonial that went with them.

The Princess continued her story. "Our fort was on the banks of the Jumna, in charge of a Hindu Brahmin, Keshav Lal—"

Upon this name, Keshav Lal, the woman seemed to pour out all at once the perfect music of her voice. My stick fell to the ground, I sat upright and tense.

"Keshavlal", she went on, "was an orthodox Hindu. At early dawn I could see him every day, from the lattice of my zenana, as he stood breast high in the Jumna offering his libations of water to the sun. He would sit, in his dripping garments, on the marble steps of the river *ghat* silently repeating his sacred verses, and he would then go home singing some religious chant in his clear and beautiful voice.

I was a Musalman girl, but I had never been given any opportunity of studying my own religion, nor did I practise any manner of worship. Our men, in those days, had become dissolute and irreligious and the harems were mere pleasure resorts from which religion had been banished. But somehow I had a natural thirst for spiritual things and when I witnessed this scene of devotion in the early light of dawn, at the lowly white steps leading down to the placid calm of the blue Jumna my new awakened heart would overflow with an unutterable sweetness of devotion.

I had a Hindu slave girl. Every morning she used to take the dust of Keshav Lal's feet. This act used to give me a kind of pleasure and it was also the cause of slight jealousy in my mind. On auspicious

occasions this girl would feed the Brahmins and offer them gifts. I used to help her with money and once I asked her to invite Keshav Lal to her feast. But she drew herself up and said, that her Lord, Keshav Lal, would never receive food or gifts from anyone. And so because I could not express my reverence for Keshav Lal either directly or indirectly, my heart remained starved. One of my ancestors had taken by force a Brahmin girl into his harem and I used to imagine that her blood was stirring in my own veins. This would give me a certain satisfaction and a sense of clan kinship with Keshav Lal. I listened to all the wonderful stories of the Hindu gods and goddesses recited from the epics in all their details by this Hindu slave girl and would form in my mind an ideal world in which Hindu civilisation reigned supreme. The images of the gods, the sound of the temple bells and conches, the sacred shrines with their gilded spires, the smoke of the incense, the smell of the flower offerings and sandal wood, the *yogis* with their super human powers, the sanctity of the Brahmins, the legends of the Hindu goas who had come down to earth as men—these things filled my imagination and created a vast and vaguely distant realm of fancy. My heart would fly about in it like a small bird in the dusk, fluttering from room to room in a spacious old world mansion.

"Then the great Mutiny broke out, and we felt the shock of it even in our tiny fort at Badraon. The time had come round for Hindu and Musalman to begin once more that unfinished game of dice for the throne of Hindustan, which they had played of old, and the pale faced slayers of kine would have to be driven away from the land of the Aryans.

'My father, Ghulam Qadir Khan, was a cautious man. He poured abuse on the English but said at the same time—'These men can do impossible things. The people of Hindustan are no match for them. I cannot afford to lose my little fort in pursuit of a vain ambition. I am not going to fight the Company Bahadur.'

"We all felt ashamed that my father could observe such caution at a time when the blood was running hot in the veins of every Hindu and Musalman in Hindustan. Even the Begum mothers within the zenanas became restless. Then Keshav Lal, with all the force at his command,

gave utterance — Nawab Sahib if thou dost not stand on our side then as long as the fight goes on I shall keep thee prisoner and guard the fort myself

'My father replied that there was no need to be anxious for he himself was ready to take the side of the mutineers. When Keshav Lal asked for money from the Treasury he gave him a small sum and said that he would give more as occasion arose

'I took off all the ornaments which had decked me from head to foot and sent them secretly to Keshav Lal by my Hindu slave. When he accepted them it gave me a thrill in all those limbs of mine which had shed their decorations. He began to make preparations cleaning the rust out of the old fashioned guns and the long unused swords. Then all of a sudden one afternoon the Commissioner Sahib entered the fort at the head of the red coated white soldiers. My father Ghulam Qadir Khan had informed him in secret about Keshav Lal's plot. Yet so great was the Brahmin's influence that even then his tiny band of retainers were ready to fight with their useless guns and rusty swords. I felt my heart breaking for very shame though no tears came to my eyes. I went out of my zenana in secret disguised in the dress of my brother. Then the dust and smoke of the fight the shouts of the soldiers the boom of the guns ceased. The terrible perice of Death brooded over land and sky. The sun had tinged red the blue waters of the Jumnā and had gone down to his rest in blood upon the evening sky appeared the moon which was nearly at the full. The battle field was covered with the fearful sights of death and pain. At any other time it would have been impossible for me to walk through such a scene but on that night I was like one walking in his sleep. My only object was to seek out Keshav Lal and everything else was blotted out from my consciousness.

When it wore on to midnight I found Keshav Lal in a mango grove near the Jumnā. He was lying on the ground with the dead body of his devoted servant Doki near him. I was sure that either the servant though fatally wounded had carried his master or the wounded master had carried his servant to this secure place. My veneration which had been growing so long in secret now could be

restrained no longer. I flung myself down at the feet of Keshav Lal and wiped the dust of his feet with the tresses of my hair which I let down. I touched those death cold feet of his with my forehead and my pent up tears broke out.

Just then Keshav Lal stirred and a faint cry of pain broke from him. I started up. His eyes were closed but I heard him call faintly for water. At once I went down to the Jumnā and soaked my dress in the stream and squeezed it into his half closed lips. I tore a piece of my cloth and bandaged the left eye which had received a sword cut together with a deep wound along the scalp. When I had squeezed out the water for him several times and sprinkled it on his face he came back gradually to his senses. I asked him if he wanted any more. He stared at me and enquired who I was. I could no longer contain myself but answered —

I am your devoted slave — the daughter of Nawab Ghulam Qadir Khan.

I had the hope in my mind that Keshav Lal would take with him in his dying moments my last confession. Nobody should deprive me of this final happiness. But the moment he heard my name he shouted out

Daughter of a traitor! Infidel! At the very hour of my death you have desecrated my whole life. With these words he gave me a fierce blow on my right cheek. I felt giddy, and everything became dark to me.

You must know that my age when this happened was only about sixteen. For the first time in my life I had come out from my zenana. The greedy and hot glare of the outside sky had not yet robbed my cheeks of their delicate rose flush. Yet at the very first step into the outer air I got my salutation from the god of my world in this form!

I was listening to this story of the ascetic like one lost in dreams. I did not even notice that the light had gone out from my cigarette. Whether my mind was occupied with the beauty of the language or the music of her voice, or with the story itself it is difficult to say but I remained perfectly silent. When however she came to this point in her narrative I could not keep still but broke out saying

The beast!

\* Let by gurgling water touched by a Mussalman

The daughter of the Nawab said:

"Who is the beast? Would a beast relinquish the draught of water brought to his lips at the time of his death agony?"

I corrected myself at once, and said:

"Oh, yes! It was divine!"

But the daughter of the Nawab answered:

"Divine! Do you mean to tell me that the Divine will refuse worship brought to him by a heart sincere?"

After this, I thought the best thing to do was to keep silence. The Nawab's daughter then went on with her story:—

"At first, this was a great shock to me. It seemed as if the wreck of my broken world had come down upon my head. I made my obeisance from a distance to that hard, cruel, imperturbable, warrior Brahmin, and said in my mind: 'You never accept service from the lowly, food from the alien, money from the rich, youth from the young, love from woman! You are aloof, alone, apart, distant,—above all the defilement of the world of dust. I have not even the right to dedicate myself to you.'

"When he saw that, I, the proud daughter of the Nawab, was making obeisance to him, with head touching the ground, I know not what thoughts passed through his mind! But his countenance showed no sign of wonder, or other emotion. He looked into my face for a moment, and then slowly raised himself and sat up.

"I was quick to extend my arms to help him, but he silently rejected me and with great pain dragged himself to the landing place of the Jumna. A ferry-boat was tied there, but neither passengers nor ferryman were present. Keshav Lal got into the boat, and untied the rope, and was drawn into the mid-stream and disappeared.

"For a moment, I felt a strong impulse to fling myself into the Jumna, like a flower untimely torn from its stem,—offering all my love and youth and rejected worship towards that boat which carried off Keshav Lal. But I could not. The rising moon, the deep black line of the trees on the other side of the Jumna, the motionless stretch of the dark blue water of the river, the rampart of our fort glimmering above the distant mango grove, everything sang to me the silent music of death. Only that one frail boat, carried by the stream into the hopeless distance, still drew me on to

the pathway of life, dragging me from the embrace of this beautiful Death in the peace of the moon-lit night.

"I went on, like one in a trance, along the back of the Jumna, across the thick sedge and sandy waste, now wading through shallow water, now climbing up steep banks, now threading my way through jungle thick with undergrowth."

She stopped at this point and I did not disturb her silence. After a long interval she resumed her story:—

"Events, after this, became confused. I do not know how to put them down one by one and make my story clear. I seemed to be walking through a wilderness, and I had no sense of the direction. It is difficult for me to recall to mind my wanderings through those trackless shades. I do not know how to begin and how to end, what to include and what to reject, and how to make the whole story so distinct as to appear perfectly natural to you. But I have come to learn in these years of suffering that nothing is impossible, or absolutely difficult in this world. At first the obstacles might seem quite insurmountable for a girl brought up in the zenana of a Nawab, but that is merely imaginary. When you are once out among the crowd you find some path or other. That path may not be a Nawab's path; but all the same it is a path that leads men to their different fates,—a path rugged and varied and endless in its winding course, a path full of joys and sorrows and obstructions,—always a path.

"The story of my many wanderings along this pathway of the common race of men will not sound attractive, and even if it did I have not the energy to complete it. In brief, I went through all kinds of troubles, dangers, insults,—and yet life had not become altogether intolerable. Like a rocket, the more I burned, the more I rushed upward. So long as I had this feeling of speed, I was unconscious of the burning pain; but when the fire of my supreme happiness and my supreme misery became extinct, I dropped spent and exhausted upon the dust of the earth. My voyage has been ended to-day, and my story has come to its conclusion."

She stopped.

But I shook my head and said to myself that this could not be a proper ending, and in my broken, imperfect Hindi I told her:—

"Pardon me if I am discourteous Princess, but I can assure you it would greatly relieve my mind, if you could make the ending just a little more clear."

The daughter of the Nawab smiled. I found that my broken Hindi had its effect. If I had carried on my conversation in the purest Hindustani, she would not have been able to overcome her reluctance, but this very imperfection of my language acted as a screen. She continued:

"I used to get news of Keshav Lal from time to time, but I never succeeded in meeting him. He joined Tantra Topi, and would break like a sudden thunderstorm, now in the east, and now in the west, and then he would disappear just as suddenly. I took the dress of an ascetic and went to Benares, where I had my lesson in the Sanskrit scriptures from Sivananda Swami, whom I called 'father.' News from every part of India would come to his feet, and while I learnt from him with all reverence my scriptures, I would listen with a terrible eagerness to the news of the fighting. The British Raj trampled out, from the whole of Hindustan, the smouldering embers of the rebel lion."

"After that I could get no further news of Keshav Lal. The figures which shone fitfully on the distant horizon in the red light of destruction suddenly lapsed into darkness."

"Then I left the shelter of my guru and went out seeking Keshav Lal from door to door. I went from one pilgrimage to another, but never met him. Those few who knew him, said he must have lost his life, either in the battle field, or under the martial law which followed. But a small voice I kept repeating in my heart that this could never happen. Keshav Lal could never die. That Brahman,—that scorching flame of fire,—could not be extinct. That fire was still burning on some solitary altar difficult of approach, waiting for the final offering of my life and my soul."

"There are instances in the Hindu Scriptures of low caste people becoming Brahmans by the force of their ascetic practices, but whether a Musalman could also become a Brahman has never been discussed. I know that I had to suffer long delay before I could be united with Keshav Lal, because I must become a

Brahman before that. And thirty years passed by in this manner."

"I became a Brahmin in my mind and habits of life. That stream of Brahmin blood, which I had inherited from some Brahmin grandmother, again became pure in my veins and throbbed in all my limbs. And when this was accomplished, I would mentally place myself, with no touch of hesitation left, at the feet of that first Brahmin of my first youth,—that one Brahmin of all my world. And I would feel round my head a halo of glory."

I had often heard stories of Keshav Lal's bravery during the fighting of the Mutiny, but these would leave hardly any impression on my heart. The one picture that remained bright in my mind was that ferry boat, carrying Keshav Lal, floating down the calm, moonlit waters of the Jumna. Day and night I saw him sailing towards a great pathless mysetry, with no companion, no servant—the Brahmin who needed nobody, who was complete master of himself."

"At last I got news of Keshav Lal,—that he had fled across the border of Nepal to avoid punishment. I went to Nepal. After a long sojourn there, I learnt that he had left Nepal years ago, and no one knew where he had gone. Since that time, I have been travelling from hill to hill. This country is not the country of the Hindus. These Bhutias and Lepchas are a heathen people. They have no proper regulations about their food. They have their own gods and modes of worship. And I was nervously careful to keep my purity of religious life avoiding all contamination. I knew that my boat had nearly reached its haven and that the last goal of my mortal life was not very far off."

"And then,—how must I end? All ending is short. It takes only one sudden breath to make the lamp go out. Why then should I draw this out into a long tale? This very morning after thirty-eight years of separation I have met Keshav Lal."

When she stopped at this point I became too eager to contain myself, and I said:

"How did you find him?"

The daughter of the Nawab replied:

"I saw old Keshav Lal picking out the grains from the ears of wheat in a court."

yard of a Bhutia village, with his Bhutia wife at his side, and his Bhutia grand sons and grand daughters around him.

Here ended the story

I thought I should say something,—just a few words,—to console her. I said —

"The man who had to spend thirty eight years at a stretch with those aliens, hiding himself in fear of his life,—how was it possible for him to keep his purity of religion?"

The daughter of the Nawab replied —

"Do not I understand all that? But what delusion was it, which I had been carrying all these years,—the spell of this Brahman who stole my heart when I was young? Could I even suspect that it was merely a matter of habit with him? I thought that it was Truth, Eternal Truth. Otherwise, how could I have taken, as an act of consecration from my guru that blow upon my head,—that intolerable insult, which this Brahmin dealt me in return for the offering of my body and mind and youth, trembling as I was with the fervour of devotion when I was only sixteen and had come for the first time in my life from the shelter of my father's house? Ah, Brahmin! You yourself have accepted another habit in place of your former habit. But how am I to get another life and youth in exchange for the life and youth I have lost?"

As she uttered this lament the woman stood up and said,—Namaskar, Babuji!—and then in a moment she corrected herself and said — Salaam, Sahib.

With this Muhammadan greeting she took her last farewell from the wreck of Brahmin ideals which were lying in the

dust. And before I could say another word she had vanished in the grey mist of the Himalayas.

I shut my eyes for a moment and saw all the incidents of her story pass again before my mind,—that girl of sixteen, the Nawab's daughter, sitting at her lattice window, on her Persian Carpet, watching the Brahmin as he performed his morning ablution at the Jumna; that sad woman in the dress of an ascetic at the evening ritual of the lighted lamps in some pilgrim shrine that bent figure bowed down with the burden of a broken home on the Calcutta Road Dargeling. I felt in my mind the stir of the sad music born of the compact of two different strains of blood in the body of one woman, blended in a language beautiful in its perfect dignity of sound.

Then I opened my eyes. The mist had cleared away and the hill side was glistening with the morning light. The English memsahibs were out in their rickshaws, and the English Sahibs were on horse back. Every now and then a Bengali clerk, with his head muffled up in his scarf, cast a glance of curiosity at me through its folds.

I got up from my seat. In the bare naked sunlight it was difficult to believe the woman's cloudy, misty story to be true. And it is my firm conviction, that it must have been my own imagination which mingled its cigarette fumes with the mist of the hills, and that the Brahmin warrior the daughter of the Nawab and the fort by the Jumna are all vapour.

*Translated with the help  
of the Author by  
C F ANDREWS*

\* Namaskar would be the greeting of a Hindu  
Salaam the greeting of a Musalman

## THE AMERICAN WOMAN \*

By DR SUDHINDRA BOSE, M A , PH D

"I CAN'T possibly think of getting married. Marriage will end my career as an artist," said a quiet voiced, determined mannered woman who looked

thirty. "My husband my home will take all my day, all my strength." And as she ran her long fingers over the piano key board, she added "Marriage will spell the

\* The pictures to illustrate the article have been furnished by two of my students Miss June Marie

Leo and Miss Marjorie Peters at the State University of Iowa

ruin of my chosen vocation. Such a sacrifice is too great, too unreasonable, and altogether too heinous an outrage to ask of a sensible person." The ultra feminist in America, as elsewhere, fights shy of the position of a housekeeper, wife, and mother. She does not believe that marriage is a 'biological imperative,' as Lester Ward, the author of *Dynamic Sociology*, puts it. She avoids marriage because she fears it may interfere with her personal tastes, ambitions and careers. Matrimony plays, therefore, little part in her scheme of life.

An unmarried woman at the age of twenty-eight is considered an "old maid." This title is not liked by its owner. The more courteous way of speaking of a single woman is to refer to her as a bachelor maid. When a woman fails to secure a husband at the proper age she often becomes an object of great solicitude on the part of her parents. Her mother will perhaps give her tips on the art of getting married. 'Don't be so stiff and puritanical, Florence! Can't you flirt a little?' "For mercy's sake, liven up!"

Most of the young women, however, have bridal instincts; they have a hope of marriage. They are not naturally man-haters and marriage-despisers; they may even admit "men are nice, some are nicer than others." But many of them remain spinsters because they are seldom emotional and more rarely sentimental; they prize their economic independence far more than marital bliss. Here every sort of feminine energy is set free. Schools and colleges, offices and factories are full of women. Their advanced guard has invaded every trade and profession, outside of soldiery. According to the United States census reports, the members of the gentler sex have been found engaged in such occupations as those of blacksmiths, carpenters, tinsmiths, brick and stone masons, machinists, stevedores, sailors, and dock hands. No other country in the world offers so many opportunities to women to earn their living with dignity and self-respect.

The woman of 'advanced thought' scorns the "parasite woman," she scoffs at the idea that women are like children who have to be supported by men all their lives. 'If every man in the world were to disappear to-morrow, we would not miss them,' declares the new woman. 'We could get along and be just as well

off as we are now. Possibly we would be better off. Who was the greater soldier, Napoleon or Joan of Arc? Why read Robert Browning when Elizabeth Browning is available? What happens when you compare the divine Sarah Bernhardt to Richard Mansfield? Isn't Ruth Law, who flew in an airship from Chicago to New York, as daring as the Wright brothers who invented the Wright aeroplanes? Who writes in America better verse than Mary Aldis? Who does not know that Hatty Green was as great a financier as Jay Gould? What soap-box agitator can compare with Mother Jones? Do you need to be told that the best congressman in the United States is the congresswoman Miss Jeanette Rankin?'

Whatever may be our pre-conceived ideas it must be admitted that woman is a "man for a" that she has a right to a participation in the totality of life, that she is entitled to an independent soul. And if she does not have a career of wifehood and motherhood, it is not in every instance her own fault. Perhaps the opportunity never came to her at all. Perhaps no man ever asked her hand.

Statistics show that there are in the United States about seventeen million unmarried persons of marriageable age. Nine million of these are women above the age of fifteen; 8,102,000 are women between the ages of twenty and forty-four; 500,000 are between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four. And it is significant to note that thirty-nine men out of every hundred are without wives. Now the question is why are there so many bachelors? Some say it is because women are afflicted with too much noisy cleverness or excessive refinement; others declare it is because women are unmarriedly addicted to independence. Personally I do not attach much importance to these charges. I think so many men remain in the state of single blessedness because they feel they are not economically able to tackle matrimony. They fear that poverty will come in at the door and love will fly out of the window. In this land of top-notch prices, the husband must earn at least seventy-five rupees a week to support his family with any show of decency. But there are thousands of men who are not making that much. Hence we see every day how finance is dealing knock-out blows to romance, how the dollar is branding its



sign on love how money is triumphing over man's heart and how woman is forced to remain but neutrally feminine

On the continent of Europe marriage partakes of the nature of commerce. There a man looks on a rich marriage as a pretty source of income. And especially in France and Germany the search for a bride not infrequently reduces itself to a vulgar hunt for a large dowry. The American man be it said to his eternal credit does not marry for economic advantages. He is averse to selling himself to a girl for a dowry. The only capital she brings him consists in her beauty, youth and accomplishments.

A man wishing to marry must get a license from the clerk of the district court. After the permit has been secured the young couple can have the marriage solemnized either by a civil officer or a clergyman.

There is no iron clad liturgy for marriage service. It is so simple that it can be performed in less than five minutes at a pinch. The service consists mainly in repeating a few formulas. The man says:

I take thee to my wedded wife to have and to hold from this day forward for better for worse for richer for poorer in sickness and in health to love and to cherish till death us do part according to God's holy ordinance and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then the woman on her part responds:

I take thee to my wedded husband to have and to hold from this day forward for better for worse for richer for poorer in sickness and in death to love cherish and to obey till death us do part according to God's holy ordinance and thereto I give thee my troth.

Finally the man puts a ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand and vows with this ring I thee wed and with all my worldly goods I thee wed.

Note the word obey in the bride's pledge to the groom. That harmless looking word has occasioned no end of trouble in recent years. A New York journal commenting on the maid's promise to obey remarks:

"To require the woman to put herself under the will of the man to obey him is cruel wicked,

anachronism and no clergyman is justified in compelling a woman to make such a promise and hardly so even if she desires to make it. For her to make it is to dishonor her sex. If she intends to keep it and if not it is a falsehood which on such a solemn occasion and on so serious a subject approaches perjury.

Most of the clergymen with the exception of Episcopal rectors are in favor of suppressing the vow of submissiveness. The hard shell Episcopalians hold that the promise should be required because the inspired Bible said so. The bride herself gorges about the promise and tells that the groom knows she does not mean to keep the vow.

After the marriage ceremony is over the



Good looking snake excellent offers

new pair starts out on their honeymoon. If it is in a small country town the married couple are paraded through the streets in an automobile. The car is decorated with bunting and signs which read: **THEY HAVE JUST BEEN MARRIED**. Crowds follow the procession shouting and whooping. Some of them carry brass horns others toy drums. The harassed couple are kept busy dodging showers of rice and hails of old shoes some of which are thrown with unerring aim. More shouting more drum beating and more rice throwing until the poor honeymooners reach the train and scramble aboard. At last the engine whistles and the train begins to move slowly on. The groom with a sigh of relief sits face to face with his wife. He takes her hand and kisses it with eager quivering lips. She blushes red as an apple. In the meantime passengers too have their fun. They read with amusement such placards as the following which have been

cunningly pasted on the backs of the bride and groom

And even when the young hearts are asking

Honeymoon honeymoon

Tell me why you fade so soon  
they begin to make plans for the future  
On their return from the wedding trip,  
they leave their parents roof and put up  
a separate establishment for themselves.  
American women are not keen for house  
work which is to them a sort of necessary  
evil. Many know nothing about the tradi-  
tional female household duties until they  
are married and some of them not even  
then. Of course in this country where the  
entire mechanism of civilization can be run  
by pressing buttons household functions  
are never arduous. House keeping has  
become so handy and so scientific especial-  
ly in the homes of the well-to-do that it  
requires very little manual labor. Sew-  
ing, washing, ironing, milking, churning,  
house cleaning, dish washing and even  
cooking are done by mechanical labor sav-  
ing appliances. Consider for instance  
the matter of cooking which has been  
made simplicity itself by the invention of  
the electric stove. It has an alarm clock  
attachment that will turn on the electric  
current in the housewife's absence thereby  
relieving her of the necessity of being  
present when the cooking is begun and  
thermometers to regulate the temperature  
according to the nature of the food. A  
woman can cook her dinner without being  
in the kitchen at all. She can put her  
meat, vegetables and pastry in the ovens,  
set the alarm clock and thermometers and  
then go away on business or pleasure  
knowing that the food will begin to cook  
at the proper time and will be ready to  
serve on her return. In the same way she  
can cook her breakfasts and thus gain  
from half an hour to an hour for sleep in  
the morning.

Some one has said that it is easy to dis-  
tinguish an American husband from an  
English or French. The English husband  
goes in front of his wife, the American wife  
goes in front of her husband and the  
French husband and wife go side by side.  
It means if anything at all that an  
Englishman treats his wife as his inferior,  
the French as his equal and the American  
at a distance. In the United States where  
there is such a strong undercurrent of  
individualism husband and wife in many  
things lead separate lives, the woman  
pursues her social pleasures and the man

## JUST MARRIED

### TREAT THEM KINDLY

Notice the silly look on the Groom. He is  
EASY. Make him give you cigars

Their trunks and travelling boxes have  
also been placarded with monster bills

## MARRIED!

Clara and John

are on their honeymoon

Please give them a chance to

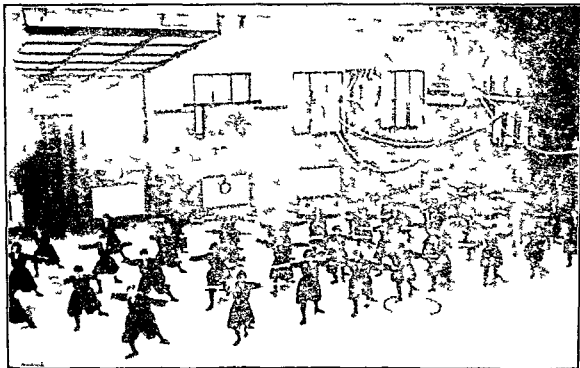
## MAKE LOVE

Any tender attention shown  
them will be greatly appreciated  
by Their Friends.



Good looking girls make excellent chauffeurs

The honeymoon days of the bridal tour  
come to an end with amazing swiftness.



The futurists of America believe that the

his business. They do not seem to have enough of an affinity of ideals. There is not enough of co-operation, mutual confidence between the two. Though living side by side they are ignorant of each other. Watching and suspecting they seldom understand each other to the uttermost depths of their souls. To be sure he pays a stated monthly salary, but it is he who has the hold of the family purse string. Not that the American husband is lacking in chivalry. He has every appearance of being chivalrous. With quixotic gallantry he will place a woman on a lofty pedestal, but it is so high and so lonely that I wonder sometimes if she does not feel cold and dizzy. It makes me often ask myself: Can there be real happiness in a family where two lives do not flow together? Can there be enduring love in the foggy, murky atmosphere of aloofness?

My marriage is such a disappointment. It is the biggest mistake of my life.

Marriage is like a mouse trap once in there is no way out with a whole hide.

That's the only time in my life when I got roped in. Married life is all fool's and no bait. How often these and similar senti-

ments are heard! But why is marriage a source of dissatisfaction to many? I do not know. I cannot tell. Is there no love in married life? Yes, there is. From the innumerable accounts of love murders and suicides which are published in the news papers, one can see that America is almost under the spell of love madness, that nearly every American is suffering from love malady. According to last year's reports of self-murders over eight hundred people died of disappointed love, and about eleven hundred of domestic infelicity. It may be a heavy toll that Don Cupid is demanding of the human heart, but it proves that love has not yet perished!

Not long ago a New York philanthropist invented a machine to deal wisely with the vexing problem of when we are in love. This machine is called an Eros meter which derives its name from

Eros, love and meter measure. It is literally a love tester. It is made in the form of a bracelet, smooth and hollow like a tube bent into a ring. It may be adjusted to fit tightly over the wrist of any man or woman. Inside the hollow tube is a tiny slip of paper and an electric needle which responds to every pulse beat.

Now it is generally known that a complement a caress or even the mere presence of a beloved person sends the pulse leaping upward. Therefore if a girl is doubtful whether a certain young man really affects her emotionally all she has to do is to put on the bracelet and go out to lunch or the theatre with him. On her return she pulls off the bracelet extracts from its hollow depths the small slip of paper scored with the minute record of the needle and places it under a microscope. Then she can literally measure the height and depth of her affection. Apparently this is a wonderful machine but since the test it makes is purely a physical one and

twenty years Does a woman as a rule marry a man simply because of his strength of intellect and character, his mental poise and heroic temperament? Does she always marry him more for love than for a living? Does she regard love entirely in an unselfish way? He replied no to my interrogation. According to this minister of the Gospel the average girl judges a man by externals by smart appearances by the size of his purse by the cut of his coat and by his ability to dance the latest fancy dances. She measures the affection of her lover by gold diamonds rubies yachts twelve cylinder automobiles mansions railroad stocks and gilt-edged municipal bonds at six per cent interest. In other words she regards marriage as a domestic convenience a personal indulgence and not a spiritual union.

Perhaps this minister was built too much on the model of the prophet Jeremiah and therefore his information was not altogether reliable. A better light was thrown on this tangled problem by the *Ladies Home Journal* one of the best women's magazines in America. This periodical put to a hundred representative bachelors these two direct questions:

What kind of a girl should you like to marry? and What qualities do you think best fit a young woman for a wife? From the hundred answers it was found that the eight qualities most frequently mentioned by men were the following —

First	A domestic tendency	74 times
Second	Love	45
Third	A good disposition	36
Fourth	Sympathy	27
Fifth	Religion	27
Sixth	Common sense	24
Seventh	Intelligence	24
Eighth	Taste in dress	23

This statistical summary to my thinking is significant as it indicates on the part of men desire for those very qualities which are most needed in a wife.

American girls enjoy great liberty in choosing their life partners. Seldom if ever one hears of parents standing in the way of their children's happiness. All this is very commendable indeed. I like the personal freedom of action and judgment which the American women enjoy to such a large extent. But even in these days of free for all courtship, few young people understand the full meaning of love before



Hunting a favorite sport of American woman

love happens to be a psychic matter a concern of the soul the crometer will be of little help at present.

Byron sang

Man and wife of naught apart —  
The woman's whole existence

I wonder if that is true of the American woman. I asked a clergyman who had officiated at marriages for upwards of



A hockey team on the eve of a battle

they are married. After the nuptial knot is tied, she will lay down for him two commandments: Thou shalt love me first. Thou shalt succeed in order that I may love thee later. And the husband, as "lover, lunatic and poet," proceeds in all haste to meet the wifely demands.

In India, especially in the good old days, people married, and "lived happily ever after": but in America, people get married and then a large number of them get divorced. The United States leads the world in divorce. Indeed, the number of divorces granted in America has grown much faster than the population, much faster than the number of marriages. Records show that one out of every eight marriages results in failure. A short time ago the ratio was one divorce to twelve marriages, it is now one to eight. Should the present state of things continue, the descending scale may be one to two, or even worse. The divorce courts, known as "divorce mills," work with the speed of a steam buzz-saw as they cut through matrimonial knots. And it is the women who bring the grist to the mill, over sixty percent of all divorces in America being granted on their initiative. As a cool business proposition, the woman tells the story to a divorce lawyer, and sues her husband for neglect or "incompatibility of temper." The lawyer fills the

paper, the judge call the case, and burr-r-r you are divorced.

Men do not care for refinements and luxuries nearly as much as do women. It is not an uncommon occurrence to find the standing of a man in "society" determined by the "style" his wife follows. This leads to reckless expenditure at times. Regardless of her husband's income, she nurses the ambition to dress as well, if not better than, her neighbour. I am no judge of such an abstruse problem as woman's clothes; but it seems to me that she is over dressed, and that she dresses more to be attractive than to be comfortable.

The women in China have often been justly criticised for squeezing their feet. If they come to America, they will find women who are not above lacing their waists. The dresses of American women are so tight-fitting as to bring their figures into unusual prominence. In going to dances and parties, many women uncover their shoulders dangerously low. From an Eastern point of view, such a mode of dressing is neither modest nor decent. Mrs. M. S. G. Nicholas in her book, *The Clothes Question Considered in its Relation to Beauty, Comfort and Health*, has some pertinent observations to make on the clothing of Western women. Says Mrs. Nicholas.



Staging a Greek play in an open air theatre

A great deal more clothing is worn by women in some of fashion's phases than is needed for warmth and mostly in the form of heavy skirts dragging down upon the hips. The heavy trailing skirts also are burdens upon the spine. Such evils of women's clothes especially in view of maternity, can hardly be over estimated. The pains and perils that attend are heightened if not caused by improper clothing. The nerves of the spine and the maternal system of nerves become disordered together.

Again she writes

'When I first went to an evening party in a fashionable town I was shocked at seeing ladies with low dresses and I cannot even now like to see a man justly called a rake looking at the half exposed bosom of a lady. There is no doubt that too much clothing is an evil as well as too little but clothing that swelters or leaves us with a cold are both lesser evils than the exposure of esoteric charms to stir the already heated blood of the roue. What we have to do as far as fashion and the public opinion it forms will allow is to suit our clothing to our climate and to be truly modest and healthful in our attire.'

It is a historical fact that as soon as a nation becomes the centre of world powers, then its dress becomes popular with all other countries. When Rome became the mistress of the world, the ladies on the banks of the Seine, Rhine and Nile adopted the dresses of their sisters on the Tiber. When under Charles V and Philip II Spain attained to the zenith of her glory, Spanish costumes were introduced into all the courts of Europe. Again, when France under Louis XIV, the grand

monarque, had become the leading power of the continent, French fashions came into vogue. France today is not, however, the most important factor in world politics, and yet it is curious that the women of the Western world, especially the thoughtless, easy going portion of America, have yielded themselves to the sceptre of French fashions. The teaching of Emerson, "Build your own world," is apparently in the discard. No matter how clever, how chic American designers may be, French modistes are given the preference. American ladies watch for sartorial signs that shine from the fashion skies of France with astonishing care. The attempt to grow up in imitation of the imported French fashion plates renders American women a sort of imitation composite. They are squeezed, elongated, pulled, and pinched in order to fit in the French garments. "The result is," declares a keen observer, "there is no female individualism in dress, only a number of sticks dressed up according to fashion, such as much like the other as possible."

Fashion is always a quick stepper. And the American high society woman is a zealous worshipper at the shrine of the will of the wisp fashion. One day the cablegram brings the news from the great clothes palaces of Paris that the barrel

skirt will be supreme another that the directorate will be the rage and on the third day the sweeping draperies No body knows what is to happen next Says the American poet naturalist Thoreau

The herd monkey at Paris puts on a traveler's cap and all the monkeys in America do the same This winter I see by the papers that the devotees of Theopis in the United States are in favor of abolishing the eye brows They shave them so thoroughly as to make the brows bare and shiny as china jug



A kitchen fitted with bottled electric and gas cooking stove

It is difficult for a mere man to talk about women especially American women who are so complex and so subtle The difficulty is further intensified because there is no one fixed type of American women What may be true of the submerged tenth may not be true of the upper hundred Hence with all honest intention to do justice to American women the foreign mind is apt to make mistakes

In this country they prefer small fami-

lies for instance a family of four is considered large There are married women who shrink from maternity not because of ill health but because of the love of ease There is an increasing number of girls who do not look forward to motherhood as the crowning glory of womanhood Rev William Sunday the highest paid American evangelist is of the opinion that the art of motherhood is on the wane society has just about put maternity out of fashion Recently there has been a propaganda to limit births by the spread of scientific knowledge The object of the movement is to improve the quality of human births That children should not be born to parents unable to take care of them admits of no two opinions Obviously family limitations among such people will reduce destitution and poverty but are not births in some cases restricted too much already? Are not the wealthy classes for example committing race suicide by too much birth control? And is not that disturbing the social balance? To one looking at the situation from a detached point of view it seems that what is really needed is birth release for the well to do and birth control for the poor Of the graduates of women's colleges only about half of them marry and the proportion of those who become mothers is considerably smaller than one per cent Does not this present a vast social problem?

Last December the American suffragists put on a great stunt As the President of the United States began reading his message to Congress in joint session a huge yellow banner bearing in big letters these words "Mr President What will You Do for Woman Suffrage?" was unfurled over the gallery by suffragist invaders A page quickly went up the gallery and pulled the banner down But the question of equal suffrage could not be drowned so easily American women could neither be repressed nor suppressed they are continually reaching out to a broader life Already in eleven States women possess suffrage upon equal terms with men at all elections and the campaign for the further extension of the ballot is going on ceaselessly Men of penetrating vision can see that the votes for women movement is a part of the evolutionary conception of government is an important aspect of the large world wide democracy The dark age

barriers that keep women out of their full and freest development must be ruthlessly shattered. A movement for emancipation could not be stayed by prejudice and ridicule. With eight million women of the United States earning their living outside of home the right to vote in order to protect themselves and their interests could not be laughed away.

A little while ago I was talking with a friend of mine who is a leader in the equal suffrage movement. In explaining her reasons as to why women should need a voice in government she said: To-day when the water supply, the milk, the food, the public health, the morals and the education of the entire community are under government control when the conditions under which the sons and daughters of the

regulated than when either manages it alone. In that great family called the State when men and women work together for the best interests of the whole it is hard to see how society can suffer. All the women may not know as much as all the men on some things, nor all the men so much as all the women on some other things, but certainly all the men and all the women together know more than either does separately.

Whoever cares to step inside a American church will find that most of the pews are filled by women. But the church like Shakespeare's adversity has its many uses. Maupassant in one of his realistic novels compares it to an umbrella.

"If it is fine it is a walking stick, a sunny a parasol, if it rains a shelter. One does not go out why one leaves it in the hall. And there are hundreds like that who care for God about as much as a cherry stone."



Starting out for a boat race

family are to be employed are controlled by the same power, it is imperative that the home woman, the mother, should have the most telling weapon that is possible to provide, namely the ballot.

One of the classic arguments of the antis against equal suffrage is that it would unsex women, that it would destroy home life. On this point my friend said:

Political equality does not mean a tendency on the part of women away from home. It is on the contrary direction. Women believe that all the interests of home will be better safeguarded when they have some representation than they could possibly be without. In fact it is because men and women are so similar yet so unlike, neither naturally any better nor any worse than the other, that when working together in equality and fellowship the home is always better

is to preach, another to visit and the third to direct the social activities. Motion pictures are becoming a familiar adjunct of church work, even taking their place in regular Sunday service in a mild mannered way. Good many clergymen encourage young men and young women to attend church for social amenities.

There is no reason why young people declared a minister from a Chicago pulpit should not cultivate each other's acquaintance from behind the hymn book. We are glad to have them come to church on any pretext. Flirting is as good an excuse as any.

When talking with college and university students on deeper problems of life how often do the questions take this line:

Is religion an empty shell? Or this: Shall we accept authority for truth or truth for authority? Or: Is there any

In America the church is scarcely a shrine to the waiting Presence of God. They seem to be busy substituting clubs, gymnasiums, shower baths and cooking schools for prayers, conversions and revivals. Churches have become institutional almost industrialized. One minister



copyrighted means of salvation?" Then think of the bitter disappointment which prompts this: "Was Christ the only Christian in the world during the last two thousand years?" These questions reveal the spiritual restlessness of the thoughtful people, whom narrow orthodoxy would brand as "unchurched and unsaved multitudes." They are hungry to know what true religion means. Who will explain it to them? Serious religious and philosophical problems are seldom propounded from the pulpit. I have known ministers who make a speciality of preaching sermons on such subjects as these: "Is Cupid deceptive?" ; "Is love blind?" ; "Choice of a husband"; "Recipe of beauty"; "The lewd and the nude"; "A loveable widow."

There are churches which retain press agents to promote newspaper publicity. Paid church advertisement in Saturday evening papers are common, with frequently a whole page of "display ad" in huge type that screams. Here is a church advertisement:

### CHORUS CHOIR OF ONE HUNDRED VOICES

Sermon Lasts Only Ten Minutes

PETER PENTH COSTAL REACHER SPECIAL SOPRANO SOLO

Prof. Major at the Organ.

The advertisement crusade does for a while draw a large crowd; but the majority of them are women. They come to church, so I have been informed, to display their best clothes, and to study the intricacies of plumes, ribbons, and buckles of other women. "We Americans are not religious", explained to me a professor of

sociology. "Sixty per cent of our population are not connected with any church organization whatever. And as for our women—they are not certainly over-religious. They go to church not primarily for religion, but for social reasons. Women want an outlet for their many-sided energy. In church they can be interested in all the way from politics to literature, from art to dance. Religion, you see, is not the only show to attract women to the church."

The American woman, like all other human beings, has her weaknesses. She has also many attractive qualities. In the making of the new civilization of the New World she is a mighty force. Her influence in public and civic affairs is invigorating. Her part in charitable and beneficent works is one of acknowledged leadership. She is superbly independent; she travels from continent to continent alone, unescorted. She is a lover of athletics; she shoots, she skates, she motors she yachts, she plays golf and tennis. If Paris sets the modes in hats and frocks, America sets the fashions for the Western world in girls. The typical American girl is slender, willowy, and blond with dark blue eyes and fluffy brown hair. She is indeed as beautiful as a picture. It may be frankly admitted that though a lone bachelor can never expect fully to comprehend an American maiden, I have often been fortunate enough to get inside glimpses of her heart as represented in kind words and deeds. She has sympathy enough to cover the whole world. Full of "dash" and "go," she is brave and gentle, and self-reliant; she is affectionate and undaunted; she is capable and intelligent. Though possessed of restless, nervous energy, she is affable, lively, and charming

### COMMENT AND CRITICISM

#### Are the people of India getting richer or poorer?

It is highly gratifying to me to find such a sincere and experienced well-wisher of India as Mr Pennington agreeing with all I have said in my article on

"The Legal Exploitation of the Indian People" (*Modern Review*, January, 1917) about the "terrible burdens" the British Judicial System has imposed upon India. With regard to that much debated much involved subject, the Poverty of India ever, he says, I "entirely ignore" in my

remarks 'the very considerable amount of evidence there is on the other side' \* I would certainly have presented both sides of the question if it were my special theme. I must say, however, that my conclusions have been given after duly weighing the evidence on both sides. The facts which bulk largely in the writings of those who take a very favourable view of the material condition of India and which I find are most confidently and most prominently pointed out in one of the two works referred to by Mr Pennington † are

(1) The large amount of gold absorbed by her during the last three quarters of a century. Estimates of her supposed hoard of gold vary, but the highest I have come upon does not exceed £300 000 000. A few millions one way or another would not make much difference and I shall assume this estimate to be approximately correct.

The last Census estimates the population of India at 315,000,000 including the Native States which presumably have had their share of the 'hoard'. If it were distributed among them all the share for each family of between five and six members would be about £6 not a large amount to hoard in seventy five years and to fall back upon in evil times.

As a matter of fact however at least half of the population are destitute of gold in any shape in fact of savings of any description. Of the other half all but about six millions say some £151 000 000 consisting of the more prosperous husbandmen, artisans &c. may not unreasonably be credited with a moiety of the hoard which would give them less than £1 per head certainly not an extravagant amount to secure as provision for a rainy day. The balance of the 'hoard' may be equally distributed among two very unequal classes in which the 6 millions or so of the comparatively well to do section (according to the Indian standard) may be divided the one composed of feudatory chiefs, big landed proprietors, bankers, merchandise princes etc., and numbering some five hundred thousand and the other constituting our upper middle class the numerical strength of which might be roughly estimated at 5,500 000. The share of the former would be £150 per head or about £800 per family the few among them who are superlatively rich getting considerably more than this average. For good many centuries the class to which they belong have entertained a well marked predilection for golden ornaments and various household articles of gold and I have but little doubt they have absorbed some such amount. But such absorption no more proves the prosperity of the multitude of India than the display of costly plate, china, works of old masters, curios &c. in the mansions of the English nobility proves the wealth of the mass in England. And the amount after all is not very much being only a quarter of what England is now spending on the great world war in a month.

The five millions and a half or so of the upper middle class would get about £14 per head not a very large amount, considering that it has taken three generations to accumulate it and that it has long been customary with them to give gold ornaments to their daughters when they get married

which are prized by Indian ladies not only for the gratification of the feminine propensity for show (of which they have their share) but also as provision in adverse circumstances, ornaments being pledged with money lenders just as watches chains clothes &c. are with pawnbrokers in the West. Thus the reputed hoard of India which is supposed to bespeak her prosperity and to tap which all sorts of devices have lately been resorted to is whittled down to about £75,000 000 among some half a million people—a drop in the ocean of the population of India. People who infer her prosperity from the large quantity of gold absorbed by her in three generations forget the vastness of her area and the immensity of her population and in the case of those who possess large Indian experience, betray an almost unpardonable ignorance of the social usages of her people.

(2) But if the rate of absorption has been increasing, as some writers assert it has been, then the inference of the expansion of the small comparatively well to do section would be justifiable. But has it been increasing? Let us see what the facts are. The following table shows the value of the decennial average of the net imports of gold on private as well as Government account since 1855 (Statistical Abstract for British India Vol I Commercial Statistics 1915 p 146)

Decennial average	Value in rupees
1855-56 to 1861-65	5 10 94 633
1865-66 to 1874-75	3 65 74 741
1875-76 to 1884-85	2 66 39 437
1885-86 to 1894-95	1 62 66 152
1895-96 to 1904-05	5 68 61 375

These facts speak for themselves. The rate of absorption instead of increasing has actually decreased down to 1904. The full significance of this diminution will be apparent when we consider—

First—Territorial expansion and increase of population. The area of India (including native states) in 1887 was 1 172 889 square miles in 1911 1 760 111 square miles and in 1901 1 766 597 square miles. The population in these years was respectively 213 891 100, 237 159 608, and 291 276 423.

(Statistics of British India, part I, 1909) —

Dividing the half century between 1855 and 1905 into two periods of 25 years each we find that while the area in the second period increased by about 25 per cent and the population by some 16 per cent the consumption of gold diminished by 91 per cent.

Secondly—Gold is taken in payment of a portion of the exports of merchandise from India. Now exports have been increasing rapidly since 1855 as will be seen from the following figures (Statistical Abstract for British India Vol I 1915 p 149) —

Decennial period	Value in rupees of the decennial average of merchandise (including re-exports)
1855-56 to 1864-65	38 44 56 588
1865-66 to 1874-75	54 89 10 105
1875-76 to 1884-85	72 39 43 148
1885-86 to 1894-95	99 38 18 528
1895-96 to 1904-05	121 10 84 832

Thus we find that the value of the exports of merchandise was more than trebled between 1855 and 1905. The desire for golden articles has

\* 'The Modern Review' for May, 1917, p. 566

† Truths about India compiled by the East India Association. Unfortunately I have not been able to procure the number of the Asiatic Quarterly now referred to by Mr Pennington.

suffered but little abatement within that period except among an extremely limited section of Neo-Indians. So, if the material condition of the people were really improving they would have had now thrice the quantity of gold they had in the fifties. But, on the contrary, as we have seen above they have actually had less!

Thirdly—The steady increase in the deficit of imports as will be seen from the following table—

Decennial average	Value of imports of merchandise and Treasure in rupees	Value of exports of merchandise and Treasure in rupees	Deficit of imports in rupees
1835-56	37,43,20,893	30,43,61,134	2,00,40,241
to 1864-65			
1865-86	44,79,28,064	30,61,24,536	11,81,96,572
to 1874-75			
1875-76	57,54,06,102	74,19,64,837	16,95,58,735
to 1884-85			
1885-96	83,26,70,098	102,66,57,626	19,50,67,528
to 1894-95			
1895-96	105,70,50,189	1,00,96,36,433	25,25,56,294
to 1904-05			

Ranchi,  
23rd May 1971

P. N. Bose

### Jaina Law.

On principle I ignore anonymous criticism, but by reason of the high esteem in which I hold the *Modern Review* and the desire that my silence may not be misinterpreted, I hasten to show the superficiality of B. C.'s remarks on my *Jaina Law* in the *Modern Review* for March 1917.

His review is rather mixed. I do not know to what exactly he took objection. His opinion consists of 9 paragraphs, and I fail to see his line of attack.

The first paragraph says what the book is like. The second gives the source or cause of its inspiration.

The third is gratuitous. No sane son of India who is worth his salt can but be eagerly imbued with the desire to bring about an united and general progress—material and spiritual—of the Mother Land. I humbly affirm my adherence, in thought and action, to this first creed and duty of every Indian. But I cannot understand how the awakening of "the various sects," or their co-operation in the *National Cause along their own individual lines* can be an obstacle to the progress of the whole. It is no use ignoring facts. The Indian nation is a mass of many peoples. So long as we respect and revere the different creeds, we cannot obliterate communal differences. I personally think that there is even a higher creed than that of a Nation. It is the creed of all Humanity, yea of all Living Beings. And if Jainism is rightly understood, it takes its stand on this glorious and eternal idea. Therefore I cannot agree that the claim of the Jains to be governed by their own Law is an unjust National Unity. Why so far as law goes the Jains and Hindus and Mohammedans alike, have long bidden good-bye to their individual systems of jurisprudence and to most matters—Criminal, Equity, Contractual

Probative, and Procedural—they are governed by Anglo-Indian Codes. I fear the Science of Law as such in India, is more or less conspicuous by its absence. There are a few lawyers of acumen and repute but a scientific and co-ordinated study of the system or systems of Indian Law in their entirety and rationality is yet a thing of the future. Of these various systems only matters of Family and Inheritance survive from the extensive scope of Anglo-Indian statute Law. The differences of principles cannot be called "minor." If "B. C." had given due thought to pages 26 to 29 of the *Jaina Law*, he would have been struck by the radical character and immensity of these differences.

In the fourth paragraph "B. C." has committed the familiar and easy logical fallacy of equivocation. He says "The ambition of the Jains therefore to establish themselves as a separate entity, having nothing to do with the Hindus historically or otherwise is to my mind not a worthy ambition." All will agree if by a separate entity "we mean a political or social separate entity." None will agree, if a 'separate entity' may include one part of a great whole which part in some particulars may be handled separately. The ancient Law of the Jainas has nothing to suggest or countenance a political or social separation. For this reason "B. C." would abolish the law of "gaveldind" or "Copyhold" tenure in English Law as also the customary law of Merchants and others in the whole world. Even Manu in his sources of law includes *ṛiti* Revelation, or sacred books, included in the class *Smritis*, and *vyākṛti* conduct or Custom (Manu 216,

page 53 of Gharpure's Hindu Law Texts) how the Revelation, if any, is different for the Hindus and the Jainas. It is as reasonable to ask the Jainas who have their own sacred books to discard them and bow to the Revelation of Hindu books, as to ask the Jews and Christians to discard the Revelation of the Bible and accept that of Manu and other Hindu sages. Even "B. C." I hope will see that the difference is much more than "minor." It is a basic difference and it is impossible to reconcile it. Some of the root principles of Jainism and Hinduism are irreconcilably incompatible. It logically follows that if any rule of law is based on these principles, it must be different in the Jaina and Hindu systems. I am amused at B. C.'s unwarranted statement that "there is no one set of tenets which could be styled the Hindu Conception of the Universe." Why, what about a Creator of the Universe? Creator, Preserver, and Ruler. These qualities are essential in the Hindu Conception of a God and consequently of the Universe created by Him. The Jainas emphatically and constantly repudiate the idea of a Creator. So if any law involves the idea of a Creator and Creation, it must be repugnant to Jaina Jurisprudence. To avoid a mis understanding, which has led the Jainas to be abused roundly, I must emphasise that the Jainas are not atheists. They believe in a God who is Omnipotence, Omniscience and Omnibenevolence in one. But they distinctly deny that he ever desired to create the world. So much for the principle that logic demands that Jainas must have a law of their own, where their first principles of thought are different from those of their Hindu brethren or for the matter of that, non Hindu brethren.

More. Even "B. C." says that Jainas also could be governed by Hindu Law generally with variations. These "variations" are just the things which I have

claimed for the Jains. Where the Jains and the Hindu Law do not differ, of course there is no difficulty. But where these essential variations occur, they must be presumed or proved. Proof is difficult and in most cases impossible. I have adverted to this aspect in my Preface to *Jaina Law*, specially at page 1, and need not repeat what I have said there. This also shows 'how Jains have been adversely affected by this submission.' And how long and continuously they have been so adversely affected is patent from my *Introduction to Jaina Law*.

As to whether Jaina or Hindu Law is more suited to us, i.e., the Indians from a juristic point of view, is too big a question to be considered here. Of course I am a sincere believer in the method of Jaina philosophy, and as such must uphold its claim to govern our lives. If the majority of my Hindu brethren took the same view as I do I should rejoice. I think it impertinence on my part to try to force my own humble views upon my countrymen and therefore I abstain from the controversy. But I have not claimed a separate law for Jains because they have a separate origin. B. C. knows it well and his logic and truth were asleep when he wrote —

'Simply to claim that the Jains have a separate origin and then to say that they should not be governed by Hindu Law is not enough.

As to the fifth paragraph of the review no one has identified theological tenets with secular laws. It is a fling which on the face of it is unfair and unscholarly. I have simply emphasised the difference of Jaina and Hindu Laws, where they are deduced from theological principles which are different in Jainism and Hinduism. Evidently this argument has not the remotest bearing on the laws of Griasas and others, who chose to retain part of the Hindu Laws of their pre-conversion days.

The sixth paragraph deals with the question that Jains are *Hindu dissenters*. This is dealt with briefly in the introduction to *Jaina Law* at pages 12-13, 25-26.

The seventh para quotes from M. Barth. With all respect for the eminent scholarship of M. Barth I must say that he is not an authority on Jaina History or Jaina Religion. His own illustrious countryman Professor Dr. A. Guerinot, Dr. H. Jacob of Germany, and Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library, London and Dr. Hoernle of Oxford are the modern authorities on Jainism and they have replaced for ever the erroneous theories of M. Barth and others by the facts as to the history and antiquity of Jainism. May I presume to suggest that 'B. C.' should read a very brief account of this scholarship in the introduction to my small book *Outlines of Jainism* pp. xxx to xxxv, to which he indeed refers in the Review. This would allay his 'fear' expressed in the eighth paragraph.

For his ninth paragraph I thank him on behalf of my *Jaina Law* and its printers the Indian Press of Allahabad.

High Court  
Indore, 8th May 1917

J. L. JAIN, M.A., M.R.S.  
Bar-at-Law

### Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta.

I have read with much interest your note on Post Graduate Studies in Calcutta which appeared in the number of the Modern Review. Although I generally agree with you in your able note I beg to offer a few observations on one or two

tended or is tending to reduce itself into three distinct and successive courses namely the School, the College and the University. Dr. W. H. Young F.R.S., who has been to all the important centres of learning in the New and the Old World submitted a report in this connection two years ago, which, had it been published would have been illuminating. We have had until recently, the School and the College, but no University in any modern sense. What we had was only a certain building on the College Square where examinations were held and where certain people met to discuss matters connected with School and College education. It would be useful in this transitional period of our University to study and compare the progress of Universities not so much in conservative England as in advancing America, where from a beginning similar to our own there has been a development very much like to what we are distantly aiming at.

A healthy rivalry might and should exist between any two Schools or any two Colleges or any two Universities, but a rivalry between a School and a College or a College and a University, using the word University in a modern sense, would be senseless.

To my thinking the objections made against applying a part of the fee fund of the University to further post graduate teaching are not only weak but unpatriotic. What more legitimate use could be made of the money of the under graduates and under matriculates than of improving the path of their future educational progress? What if only a fraction of those who contributed the money directly reaped the benefit? The University classes are open to all. No preference is shown to wealth or fame. Besides a part of the fee fund is already being spent for this good purpose and no objection has hitherto been raised on the ground that where all sow only some will reap. An allied soldier on the western front might as well say I shall not face death, for I have no children of mine own to reap the benefit of victory. But he knows that the children of his nation will be benefited by his sacrifice. I firmly believe that the future of our nation lies in the University.

An objection has been cited against raising University examination fees on the ground that in a certain Technological College in London a reduction of tuition fees has been proposed to attract more students in these exceptional times. When Matriculation candidates began to fall off it might be necessary to reduce University fees especially if that portended a national calamity. To have a good thing money must be spent and must come in some way. I personally believe that the raising of the examination fees to meet post graduate expenses will be only a temporary measure. The personality of Sir Asutosh is sure to attract money to the Post graduate scheme, which is as dear to his heart as his country. Besides we can count on greater liberality on the part of Government when the present war crisis has passed. May the scheme prosper and bring forth flower and fruit worthy of the toil bestowed on it!

S. M.

### NOTE BY THE EDITOR

S. M. says that rivalry between a college and a University as regards post graduate teaching would be senseless. Senseless means meaningless or foolish. Now, a post-graduate university class means a professor teaching some students and a

In all modern countries liberal education has

post graduate college class also means a professor teaching some students. Rivalry between the two sets of professors and students is not nonsensical for it is a thing which has meaning and can be understood as in fact it is not unthinkable. It may of course be very foolish or unwise to permit such rivalry. But the Post graduate Teaching Committee has allowed this meaningless and foolish thing to exist as between some foolish colleges and the University. Does that thing which is entirely senseless (in the sense of meaningless and foolish) with a tad us of three miles become perfectly sensible and wise between institutions at a distance of three hundred miles from each other?

Nor does it seem axiomatic to us that rivalry between a university professor and his class and a college professor and his class must necessarily be unhealthy.

We have never urged any objections against applying a part of the fee fund of the University to further post graduate teaching. Our objection is against increasing the fees in order to obtain an additional surplus. Examination fees are levied for efficiently conducting examinations. If there be some surplus—and there is generally every probability of such a surplus because it is impossible to estimate beforehand the exact total amount of examination expenses and the exact total number of examinees and levy fees accordingly—it may certainly be applied to any good purpose. S M has set up an objection which we have never urged and has demolished this imaginary objection to his complete satisfaction. We should have liked to have his defence of the *enhancement* of the examination fees but he has not favoured us with any.

All M A S, M D S, Ph D S, D L S, D S C S, M A, B L S &c, have actually benefited by post graduate teaching whereas undergraduate examiners may or may not. How would S M like a legislative enactment to levy a super tax on these products of the university to further post graduate teaching? But they are tough customers whereas the undergraduate examinees are weak lambs who can be easily fleeced.

Examination fees can be justly increased only if without such enhancement the examinations cannot be conducted with adequate efficiency, but for no other reason.

An analogy is not a conclusive argument. The soldier knows before enlistment that his duty would be implicit obedience and therefore after he has enlisted it is not for him to argue in the way that S M's imaginary soldier is supposed to do. Similarly when the examinee has paid the enhanced fee (supposing the enhancement is sanctioned by the Government of India) he would certainly not be so foolish as to ask the university not to spend the surplus in a particular beneficial way. But he or his advocate is certainly entitled to object to the *enhancement* as the soldier is entitled not to enlist; he is entitled even to object to conscription and take the consequences. But as S M has not given us a defence or justification of the *enhancement* of fees we need not write more on the point.

To have a good thing money must be spent and must come in some way and therefore let us tax only those who cannot resist leaving all Super graduates in the comfortable enjoyment of their incomes.

No doubt the examinees' nation will be benefited by his sacrifice but is the nation only his? Or is he and he alone in the best possible position to make a sacrifice?

S M displays his ignorance when he writes. An objection has been cited against raising University examination fees on the ground that in a certain Technological College in London a reduction of tuition fees has been proposed to attract more students in these exceptional times. The real facts are that in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London a reduction of fees has been recommended in all London University Colleges. This Commission was appointed in 1910 and its Report was presented in 1913. None of its recommendations therefore have or could possibly have anything to do with war conditions as the war began on July 28 1914.

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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Part the Second

### CHAPTER I

Indue course Gobindal wrote to Haridram to his dewan to inform him of their safe arrival in Benares. Afterwards he wrote occasionally to this officer but he never cared to send a line to his wife, which she naturally took very much to heart.

The last letter addressed to the dewan

was from Gobindal's mother. This was to inform him that Gobindal had recently left Benares.

When Bhramar heard this she thought she must keep her eye on Rohini, for she could not but feel some concern at this piece of intelligence. As for Rohini she kept at home and attended to her household work as usual except when she went out to the Barani tank to bathe and fetch

went and saw the dewari. He asked this officer if he had got any letter from his master.

"No, sir," he said, "we have not long had any tidings of him."

"Do you know any one with whom he is likely to correspond?"

"I don't know. Our much respected mistress writes from Benares to say that she has not long had any information of her son."

Madhabinath asked no more questions. He bade him goodbye and came away.

### CHAPTER III

Needless to say that Madhabinath had heard all about Gobindalal's illicit connection with Rohini. He was resolved to track them wherever they were, and he said as he left the Kora's house, that he would leave no stone unturned to accomplish his object, though it seemed the fugitives had taken all possible care to avoid everything by which their tracks could be discovered. It suddenly occurred to him that Rohini's uncle was a poor man and that it was probable he got from Gobindalal a monthly assistance for his maintenance. So thinking he turned his steps in the direction of the post office, which was a few minutes' walk from the Kora's house.

A signboard on the wall of a mean thratched house with very insufficient light showed the post office. The sub-postmaster was seated upon a stool at a clumsy and very discoloured table of mango wood, on which there were letters, books, files, envelopes, stamps, a pair of scales, a gum water phial with a brush in it, and a few other things.

The salary of this official was fifteen rupees a month, and that of the postman under him seven rupees. The former wanted often to make his authority felt, but the latter was not of a very yielding temper, and used to think that the difference between them was just what there was between 'seven and fifteen annas'. Therefore whenever his superior officer was harsh and overbearing in his demeanour he told him to his face that he was not to put up with his hard words, and that he was sure he should not have to starve if anything ever happened that might lose him his situation. As the sub-postmaster was reading his subordinate a lecture, and wanting him

to know that he was the master there, Madhabinath with the careless air of a man who had great confidence in himself walked up and stepped into the office.

Seeing a strange gentleman the sub-postmaster stopped, and sat staring at his face like one who scarcely knew what to say. For a moment it occurred to him that he ought to speak a word of welcome to the gentleman but as he had never learnt good manners which had never been a part of his education, he could do nothing but sit still, looking very near like a dumb creature.

'Such an illbred fellow!' Madhabinath thought to himself. Aloud he said, 'A Brahmin I suppose?'

'Yes,' said the postmaster.

He bowed low, and the postmaster invited him to sit down.

Madhabinath looked about him for a seat, but as there was not another saving the one on which the postmaster was seated he looked rather embarrassed. The postman noticing this hastened to take a heap of torn rejected books from off an old rickety chair which stood in one corner, and dusting it, placed it near the gentleman, inviting him very courteously to sit upon it.

'What's your name?' I think your face is familiar to me," said Madhabinath, looking complacently at the postman as he took his seat.

"Please, sir I am the postman. My name is Haridas."

"You are a good soul. I think I will have a smoke. Can't you procure a hookah?"

Madhabinath was not in the habit of smoking, neither had he ever seen the postman before. His wanting him to procure a hookah was a mere pretext for wishing to be alone with the postmaster with whom he meant to have a private talk. Haridas, however, thought that the gentleman was the likely one to give him a four anna bit or something like it, for he felt sure that he never meant to have his order carried out for nothing.

When Haridas had gone (he did not want to be asked twice) Madhabinath addressed the postmaster and said, "I have come to you for some information."

The postmaster was a Dacca man. However deficient in manners he might be, he understood his business perfectly well. So with a faint smile on his lips he said,

'You have come for an information Well ?

"I dare say you know Brahmananda Ghose?"

"Brahmananda? Yes,—no not well"

Madhabinath could see at once by his manner of answering the question that it would be pretty hard to draw him on but by a but

'Do you have any letters to the address of Brahmananda?' he asked again

"You know this man, do you?" asked the postmaster

'What has that to do with what I want to know? I shall thank you to let me know what I want to'

Remembering the dignity of his post, and that he was the master where he was which fact there was no one to dispute, the postmaster wondered in his mind how an outsider could ever dare to talk to him in that fashion. He was offended 'I am not bound—I mean the post office' he said, assuming a look of gravity "to give you the information you want" With this he looked more grave, and drawing himself up commenced weighing some letters with an air which showed that he did not like to be disturbed in his work

Madhabinath smiled "You must not suppose," said he, "that I have come to ask you for an information gratis"

The words spoken had the effect of throwing him immediately "No offence, sir," said the postmaster "We are not to give out anything That's against the rule But as you are a gentleman and seem much in need of an information, I think I shouldn't refuse you it Let me see What's it again you wish to know?"

'Do you have any letters to the address of Brahmananda ?

"Yes," said the postmaster

"At what intervals?"

"Stop please there is no haste I will tell you after I have been paid for what you know already I mean no offence Business is business"

Madhabinath felt greatly offended at his meanness and foolish behaviour 'Do you know who I am?' he said, scanning him with his eyes

'No, but whoever you may be, the post office is not bound to furnish the information you want. Your name, please'

'Well, my name is Madhabinath Sircar And since you do not know me I must tell you that I am wellknown in this

part of the country I have got a band of clubmen under my control If you be so foolish as to incur my displeasure the consequence of it will not be very pleasant, I can tell you So you are free to answer or not answer my questions just as you like" As he delivered this speech he looked awfully grave as if to give greater effect to his words The postmaster had heard that Madhabinath Sircar of Rajagram was a formidable man He thought to make an apology, but he was so frightened that he could hardly utter a word

'Look here man," continued Madhabinath, 'I must know what I want to know If you answer my questions faithfully and promptly I will make you an adequate recompense But if instead you refuse to tell me what I want to know, as sure as you have a head on your shoulders I will have your office robbed and your house set on fire And in court I shall know how to prove the charge completely against you There!'

The postmaster was filled with dismay He trembled visibly Oh I beg your pardon sir," he appealed "I took you for an ordinary gentleman who wanted to pump information out of me Don't take any offence sir, I beseech you I will gladly and readily answer any questions you may be pleased to ask"

'Well, then," said Madhabinath again, "at what intervals do you have letters to the address of Brahmananda?"

'Generally at a month's sir," said the postmaster

"Were the letters hitherto received all registered letters?"

"Most of them"

'At what office were they registered?

"I am sure I do not remember, sir"

'But you can tell me by looking at the receipts'

The postmaster consulted the receipts "Prosadpur," he said

'In what district is it?' asked Madhabinath again

'Jessore," he replied after consulting the list

'Will you now see,' said Madhabinath 'if you had any registered letters to this man's address from any other place?

He thoroughly examined the receipts and declared that all the letters hitherto received were addressed from Prosadpur

Madhabinath was satisfied He gave

him a ten rupee note, and he did not forget the postman, for whom, as he came away, he left a rupee, telling the postmaster to give it to him when he returned. But the poor fellow, we are sorry to say, never got it, for his superior, the sub postmaster, to his shame it may be said, had not the least scruple to appropriate the gift to himself.

## CHAPTER IV

Madhabinath laughed, as he walked along to think how he had frightened the foolish postmaster into telling him all he wanted to know. The talk in the village was that Rohini without doubt had left home to join Gobindalal, their trysting place having been previously arranged. Madhabinath too had no doubt about that. He felt sure they were living together at Prosadpur, of which he could have no better proof than that Brahmananda had a remittance regularly sent him from there. However, to make assurance doubly sure he conceived a plan and resolved at once to put it into execution. He sent, on his return to the Roys' house, a note to the officer in charge of the police station, asking him to send a constable at once.

The police officer knew Madhabinath well, too well perhaps to think it at all safe to offend him, for when he had read the note, he readily sent a constable to him. Madhabinath put two rupees in the constable's hand and said, "You will have to do nothing but stand behind yonder tree so that we can see you from here." The constable walking away to do as he was told, he sent for Brahmananda. In a little time Brahmananda appeared, and Madhabinath invited him to sit down. There was no one there at the time.

The usual exchange of civilities over, Madhabinath opened a conversation with him, saying, "You were much liked and cared for by my late esteemed friend and relation, Babu Krishnakanta Roy. Now that his nephew is away we think it is our duty to help you out of any difficulty you may happen to get into. You, as I understand, are now in some scrape, and I sent for you to consult how I can best help you out of it."

Brahmananda paled. "Scrape! what scrape, sir?" he almost cried in alarm.

"The police have been informed to the

effect that you have got a stolen note in your possession," said Madhabinath, looking as serious as he could.

Brahmananda looked as though he had dropped from the clouds. "A stolen note!" he exclaimed.

"You need not be astonished," said Madhabinath. "Maybe you received a stolen note and kept it without knowing or suspecting there was anything wrong."

"It is very strange, sir. I am sure I never received a note from any one."

"I knew nothing about it," said Madhabinath, looking about him, and speaking more softly, "but I heard it only this morning from the police. The police have told me that you received a stolen note from Prosadpur. Do you see that constable over there? He has orders to arrest you. I gave him a rupee and told him that I must have a talk with you first."

As Brahmananda looked in the direction indicated he saw the ominous figure of a constable with his unmistakable red turban and his badge and baton, and his consternation was such that he at once fell on his knees, imploring Madhabinath's protection.

"Courage, man," said Madhabinath. "Come, rise, don't be so affrighted. Rest assured you shall not be in disgrace if I can help it."

Brahmananda rose to his feet, and Madhabinath tried to reassure him, making him sit down by his side. "I have got the number of the stolen note," he said. "I had it from the police. Bring me the last letter from Prosadpur, and the currency note you received along with it. I have no doubt but the police have been misinformed. Granting they have not, and the number of the note received by you tallies with the number I have got here, still I can assure you that no harm will come to you. Believe me I know how to hush up the matter. Fear nothing. Now, go, bring the letter and the note."

Brahmananda, who felt that he had no alternative but to do as he was told, rose, walked hesitatingly a few steps as he looked timidly toward the constable, and stopped. Madhabinath ordered a servant to go with him, seeing that he was so afraid of the constable.

Brahmananda soon returned, and handed him the note and the letter he had last received from Prosadpur. In the letter Madhabinath found all he wanted to



know Then, on pretence of comparing the numbers he took a piece of paper from his pocket "The number I have here," he said after a little, "does not correspond with the number of the note Go home You are free The police have no hold on you"

Brahmananda drew a luxurious breath of relief He waited not to speak a word of thanks, but left at once and hurried home as fast as his legs could carry him

Madhabinath's thought next was of his daughter He took her home and placed her under the treatment of a capable medical man Afterwards he left home to go to Calcutta, whence he intended to start for Prosadpur

On his arrival in Calcutta he saw a

friend whose name was Nishakar Das Nishakar was younger than Madhabinath, and was a good jovial fellow Being a rich man's son, and following no occupation, he had acquired a passion for travelling "I am going to Prosadpur," said Madhabinath to him, "I shall be so glad if you will accompany me"

"I am ready to go with you, but why to Prosadpur of all places in the world?"

"Oh, I have some intentions of buying an indigo factory," said Madhabinath, concealing from his friend the real object of his intended visit to Prosadpur

That day he started for the place in company with his friend

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D C ROY

## GLEANINGS

### A Red Indian Boy Artist

On the Grande Ronde Reservation in Yamhill County, Ore. there lives a little Red Indian boy whose silhouettes cut from pasteboard have won the attention



Silhouettes cut from life by a little Red Indian Boy

of the Art World (New York) Little Sampson Simpson is only five years old and has never had opportunities of seeing other children engaged in drawing

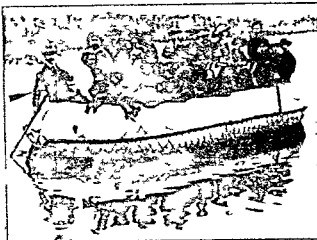
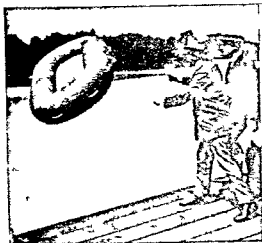
or any other form of artistic effort All by himself he has picked up a knack of cutting silhouettes of living objects that he sees from day to day—The unbroken bronco backed by the wild reservation rider the indignant steer with stiff front legs trying to dislodge the riotous cowboy the frightened fleeing rabbit, the fish flipping free from the water on a curve which city children might think unnatural or even impossible the hog fat and obstinate, the turkey the cock the dog the squirrel He cuts no figures that do not show action Nearly all his outlines have knees and the knees are generally bent

This Indian boy artist does not trace his outlines He directs the shears without guiding lines He always represents action and he recognizes and expresses the particular action characteristic—within his experience and observation—of the animal he cuts out When man appears in his silhouettes he is always in action—*The American Review of Reviews*

### A Collapsible Life-Boat

The new invention that may foil the deadly efforts of the U boat hails from Germany and is described in *The Scientific American* (New York February 24) Says this paper

European inventors at the present time have their faces turned toward devices for destroying lives and property but for all that they are still capable of moving in the opposite direction It is in this connection that one Herr Meyer, of Berlin, has worked out the collapsible life boat which we illustrate When folded up the craft is easily carried in an ordinary knapsack, and it can be unpacked, inflated and placed in the water in two to three minutes. In its essential lines this boat as the illustration shows is an inflated rubber torus with the central space occupied by a wooden platform It is two yards long and a yard wide; and although its total weight



Launching the small boat

## COLLAPSIBLE LIFE-BOATS

Testing a fifty passenger boat



The small collapsible boat may easily be carried in a knapsack

when folded and packed is but fifteen pounds. Its carrying capacity is estimated at 600 pounds. More over, since the surplus pressure in the rubber tube is

only one third atmosphere the air in case of injury, escapes with extreme slowness giving ample time to close any ordinary hole with a stopper. The passengers may move the boat along either with the aid of oars or by paddling with the hands. In case of an excessive load there is no danger of tilting the boat by reason of the vacuum beneath its floor sucks fast to the water and can only sink in deeper maintaining its true level. Along the outer rim are a number of loops to which floating persons may cling without materially reducing the carrying capacity of the boat itself. Launching is the simplest thing in the world the boat is merely flung overboard and its symmetric construction makes it a matter of indifference which surface it settles upon. In addition the inventor is now at work upon a boat of much larger dimensions which is being tested out with great success. This model weighs 220 pounds and is designed to carry a load of 22,000 pounds. Twenty feet long by ten feet wide it will accommodate fifty passengers inboard and one hundred more perched upon the rubber tube.

## The Passing of the Longhorn

Our appreciation of the value of vanishing animal races always comes a little too late. While we are lamenting the extinction of this or that beast or bird we do nothing to prevent some other from following in the same path and later we awake to the fact that there is still another missing species. Then we lament again. Thus, while we have been regretting our criminal neglect in allowing the buffalo to be killed off we have been losing the Texas longhorn, which within thirty years covered with its millions the Western prairies from Canada to Mexico. To-day a lone specimen of this variety is a curiosity in the heart of the range where once it flourished in full glory.

So here on the ranges where his forefathers once grazed by the hundreds of thousands this lone relic of the past is to-day a genuine object of curiosity and has been kodaked so often that according to the statements of the forest officers, whenever he sees a camera being opened up he immediately strikes an attitude and poses himself for the benefit of the photographer.

The buffalo and the wild turkey after going per-

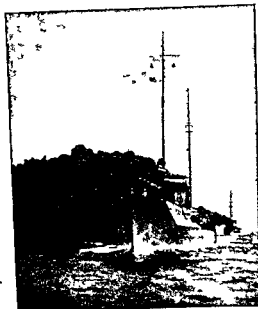


### A Longhorn Steer

lously near the line of annihilation are now increasing slowly in number owing to the efforts of game preserves and of the Federal authorities. Is the long horn alone to go?—*The Literary Digest*

### The Naval Smoke-Screen

That the smoke screen or smoke attack which has been used so frequently and effectively in the



THE SMOKE-SCREEN DEFENCE—NINE AMERICAN DESTROYERS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY ARE MAKING HEAVY SMOKE WHICH COMPLETELY HIDES THEM FROM THE ENEMY



Non-sinkable safes float after the ship has sunk

present war originated in the United States Navy is asserted by the author of an article on *The Destroyer and the Torpedo* in *The Scientific American* (New York March 3). The writer says that it was first used in the American destroyer fleet under the command of Captain Lherle.

In the battle of Jutland the German destroyers made use of this smoke screen as a protection to their own battle ships when they were being heavily hit by the battle ship divisions under Admiral Jellicoe.

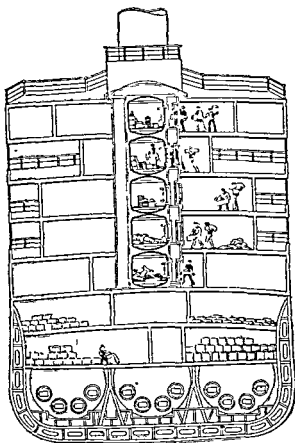
### Floating safes for ships

Non-sinkable safes or vaults for all sorts of valuables on shipboard are described in *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York March).

Why bother about ways to recover sunken treasure when a non-sinkable purser's safe would prevent the sinking?

Inspired by the knowledge of the lack of preventive measures of this kind Menotti Nanni has devised a non-sinkable vault which is not only large enough to hold the purser's safe but which also provides storage space for registered mail, gold bullion and valuables owned by the passengers.

Nanni plans to install several of his floating safes in a large vertical cylindrical steel casing placed in a well amidships the top of the well being flush with the upper deck and covered with a loose fitting



A SHIP EQUIPPED WITH FLOATING SAFES.

A cross section showing the well and the safes in position, one for each deck

easily removed cap. The safes are placed one on top of another, the first, second, and third-class passengers each having a safe for their valuables. The two lower safes serve as a repository for registered mail and for the most precious part of the ship's cargo.

Ready access is gained to the safes through doors provided in both the outer and inner casings at the various decks. Thus, the first class passengers, for instance, could place their valuables in the safe at night and remove them in the morning. Of course there would be a guard in charge of each safe.

"If a ship equipped with such a system of floating safes should sink, the cover of the well would float off and the water would enter the steel casing and force the safes to rise to the surface. Once on the surface the safes bob about, to be eventually picked up by a passing craft.

"The inventor has also provided for hermetically sealed floats to be placed at the extreme bottom of the well under the last safe. Attached to this float is a cable which serves to indicate the position and identity of the ship.

"It is said that the value of cargoes annually lost on the British coast in time of peace is \$45,000,000. Of course the loss has increased with the war.

"The *Lusitania* had about \$1,000,000 in gold and jewelry and several millions in securities aboard."

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWELS EVANS,

Author of "Five Years," "The Cinema Girl," &c

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### CHAPTER XI.

GLADYS LOSES A FRIEND.

"AS soon as ever I've got the estimates in, and the plans have been passed by the local authorities, we shall start building. When that old slum round the corner is down and the new street cut

through, we shall be right bang in a good position, Miss Tremayne. And I'm going to have the place like one there is in Piccadilly: a supper-saloon at the back where people can sit down and have any kind of fish they want in comfort, a nice little oyster bar in the front, and lobsters and all sorts of things for sale. Ah, we'll have a swagger place, I tell you. And I shall look forward to seeing you, Miss Tremayne, walking about, keeping an eye on everything, and being the manageress

of the best fish shop this side of the water."

"That'll be very nice, I'm sure, Mr. Parlow," agreed Gladys, as she stood one night after closing time with Mr Parlow and the boy assistant, listening to the proprietor's plans for the future.

He was most enthusiastic, was Mr Parlow. He saw his shop crowded day after day and night after night, and he acknowledged frankly that he was making money hand over fist, and that it was an even better business than the other one, where he had put in a manager, preferring after all to remain here himself.

"That's where it'll be—the shop front opening that way," he pointed to a wall. "The oyster bar there, fish over here, and the supper saloon at the back. And there will be a little office for you in the corner there, Miss Tremayne. Me? Oh, I shall be downstairs in the kitchens keeping an eye on things. Now then, Tom you can slip off, I'll lock everything up. Miss Tremayne, I'll see you home as usual."

Gladys had become quite accustomed to Mr Parlow seeing her home every night. He had said that the neighbourhood was a rough one, but she had not seen anything to alarm her as she walked home at night, for she was by now well known in the neighbourhood, and even the loafers had a civil "Good night, miss," for her as she hurried along. Everybody knew, respected, and liked "the pretty girl at the fried fish shop" as they called her.

At first it was only on Saturday nights that Mr Parlow used to escort her home, then it had become two nights a week, and lately it had drifted into every night. And while Gladys liked the motive that prompted the action, she had to confess to herself that it was rather invidious having a man to walk home with her so regularly. Some of the customers began to chaff her, and also Mr Parlow, about it.

"Saw you lookin' after the lady on 'er way 'ome, Mr. Parlow."

"Now then, Missy, 'oo was you out with last night?"

Such were the remarks which, in a quite genial way, were often bandied about the shop. So Gladys had decided that to night she would kindly but firmly impress upon Mr Parlow that, while she appreciated his little attention, she was perfectly capable of walking home by herself. And on the way this particular night she was try-

ing to fashion her words so that they would not give offence when Mr Parlow, who had been walking along silently, startled her by his first words.

"I've been wondering whether you've been noticing anything, Missy?" he said, clearing his throat.

"Noticing anything? Noticing what? What do you mean, Mr Parlow?"

"Well, about me. You've not noticed, I suppose, that I've been looking at you a good deal, you wouldn't know, of course, that I've been thinking about you a good deal more. You've not noticed me sighing, and a bit thoughtful at times, have you?"

"I don't know that I have, Mr Parlow," said Gladys, quite innocently, wondering what the man was talking about.

"Ah, well, there are other people who have noticed it," Mr Parlow, who was fat, half paused in his walk as if for breath, and then went on solemnly. "I've noticed it myself, too. I don't eat like I used to, and though trade's good better than ever it was, still somehow I'm not happy. But I know what it is. I've found out at last. Can't you guess?"

"No, I can't indeed, Mr Parlow."

"I suppose you've noticed that I've been walking home every night with you, but you've not seen that I've stood outside the place where you live, underneath your window, for minutes after you've gone in? You don't know, of course, that I've been thinking of you all the way home, and in my sleep as well? It's come to this, Miss Tremayne—I know what's the matter with me, I know what's been making me feel so funny all over. It's love, that's what it is."

Gladys was silent. For in the last few sentences she had seen through his words. This fat, good natured man was in love with her.

"I've been trying to make up my mind to out with it," he went on, "and it's got to come out to night."

He stopped under a lamp post painting and wiping his face, which shone, although the night was cold. Gladys stopped also.

"I'm not much of a hand at this sort of thing," he went on. "It's the first time I've done it in my life, but you're the only woman I ever saw I could love. I don't know what the proper way to do it is, Missy, but what I want to say is this"—he mopped his face again—"do you think

you could get along with me as a husband? Do you think you could marry me?"

To anyone who overheard, the words might have seemed comic, the fat man might have looked funny, perspiring and struggling with his words and his thoughts. But to Gladys it was touching, it was pathetic, and she had not the slightest inclination to laugh. For she knew this man, this fat employer of hers, she knew his good heart, how kind he was to the poor, to his mother and sisters, whom he kept in comfort. She thoroughly respected Mr Parlow and this proposal, under the unromantic shade of a street lamp post, was to her as sacred and as noble as if it had been made to her in a palace by a prince.

"Mr Parlow," answered Gladys, very gently, "I respect you very greatly, very deeply, I honour you. You pay me a great honour, too, in asking me to be your wife. You are such a straightforward man yourself that I know you will like me to be straightforward too. Please don't be hurt, please don't be angry if I say, thank you, thank you very much, but it must be no. You won't think too much of it, will you, Mr Parlow? And we shall be just the same good friends in the future, shan't we? You have been so kind to me, I like you so much, you'll let me stop on just as your waitress won't you?"

"I knew it! I knew it!" said Parlow. "I knew it couldn't be. It was too good to think of. But I shall never marry anyone else. I'm too fat, and I shall soon be too old. I had no right to think of a young girl like you, but I couldn't help it. Missy, I couldn't help it. You're not angry with me, are you?"

"Oh, no no! You've done me a great honour. Now, shall we walk on? It's beginning to rain."

They walked on in silence till Gladys was at the door of her lodgings, and then she held out her hand to say good night to Mr Parlow. He took it and held it in his for a second, and then spoke in rather a shaky voice.

"I've said what I meant to say, and I said it badly. I suppose but anyway I'm happier now that I have said it. You won't think any the worse of me for it, perhaps. And I just want you to know this, that things will go on just the same as usual, I hope, and you know that you

always have a friend in me. It's a bit of a knock down for me, but there, we'll try and forget all about it."

And the fat man, moved by a sudden impulse, took off his hat as a courtier might have done and, with an action that was almost graceful, kissed Gladys's hand, and she believed she felt a tear left behind.

"God bless you, my dear, and I may you always be happy. You don't mind my saying that do you?"

The next moment Mr Parlow was gone, and Gladys felt sad that night as she tried to sleep. She was rather nervous when she went to the shop the next day, she feared that he, or she, or both of them, might show some embarrassment. But Parlow was a gentleman by instinct if not by birth, and in all his conduct and manner he was just simply again the kind hearted employer. With a delicacy that was admirable he said at closing time that Tom, the boy, would see her home that night.

"I shall be a bit late here myself, Missy," he said. "I've one or two things in the books I want to go into."

"Oh, I shall be all right, Mr Parlow, thank you. It's quite safe going home."

So thenceforth Gladys went home by herself. She and Mr Parlow remained the best of friends, though occasionally she would feel his eyes fixed upon her, and she saw in them a look which told her that he still loved her, but never again did he approach the subject which he himself had said should be forgotten.

Soon the alterations in the shop were begun, gradually there came indications of the supper saloon at the back of the shop; walls began to be knocked down, and at length there came the time when the shop was shut altogether for a week while the final arrangements were made.

"Now, you take a holiday for a bit, Missy. Go and see your friends down at Camberwell, that coster and his missus, and then come back and have a look at the new shop before it's opened. You'll be proud of it. And we shall have to talk about what wages are to be paid then. You see we shall want two waitresses, and then there must be a couple of men to look after the trade, and you'll have plenty to do, too. But we shan't quarrel about terms, I expect."

Parlow was going to do the thing properly, there was no doubt at

that The old slum round the corner had been pulled down, the street had been broadened by now, and there was every indication that a good class fried fish shop would flourish

So Gladys went off quite happily to Camberwell, where Meg and her husband were established in business

Meg had asked her to go and stay there whenever she had a chance. She had been there nearly every Sunday since they had been married, and it was very pretty to see Meg's pride in the home. The furniture wasn't much, wasn't expensive, but it was furniture, and it was their own. Then there was the shop and the little cart and pony that Ted drove round in the mornings for orders.

But when Gladys stayed there on her holidays she saw a subtle difference somewhere, a difference in Meg, in Ted, and without beating about the bush when she was alone with Meg she asked her privately what was the matter.

"Yes," Meg nodded and the tears came into her eyes, "we can't keep it, no Gladys, dear. It's no good. We ain't makin' no profit. The trade ain't what it was cracked up to be, and as we don't believe in gettin' into debt we shall 'ave to shift. Ted 'll 'ave to go back to his barrer, and I shall 'ave to—well I shall 'ave to find some work of some kind. And, my dear—"

She whispered into Gladys's ear.

"Ted and I both wanted one," she went on, "and now, well we're almost sorry that there's one comin'. It does seem 'ard, don't it, avin' to give it all up, all we've worked for. We shall 'ave to start all over again. We shan't lose our furniture, but we shan't 'ave nowhere to put it. One room 'll be as much as we can afford, one room for ourselves and the baby. Oh, my dear, it does seem 'ard, it does seem 'ard!'

And Gladys knew that it was hard indeed. The two good, honest people, who had striven and struggled for their little ambition, would now have to give up, would have to go back to a life that was perilously near poverty. And there was a baby coming, too! But still, there was Meg keeping up a brave heart, and little Ted, too, and Gladys went back to Parlow's feeling that after all bravery is not only a battlefield quality, it comes out as well on the battlefield of the struggles of men and women.

Gladys found that Parlow's shop was

changed as if by the touch of a fairy wand. There was a large plate glass window on each side of the mahogany and glass door. Behind these windows were to be placed the fish, the lobsters, the crabs and all the other good things that Parlow was going to sell. Just inside the door there was a little oyster bar and snacks of fish counter, and behind that a neat supper room. The decorations were not yet completed, for the shop would not be open for another week. There were the floor coverings to be laid down, and all the necessary linen and plate and things to be bought. Gladys spent a busy and very happy week helping in all the new arrangements, and at length there came the night before the opening. The supplies of fish for the next day were to be brought by Mr. Parlow at the early morning market, and Gladys had ordered for herself a new black dress to be paid for by the shop. She had engaged two girls as waitresses, and she was in future to be manageress at a salary of thirty shillings a week and commission.

Everything was ready, and in the supper room at the back of the shop Mr. Parlow had provided a little supper for a few intimate friends, as well as his mother and his two sisters. Nice, pleasant spoken women they were, worshipping their brother.

The meal was a merry one. Parlow raised his glass to all, and then one of the guests, and boyhood friend of Parlow's, stood up and raised his glass and said:

"To our friend Parlow. One of the best. I've known him as a boy and man, and never knew a better. Here's to Jim Parlow! Good luck to his shop, and God bless him!"

"That's just like my old friend Bill, always making a hero out of someone else," cried Parlow, from the top of the table. "But still, it's very kind of you all, friends," he rose to his feet here, "and so I'll say thank you, and that's all. I've had many blessings in my life, and I'm grateful for them all, yes, I'm grateful—grate—"

He seemed to grope, to fumble for his words, repeated the last syllable two or three times, and then his face turned a sort of leaden hue, his lips went purple, opening and moving and gasping as if for breath, and then with a crash he fell back in his

"Go and get something in your own line, my dear, governessing or something like that," this one said. "We don't want real ladies messing about in our kitchens and places, and then going away speaking at public meetings and writing in the papers about the disgraceful way waitresses are treated. Oh I know! I had one of your lot here once, but no more, thank you. Got up a strike amongst the girls she did."

And so the weary days went on soon drawing out into weeks. Gladys, indeed, finding out the strange truth of the statement that her looks were against her as a waitress. But there was really nothing else that she could do. She was not clever enough with her needle to earn anything by fancy work, for which, indeed there is little or no demand nowadays. She had thought once of going into domestic service but a visit to the registry office soon disabused her of that idea. Servants are always badly wanted, and the woman told her bluntly that her inexperience was nothing—she could always find work even for girls who had never been out before—but here, again, it was her looks which were against her.

"I—I wish I were ugly, I wish I were!" Gladys said more than once to herself, as she hurried along through the streets, realising that to a lonely girl good looks are indeed a danger.

And so the weeks went on until the golden sovereigns were reduced to one, then after the last one was changed, the shillings with alarming rapidity began to go, until now Gladys had but a few coppers left.

It was bitterly cold. She really badly wanted new, warm clothing warmer than that she already had for when to the best of her ability she had last replenished her wardrobe it was only middle autumn, and now it was the depth of winter. But new clothes could not be thought of, and as a matter of fact she reflected with a shiver that the day would soon be at hand when some of her things would have to go to the pawnshop or to the wardrobe dealer.

Poor Meg and Ted, too, had fallen on evil times, as Meg had predicted. It was one of those hard winters that bring misery and sometimes ruin to the small street traders, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Ted could bring in a few pence a day, that he could even pay the

rent of the one small room where they lived. The little shop, the little home, had been given up and most of the furniture, so saved and scraped for, had been sold to pay the debts. For Ted had been swindled over the shop, there was no doubt at all about that. The kindhearted aunt, the publican's wife, had helped once, and she could not be expected to come to the rescue now. They had had their chance, and they had failed. That was the way Ted and Meg briefly looked at it. They must go on their own now to use their favourite expression.

Of all this Gladys was thinking as she stood under the awning of a secondhand tool shop in a crowded, hustling, South London thoroughfare not far from Blackfriars Bridge.

There were tools of all kinds displayed on tables outside the shop, behind the windows of which were more tools, hammers, saws, pincers, metal measures, strange looking implements of all kinds and conditions were here displayed. There were also compasses, telescopes and mariners instruments in fact, almost every appliance made of metal was to be sold at this tiny fronted shop.

The proprietor a little wizened old man with a dirty face scrubby beard, and eyes peering short sightedly through steel rimmed glasses perched on the edge of a long nose sat in a chair just by the shop entrance. He sat there with his paper huddled close to his nose, evidently impervious to the cold for he wore no overcoat, only a shabby old frock coat of very thin material.

Gladys had taken shelter from the rain underneath the awning of the shop, it was a shelter overhead at any rate, though the cutting wind blew the rain in gustily at one side, and she moved uneasily from foot to foot, feeling the wet oozing through her boots that now badly wanted soleing and healing. In a few days' time there would be rent due the pawnshop would have to find that. But her boots? She must have her boots mended. She wondered whether she could make up her mind to ask Ted to mend them for her if she bought the leather. Meg had shown her with pride a pair that Ted had soled and healed to save expense. Oh, how bitterly cold it was, she thought, as she shivered there in her thin coat, which was not warm enough for such weather.



But then she tried to console herself with the thought that it was lucky she had a coat at all, she might have been without altogether.

"It won't hurt you to move on now, will it?" wheezed the old man again as, a bent old figure, he hobbled out with a long pole to push up the awning. "I'm not turning you away, mind you, I'm just wanting that the entrance to my shop shouldn't be blocked up. Oh dear, it's bad—trade's very bad! Can't afford to lose a penny these days."

"Oh I'm sorry!" said Gladys. "I didn't know I was blocking up the way. I'll move at once."

Gladys took a step away only to find her arm clutched by the old man who only just reached up to her shoulder. He was looking in her face curiously as he held her arm.

"I suppose you think I'm unkind, don't you? I know! You'll go away and hate me, hate me, think of me as a disagreeable old man, won't you? So I am, so I am! And I've got everything to make me hard. No money, no money, no money! And I've got to keep up this shop and to live, and an old man like me ought to be sitting at his fireside doing nothing. Understand, understand!"

He spoke rapidly and had a habit of repeating himself. Gladys looked at the curious old face that was peering into hers.

"Yes, I'm very hard, very hard," he went on. "But I have to be. Now, look here, you're cold, aren't you, you're cold. I can see it in your face, and I saw your shivering just now. What are you doing standing here? I've seen you go by every morning, watched you, watched you've got whiter every day. Why don't you get some work to do? A young strong healthy girl like you doing nothing, and an old man like me has got to work! Go inside, go inside, into the shop and into the room at the back, and sit by the fire and warm yourself. I hate to see people looking miserable. It makes me miserable myself and I hate that, for it's a hard, hard world. An old man like me having to work like this! It's a shame, that's what it is, a shame! Now go in, get inside there quickly!"

As he spoke the old man was catching hold of Gladys and urging her towards

the shop entrance, chattering away all the time like a voluble parrot.

"Want to get warm, don't you? It's a good thing to be warm," went on the old man. "Well, go inside and sit down there."

He took her through the dim shop and almost pushed her into a stuffy, rather smelly little parlour at the back. It had an unmistakable odour which told of windows never opened, of dust accumulated everywhere, in fact, of a general lack of cleanliness. There was a dirty white cloth on the table, a coarse soup plate, a rough knife and fork, and some bread on a wooden platter. On the hob simmered a saucepan. There was a good fire in the grate, and Gladys sat down by it thankfully, for she was tired with her long walk to the City and back. She had had no breakfast that morning, only just a penny cup of tea, for she had not dared to risk any of her precious coppers on such extravagances as bread and butter. She spread her hands to the blaze, luxuriating in the warmth, and the old man came hobbling into the room.

"Ah!" he croaked, "all very well for you to be sitting there getting warm while I'm outside in the cold, but I'm going to get warm, too, now. No I'm going to sit here near the door so that I can keep my eye on that young scoundrel outside. Shouldn't be surprised if he went off with something one of these days. Now, wait a minute! I've got some stew here. While I'm putting some out keep your eye through the window on that boy. He's a demon, that's what he is."

Through the rather grimy glass half of the door Gladys could see a small boy of about fourteen or fifteen standing in the shop, evidently taking the place of the proprietor while he took his midday meal. As Gladys watched she became aware of a most delightful smell of cooking, really a most appetising and delightful odour, and it brought home to her horribly the remembrance that she had not tasted food that day, in fact nothing since four o'clock the day before, and then only a musty egg and two thick slices of bread and butter.

"There, there," said the old man pointing to the soup plate heaped with the rich, savoury stew, "you eat that now. It'll do you good. I hate to see white faces like yours about, they make me—miserable. Go on eat it up,

or I shall be cross, and I'm a terribly cross old man. This'll do for me."

From a hook on a shelf close by he took down a teacup, there being no more plates visible.

"But I can't take your plate!" said Gladys, bewildered, hardly realising that she was suddenly transported from the cold outside to warmth and a meal.

"Then if you don't like it, go—go! I can't abide people arguing with me. Eat it all up, or if you don't want to go out again into the cold. Go on! I don't want any disagreeable people here."

Gladys laughed, she really couldn't help it. The old man was so quaint, so insistent on the fact that it was a hard world, that things were disagreeable, and yet in his strange, crusty manner he was being so kind. So Gladys sat down and gratefully tasted the stew.

"Oh, how delicious!" she said. "It's most beautifully cooked."

"Of course, of course! I do it myself. Can't stand a woman messing about with my food. There's the bread—help yourself. And if you want anything to drink you can make yourself a cup of tea—there's some in that tin over there. Now you sit there as long as you like and keep warm, while I go out to the front again. Can't trust anybody. I know that boy'll rob me some day. Stop as long as you like, and for Heaven's sake try and look happy."

Out went the strange old man, and in a few seconds the small boy, red-headed, with a turn up nose and impudent eyes, hurried into the room.

"I generally 'ave wot old Nosey leaves, Miss," said the boy. "Stoo smells a bit good this mornin'."

A cheeky, typical Cockney boy was this, and Gladys watched him tuck into what was left of the stew with a fine, healthy appetite.

"Ah, that was good!" he said when he had finished. "When I've got through a bit of puddin' that mother's keepin' for me at 'ome, I shan't 'urt."

"Good gracious, are you going to eat pudding after all that stew?" said Gladys. "Now, where's the place where you wash up? I can't leave these things dirty like this."

"Wash up! Wash up!" The boy spoke almost in horror. "Why, old Nosey, 'e just rinses 'em under the tap in the sink and

then lets 'em dry, or very likely 'e used the same things twice."

"That's very horrid," said Gladys, decisively. "Aren't you going to wash up your cup?" (The boy had taken another from a nail.) "Ugh," she went on, "I hate to see people eat like this. Aren't there any more plates? Now, come along, the old gentleman has been very kind to me, he's given me a meal and let me get warm, the least that I can do is to leave his things clean for him. Don't you think so?"

"Well, I never! I never thought of it. I suppose I ought to 'ave washed up every day. But 'e didn't seem to mind. All right, I'll 'elp, Miss."

The kettle was soon boiling, the things were taken into a very grimy scullery at the back and washed up, and put away on the shelves, the tablecloth was folded up and put away, and then Gladys looked round for a duster, or its equivalent. She found a dilapidated old rag, which she used with some effect on the dresser and table, after which she tidied up the hearth and grate and generally made the place a little more orderly in appearance.

The small boy, who informed her that he only attended to the shop during old Nosey's dinner hour, had gone by now, and Gladys was giving one last regretful look at the bright fire, for now she felt that she really must go. This strange old person had been exceedingly charitable to her, and she must now go out into the cold, away back to her own little bedroom to—to what? Well, to think, to sit huddled up with the counterpane or blanket around her, trying to keep warm, thinking, thinking, thinking.

"Hallo, hallo, what have you been doing?" said the old man, suddenly coming into the room. "You've been interfering with my room! Oh, it's very hard that I can't have things left alone!"

"I'm sorry. I thought you would like the place tidied up a little. It was really rather untidy," said Gladys. "But I must go now. Thank you very much for the warmth and the food. It's very kind of you."

"Kind? Kind? I've never been kind in my life. Sit down, sit down! The shop's shut—got to shut it at one o'clock. Foolish Act of Parliament. Can't even leave an old man alone. Sit down, sit down!"

Really this was a most extraordinary old fellow, thought Gladys, as she sat

down in the high-backed chair by the fire.

The old man sat down opposite to her. He looked and looked at her, and then looked again, his hands clutching the arms on each side of his chair, his face working, till at length Gladys saw a large tear roll down each cheek, leaving a little white furrow on the grimy skin.

"Her eyes, her eyes! And her mouth! Her eyes and her mouth!" he repeated, looking away.

And then suddenly he snatched out from his pocket a most unclean-looking handkerchief and dabbed furiously at his face.

"There, I am being made miserable again! Oh, it's a hard world, very hard."

"What is it that's upset you?" asked Gladys rather timidly, thinking for a moment that she was in the presence of a lunatic.

"Yes, you're just like her, just like my daughter. She died twenty years ago. I've seen you go by every day, but I've never seen you so close as this before. Yes, her eyes and her mouth! She was all that was left to me—all, and when she died I was left alone. Twenty odd years have I sat in that chair outside my shop, and never has a woman entered this room all this time until now. Just like her, just like her in the eyes and the mouth!"

And again the old man's eyes were fixed on Gladys.

"Who are you? What are you? Tell me something about yourself," he went on. "I'm a very hard old man, but you remind me of her."

Gladys told him briefly that she was just a girl trying to earn her living, and that she wasn't very successful at it.

The old man was silent for a few seconds, then he went to an old-fashioned writing-table at the side, unlocked a drawer, and brought out of it a photograph which he showed to Gladys.

"That was my daughter—my daughter," he said. "She looked after me for a long time after her mother died, and then she died too. You're like her, you know, you're like her."

Gladys looked at the photograph, but of course she could hardly tell whether there was a likeness or not; she murmured something incoherently and then handed it back to the old man.

"Look here," he said after he had put the photograph back, "you want work, don't you; you want work? Would you like to come and live here and help me look after the shop? I'm getting old, very old. There's a room here that you could have, and you could have your food, too, of course, and I'd give you—what? I'm very poor; I can't give you very much. Say eight shillings a week? That's more than I would give anyone else, more than I'd give any other woman, for I wouldn't have one in the house. But you're like her, you're like her."

A room, food, eight shillings a week! Had miracles happened? Gladys looked at the old man. He was a strange, weird, eccentric old creature; he had evidently loved his daughter, that pretty, smiling girl of the photograph. Food, lodging, and eight shillings a week! Should she take it? Yes, of course! And anyway, she thought to herself, she could earn her money and her keep by looking after the old fellow. The place was really filthily dirty; he lived in a hugger-mugger manner; she could make him comfortable. And at any rate her immediate future would be safe; the vision of being again outcast and homeless, which stalked with her everywhere, had vanished.

"But you know nothing of me? You would want a reference first! You couldn't take anybody perfectly strange into your house," she said.

"Yes, I could, yes, I could if I liked. I'll take you because you're like her. Will you come? I want somebody. I'm getting old; getting old."

"Yes, I'll come," said Gladys simply.

So that night Gladys was installed under the roof of Amos Claymer, dealer in second-hand tools and scientific instruments.

(To be continued).

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

## ENGLISH.

SHANTINIKETAN THE BOLPUR SCHOOL OF  
RABINDRANATH TAGORE by W. W. Pearson Pub-  
lished by Macmillan & Co 4s 6d Net

The Asram at Shantiniketan, Bolpur founded by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and started by his son, the poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore, has, in recent years awakened the interest of many people who are interested in the poet's life and works. Various accounts of the school have been published from time to time in English and American papers and it may seem, therefore that there is nothing new to communicate with regard to it. Hence the present account of 'Shantiniketan' by Mr Pearson, seems to have little justification for its appearance, considering that so much has already been written about the school and that, after all, the account of a tiny school is no better than a prospectus interesting only to those who are concerned with educational work and methods.

But the title is misleading, for the book consists not merely of an account of the school but also of a work of literary creation and the account serving only as a beautiful prelude to it. The book contains an excellent translation by Mr Pearson of a lovely little tale of the ancient asram times, taken from the Mahabharata and written by the late Satish Chandra Roy, a poet of rare promise who unfortunately died quite young at Bolpur. I suppose that readers of the "Modern Review" are familiar with some of his poems which have been translated from his work\* by Mr C. F. Andrews and Mr W. W. Pearson and printed from time to time in this paper. The short but sweet introduction of this poet by Rabindranath Tagore in this book, will, therefore, help many readers to appreciate how the spirit of the youthful poet Satishchandra and the spirit of the Shantiniketan asram were in the closest possible affinity and identity and reflected on each other in a wonderful manner and how the story also that follows holds a mirror as it were to that wonderfully harmonised spirit of the poet and the asram. For the short story, 'The Gift to the Guru', is nothing but an idealised and imaginative picture of the asram of the olden days. It was, however, not written purely from an idyllic interest like Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales for children, but from an inner and vital spiritual interest, for the same asram was taking a new form amid the conditions of modern life and the same ideals were seeking their modern expression when Satishchandra was writing his story. It was therefore, a new 'Vita Nuova' he was writing, for he was actually revivifying the old associations and interests of life, the old ideals of life, in his little tale. He was in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, 'bringing to the surface for our daily use and purification, the stream of ideals

that originated in the summit of our past, flowing underground in the depth of India's soil—the ideals of simplicity of life, clarity of spiritual vision, purity of heart, harmony with the universe, and the consciousness of the infinite personality in all creation." Consequently, it was the vision of a greater 'Earthly Paradise' the Paradise that no change of time could deprive India of, that stirred the young poet Satish to the depths of his soul and made him frame out the story which seems to be so simple, yet is so perfect in its artistic form and imaginative qualities, and more than anything else in its rare power of shaping the incidents into symbols of the eternal "values of life. This latter quality really elevates it into something infinitely much greater than a mere tale for children. In its imaginative qualities the story bears very much resemblance with Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales and George MacDonald's Fairy Tales. But the exquisite descriptions here and there, e.g. the description of the forest in chap. iv, the description of the palace of Poushya in chapter v and the description of the nether regions in chap. vii, can stand good comparison in power of imaginative delineation with the description of forest in Hyperion and the description of the bottom of the sea in Endymion, of Keats.

The descriptions in Satishchandra's tale are so very Keats-like and astonishingly betray Keats' delight in sensuous beauty and his power of apt imagery. The illustrations of the story by Mukul Chandra Dey a young artist of great promise, have been beautifully done and have added to the charm of the story.

Therefore, Mr. Pearson's account of the school has really been a 'fitting introduction' to the story, for the story would appear to be quite childish and trivial unless there was the background of the present asram in whose fitting alone it could impress and its underlying symbols could be understood. Of course as an account, Mr. Pearson's description of the school is charming and exquisite and reads almost like a beautiful idyll or a folklore of the ancient times reproduced into modern form by a poet heart, whose imagination and aesthetic sympathies have discovered a fresh beauty and a new meaning in it. The account is amazingly accurate and faithful not a single item being left out however trivial it may appear to be. In fact every little detail of the asram life has been recorded with the utmost sympathy and with a feeling of wonder as though it were a new discovery to the writer. This quality of sympathy has made this account of the school so marvellously sweet and refreshing.

But Mr. Pearson's account, exquisite as it is, is lacking in one thing which cannot naturally be filled by him. We cannot expect him to tell us in what ways the modern asram, as an educational institution, has been fostering and furthering the race-culture and the race-heritage of India and how far it has been able to embody within itself the historic consciousness of our people. This question, it must be admitted is a vital one and although Mr. Pearson's account throws

\* The name of the work is 'Satishchandra Rachana' and the writings of Satishchandra and is to be had of the Indian Publishing House, 22, Cornwallis Street Calcutta.

light on it here and there especially where he shows the differences of temperament of the Indian and the English boy in the concluding portion of his account yet he has barely touched upon the fringe of this most important question throughout his account. The history of the school is not bound up with that of the poet's life alone but with the history of the life of Bengal also. We all know that when the school was founded, Bengal was passing through the birth throes of a new national consciousness, which would shake off the fetters of intellectual thralldom of the west, unbar the gates of the past heritage of race wisdom and race-culture, renovate and rejuvenate them in the conditions of modern life, and usher in a new epoch of history. The poet, like a true prophet which he is had visions of this new birth, had voiced it already in his 'Avedya' or Offerings to God, his Katha or historical ballads some of which have been translated in Fruit Gathering. He was full of India and her glorious past at that time. India's greatest contribution to the world, her Upanishads, containing her rich spiritual wisdom originated in the forest universities or *asrams*. There the Rishis or the wise men, freed from the bonds of state and society thought the boldest thoughts dreamt the greatest dreams felt the divinest feelings for all humanity. The ideal of a new Brahmacharya *asram* situated far away from the dissipations of city life and nursed and suckled in the bosom of Mother Nature dawned on the poet's mind and haunted him like a vision, day and night. He thought of 'Shantiniketan', the place of meditation of his gently father. It was there, under the chaitan trees, with infinite solitude of space around him, that the great spirit of the Maharshi found

The repose of his heart

The joy of his mind

The peace of his soul

The poet could not choose a fitter place for an *asram*, where the spiritual culture of India would have a fresh renewal.

But the connection of the *asram* with the historic poet of India although left out by Mr. Pearson in his account has been finely dealt with by Rabindranath in his beautiful introduction, which gives us a bit of his autobiography and is therefore extremely interesting. I cannot refrain from quoting here a few passages from the introduction which will illuminate this aspect of the *asram*.

The greatest teachers in ancient India whose names are still remembered, were forest dwellers. By the shady border of some sacred river or Himalayan lake they built their altar of fire, grazed their cattle harvested wild rice and fruits for their food, lived with their wives and children in the bosom of primeval nature meditated upon the deepest problems of the soul and made it their object of life to grow in sympathy with all creation and in communion with the Supreme Being. These students flaked round them and had their lessons of immortal life in the atmosphere of truth, peace and freedom of the spirit.

Though in later ages circumstances changed and numerous kingdoms great and small, flourished in wealth and power and forests began to give way to towns with multiplication of luxuries in the homes of the rich the highest ideals of civilisation in our country ever remained the ideals of those forest universities. All our great classic poets in their epic verses and dramas looked back with reverence upon that golden daybreak of the awakening of India's soul.

In the modern time my turn has also come to dream of that age, towering above all ages of subsequent history in the greatness of its simplicity and wisdom of pure life. While spending a great part of my youth in the riverside solitude of the sandbanks of the Padma a time came when I woke up to the call of the spirit of my country and felt impelled to dedicate my life in furthering the purpose that lies in the heart of her history. I seemed choked for breath in the hideous nightmare of our present time, meaningless in its petty ambitions of poverty, and felt in me the struggle of my motherland for awakening in spiritual emancipation.

Then came to me a vision of the fullness of the inner man which was attained in India in the solemn seclusion of her forests when the rest of the world was hardly awake. The truth became clear to me that India had cut her path and broadened it for ages, the path that leads to a life reaching beyond death, rising high above the idealisation of political selfishness and the insatiable lust for accumulation of materials.

Thus the exclusiveness of my literary life burst its barriers coming into touch with the deeper aspirations of my country which lay hidden in her heart. I came to live in the Shantiniketan sanctuary founded by my father and there gradually gathered round me, under the shades of *sal* trees boys from distant homes.

This introduction therefore was absolutely necessary, for without it from Mr. Pearson's account one could hardly differentiate the Bolpur School from any open air school in Europe and America, from George Junior Republic for instance with which the Bolpur school was compared by many American papers. But on the other hand there ought to be a line of demarcation between Bolpur *asram* and other orthodox *asrams* started in different places in India, for instance the Gurukula *Asram* at Hardwar. To understand the essential differences between these *asrams* one must know more of the history of the development of the Bolpur school into its present form.

The school has grown along with the growth of the poet's inner life and the growth of his times. It has, therefore from 1901 when it was first founded till 1917 the present year, (the date of its foundation has not been mentioned by Mr. Pearson), passed through quite a variety of stages. For four years, since its foundation the *asram* went on humming the old forgotten strain that came from the past from the woodlands of Aryan India of four thousand years ago. Then there burst into the country a thunder storm. The great national movement with its trumpet blast of Bande Mataram, its flaunting hopes and high aspirations its riotous excitement and frantic expectancy came. The poet became its high priest. The *asram* was no longer a shadow of the benighted past, it was a reality of the dawning day. The country-consciousness surged high in the *asram*. Of course the western features of the school, e.g. self government of the boys and the atmosphere of freedom did not suffer at this period. But the emphasis was certainly laid on the spirit of ancient India. Not simply on the spiritual side of ancient India, but on the side of social life and rules as well, which were, without question narrow and conventional bound.

Fortunately, the narrow and aggressive lines on which the whole movement was worked out making patriotism an end unto itself and efficiency the goal of all activities grew discordant to the poet's growing spiritual life. He suddenly cut himself away from

the movement. He sought solitude of spirit, he sought the universal joy of nature, he sought the hidden springs of spiritual life. It was then that many of his longer 'Gitanjali' poems were written.

No words of mine can describe the poet's devotion to the work of the *asram* after his retirement from Swadeshim. He became more and more meditative and prayerful, serene and reposeful in his manner and talk, and at the same time he took upon himself all the lowly and humble duties of school teaching, school inspection and school management. Sometimes he shared the same room with the boys who had him always with them in their plays and pastimes and in their hours of recreation. The boys frequently encroached on his time and leisure, which he needed most for his art-creations. But he was so benign, so tender so very considerate that he would rather stop when composing a poem and attend to a boy who would thus intrude on him than send him away. These years were the years of the greatest inspiration to the *asram* boys and teachers. I have already said that during these years most of his 'Gitanjali' songs were composed. On Wednesdays, the service day of the *asram*, the poet gave the *asram* people his discourses of the *Sadhana*. Thus all the works which have won for him world reputation were primarily meant for his *asram* children, tiny boys between 8 and 16.

His visit to England and America, his fame of 'Gitanjali' and the winning of the Nobel Prize have resulted in an influx of world-currents into the quiet stream of *asram* life. Now the *asram* is the melting pot where East and West would meet and mingle. The highest culture of the West would harmonise here with the highest culture of the East. There are English Gurus. Mr. Pearson being one of them along with Indian Gurus in the *asram* now. The former patriotic stage has now risen into the higher stage of cosmic humanism.

What the ideal of the *asram* now is may be gleaned from the short address which Rabindranath delivered before Tokyo boys in Japan and which therefore, has been a most fitting epilogue, just as the introduction has become a fitting prologue of the little representation of the *asram* by Mr. Pearson. The subject of the lecture is *Paradise* and it is this living *Paradise* that East and West are conjointly striving to build up in the *asram* today. Here is an extract from the address—

'My dear young friends do not be frightened at me, or think that I am going to give you a long lecture, or good advice or moral lessons. I know I look rather formidable with my grey beard and white hair and flowing Indian robe, and people who know me by my exterior make the absurd mistake that I am an old man and give me a higher seat and pay me deference by keeping at a distance from me. But if I could show my heart you would find it green and young—perhaps younger than some of you who are standing before me. And you would find also, that I am childish enough to believe in things which the grown up people of the modern age, with their superior wisdom have become ashamed to own—and even modern schoolboys also. That is to say I believe, in an ideal life. I believe that, in a little flower, there is a living power hidden in beauty which is more potent than a Maxim Gun. I believe that in the bird's notes Nature expresses herself with a force which is greater than that revealed in the deafening

roar of the cannonade. I believe that there is an ideal hovering over the earth—an ideal of that *Paradise* which is not the mere outcome of imagination but the ultimate reality towards which all things are moving. I believe that this vision of *Paradise* is to be seen in the sunlight, and the green of the earth, in the flowing streams, in the beauty of spring time, and the repose of a winter morning. Everywhere in this earth the spirit of *Paradise* is awake and sending forth its voice. Even the most depressed, in some moment of their lives, have been touched by the voice, and not altogether lost,

"I know that some who are here are being trained to be teachers. That is my vocation also, but I never had any training. One thing is truly needed to be a Teacher of children—it is to be like children."

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—A sketch of his life and works. Second Edition. G. A. Nateson & Co. Madras. Price Rs 0-4-0.

The four anna popular series of biographical booklets of eminent Indians published by Messrs. Nateson & Co. like most other popular and cheap series of books are scrappy and superficial and dwell more on the externals on the spectacular phases of a man's life than on the deeper complexities of his temperament, the formative influences which shape him, the attempt at adjustment of the inner and the outer world which makes itself manifest both in his life as well as in his creations of art and such other real phases of the man's life which make biography really interesting. The sketch of Rabindranath Tagore's life and works under review is therefore unsatisfactory for it merely stitches together the newspaper comments and criticisms of Rabindranath's English books (his Bengali books have not been mentioned at all) and scrappy excerpts from them here and there.

If such penny series are really necessary for popularising a great man's life and works, they ought to be written by competent people who really know the man and his works intimately.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

THE INDO ARYAN PACES STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF INDO ARYAN PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS by Ramaprosad Chanda, Rajshahi. 1916 Pt. I, pp. 127, price Rs 5 or 6s 8d.

Mr. Ramaprosad Chanda of Rajshahi is the only Indian scholar who has taken up Craniometry seriously. More than once the Government of Bengal has deputed him to obtain anthropometric data for a proper discussion of the origin of the tribes and castes of Bengal. Very recently the Director General of Archaeology in India has granted him a special scholarship to enable him to study Archaeology in different parts of India. The first part of Mr. Chanda's work is the first instalment of his contributions to Indian anthropology and to such serious students who do not regard craniology as a humorous pastime, the work will appear to be the result of monumental labour and stupendous industry. The author's close acquaint-

lance with ancient Indian literature has qualified him more than anybody else, who has appeared in this field for the elucidation of the problems that has arisen about the origin of Indian races and castes. In his work on Indo Aryan races, we find that simplicity, erudition, veracity and fearlessness which characterise Ramaprasad Chanda's now classical work the history of Bengal. The appearance of this work will no doubt lead to tremendous controversies as it touches the softest part of the heart of the conservative Indian in striking at his long-cherished ideas of caste and its origin. One who has not been able to discard partiality and superstitious belief about the origin of castes is not competent to deal with these questions. It is very gratifying to find that an Orthodox Hindu who is the father of a large growing family has the moral courage to discuss questions of Indian races and caste origin, in a scientific spirit and in the approved accurate historical method defying the so-called champions of the orthodox religion whose main functions in the 20th century seem to be the retardation of the growth of knowledge and the progress of the Indian people. The publication of the work brings to light several conclusions which will delight and enlighten serious students of history. Conclusions that had been hitherto but dreams of antiquarians and Archaeologists are now demonstrated as being true and logical. The book is full of such conclusions and the discussions that precede them are as interesting and as learned as the conclusions themselves.

The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the Aryan and non Aryan inhabitants of the Vedic period. In a few short crisp sentences the author demonstrates the origin of the Sudras and the Nisadas of Vedic India. The Varnas of the Vedic period were originally five in number—(1) The Priests (2) the fighting men (3) the tradesmen and husbandmen (4) the serfs and (5) the aboriginals. That the Sudras of this period were a different race from the aboriginals has been proved by a quotation or two and the conclusion is so decisive that I sincerely hope nobody in India or abroad will venture to raise these questions in future. The Sudra is the Serf, who had no political existence, who had no right to property and whose life was his master's. The Nisada on the other hand according to the descriptions contained in ancient literature was the only possible ancestor of modern aboriginal tribes. Linguistic proofs reduced to chart and graphs has enabled scholars to determine the close relation of the languages of the *Mondas* the aboriginal inhabitants of the sub-montane tracts to the south of the Himalayas and the Mon khmer group of the north eastern frontier and the far east. These data combined and arranged has led Mr Chanda to deduce the theory that the original inhabitants of this country were of Tibeto-Burman origin whose descendants still inhabit the frontier and the rocky fastnesses of central India.

One of the most important contributions to our knowledge of Indian history in recent days, is Mr Chanda's admirable analysis of the origin of the Indo Aryan invaders. It has been demonstrated, in a scientific manner and I believe for the first time, that the Indo Aryans were not a Homogeneous people and that the principal tribes or castes differed in origin. Mr Chanda has definitely proved from quotations from the Vedic literature that the Brahmanas or the priestly caste consisted of two different groups—(1) The original tribes who were white skinned and yellow haired and (2) the adopted tribes

who were black or blue in colour. Incidentally he deals with the struggle for supremacy between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas—*The Purohitas and Jayamannas* which is the oft told story of the fight between Visvamitra and Vasistha. The second division of the Aryan people of the Vedic period consists of the Rajanyas who according to the Kathaka Sanhita were swarthy or *Dhumnarvans*. There is clear traditional evidence in the Rig Veda to show that two at least of the tribes of the latter group, the Turvasas and the Yadus came to India from South western Asia. In one place in the Rig Veda the holy Yadava tribe in latter days from which the God Krishna was descended were Dasas or Barbarians. The author determines the early home of the Yadus with greater precision and concludes that the Yadavas were originally settled in Saurashtra or the Kathiawad peninsula and thence migrated to Mathura lending indirect support to the Rig Vedic tradition that the Yadus together with the Turvasas came from beyond the sea. The author deduces, perhaps correctly that the Aryan immigrants from Mesopotamia must have absorbed a good deal of Semitic blood in their Syrian home and were probably dark like the other members of the Semite group. The Purus Druhyus and Anus, mentioned in the Rig Veda along with the Yadus and Turvasas, may have come from the same quarters and were probably of the same physical type. The arrangement of these data and the original conclusions the author arrives at, has led him to make a pronouncement, which will startle the advocates of the so-called modern orthodoxy, who still seem to believe in the descent of their ancestors from the mouth the breast, the hands and the legs of the Creator.

Fair and fair haired Rsi clans from the North, dark or brown Jayamanna tribes from South western Asia and the very dark aboriginal Nisadas were the ethnic elements out of which grew up the five primary Varnas or castes.

The second chapter of the work entitled "Indo-Aryans of the outer countries" is a long rambling narrative. The author begins with the demarcation of the boundaries of the Aryan kingdoms in the Vedic period and comes to the conclusion that the land occupied by the early Aryans consisted of all the tract between the Sutlej in the west and the Kanak in the east. Western Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal were outside the pale of Indo Aryan occupation. In latter periods these provinces were gradually and sparsely colonised by the Aryans, and their original inhabitants, coming in contact with a more intellectual race succumbed to their influence and gradually adopted their language, manners and customs. Thus there were two concentric circles, the inner one being the inner ring of Aryan habitation in India while the outer one was the outermost pale of Aryan influence in the Vedic period. This important conclusion is based on the evidence of modern Indian languages. Sir George Grierson's map shows very clearly that the middle country was the real habitat of the early Aryans and their descendants, while a ring of provinces around it from Western Punjab to Bengal formed the outer zone of the influence of Indo Aryan languages. Incidentally the author discusses the interesting problem of Empires in ancient India. He proves with great lucidity that the chiefs of the Aryan tribes or clans ruled over petty states in the Vedic period and that none of them could ever form an Empire worth the name. It was the Aryanised Aborigines of the outer zone

of Indo-Aryan influence who first succeeded in bringing together the different provinces of this vast country under the rule of a single monarch. At the end of this chapter the author introduces the real subject of the work. He has started a new theory, based on linguistic and craniological evidence according to which Northern India was occupied by a civilised white Aryan race with round heads, who had apparently dispersed the Dravidians beforehand. The author names this race *Homo Alpinus* and proves that they had also come from the deserts of Central Asia where Stein, Grunwedel and other explorers have brought to light numerous manuscripts which contain specimens of their ancient language. In this chapter the author has completely smashed Sir Herbert Risley's theory about the origin of ancient races. He has proved beyond doubt that Scytho-Dravidian and Mongolo-Dravidian races are but myths. He finds a reference to this early immigration in the legends of the first colonisation of Kashmir.

The third chapter of the work is devoted to the discussion of the origin and development of modern Vaisnavism. The subject has long been one of keen controversy, the crucial point being the identity of Krishna with Christ and the amount of influence exerted by Christianity on the development of the modern Krishna cult. The author discusses the various theories and criticises world-renowned scholars like Weber and Bhandarkar. His method is always accurate. He brings together all the material that has come to light up to date and he deduces the fact that the Vaisnava religion known in the earlier ages, as the Bhagabata religion is mentioned in the *Brahmasutra* where four principal powers are enumerated. The personification of these abstract ideas is a very interesting study and the author demonstrates the process with very great ability. Incidentally he has proved that the Vaisnava canon, *Pancaratra* is unorthodox or non-Vedic. The author connects this history of a religious idea with political history when he states—"the un-Brahmanic Vaisnavism or *Pancaratra* was probably first confined to the Yadava clan of Khatryas to which Krishna Vasudeva himself belonged. The Yadavas or Satvatas were originally settled in Saurashtra or the Kathiawar peninsula and then spread to Mathura. Krishna Vasudeva or Keshava, the son of Vasudeva of the Yadavas or Satvata clan and of his wife Devaki was born in Mathura and afterwards migrated to Dwarka in Saurashtra. Perhaps the great Satvata chief—great in war and policy as well as in philosophy and religion—taught what he had learnt from his teacher—the practice of morality and the true sacrifice and worship of Vishnu as God of Gods (Monotheism) to men of his own clan whose guide, friend and philosopher he was."

The monotheistic religion that Krishna Vasudeva taught to men of his own clan was handed on by the Satvatas to the Saurastras and Abhiras who gave it to the un-Vedic turn Vasudeva, his brother Sankarasa, his son Pradyumna and his grandson Anirudha were probably defied by these outlanders who lay outside the pale of Buddhism. The author is of opinion that Krishna was deified at a period earlier than the deification of Rama the hero of the Ikshvaku clan. The Avatara cult of the Brahmins finally ousted the un-Vedic *Pancaratra* system and brought about a change in it which finally led to its absorption in the orthodox religion of India. This conclusion, startling as it may be to the orthodox Indian, has been historically established and I am

afraid there is not much to say against it even from the point of view of orthodoxy.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the discussion of the origin of Saktism. The author, as usual, begins with the Vedic period and states that Ambika was the sister of Rudra and that she was one of the obscure minor deities in the Vedic period. He refers to the legend of Daksha's Sacrifice as an example of the attempt of this unorthodox deity to obtain recognition among orthodox Indians. He connects the Sakta conceptions of our own country with similar cults in the Mediterranean. In Crete, in Punic Africa, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Greece the cult was well-known in ancient days. The last pages of this chapter is devoted to the refutation of Dr Spooner's statement about the Persian origin of Ishtar.

The fifth chapter of the book is devoted to the discussion of the origin of castes in Eastern India. The author refutes very successfully as he had very often done the theory current in Bengal that 5 Brahmins and 5 Kayasthas came from Konauj at a certain date before the Muhammadan conquest. The author shows in the first place that the Brahmins and Kayasthas could not have come from any place at the same time. Then he proceeds to show with the Craniological affinity between the higher and the lower castes in Bengal that they were descended from a common stock and that ethnically they are quite different from the similar castes of the middle country. Much has been said about this both in print and orally and I leave it to the readers to judge for themselves. A very large part of this chapter has been devoted to the discussion of the origin of the Kayastha caste, which I believe is the only reliable account that has yet appeared in print. The author disagrees with the orthodox Brahmanic view that the Kayasthas were serfs or Sudras and from the Orthodox Kayastha view which tries to trace his origin from the Vedic fighting class.

The last chapter of the work is devoted to the refutation of the second part of Dr D. B. Spooner's paper on the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." We do not find that personal animosity and bitter bias against Dr Spooner in Mr. Ramachandra Chauda's paper which is the keynote of some criticisms of that learned scholar's theory that has appeared in print. On the other hand Mr. Chauda criticises very soberly and with a degree of moderation which his intimate friends do not always expect of him. Mr. Chauda's book is one of the epoch-making works of modern history and I sincerely believe that it will receive a warm reception in India and abroad. Scholars both Indian and foreign will eagerly wait for the appearance of the next volume of Mr. Chauda's work.

R. D. HANER, JR.

DECLINE OF THE SILK INDUSTRY IN BENGAL.  
AND HOW TO ARREST IT. *By* R. R. Ghose, M.S.A.,  
Indian Assistant to the Director of Sericulture,  
Kashmir (Chuckerverti Chatterji & Co., Calcutta).  
Pp. 33. Price—Rs. 1 8 0 or 25 61

This little brochure written by a gentleman who has considerable practical experience of the silk industry in various parts of India will be of great help to those who want to take an active part in resuscitating the once famous silk industry of Bengal. In the hoary past Bengal was the chief producer of silk in the world. The industry continued to be in a more or less flourishing condition till about the early



nineties of the last century since then it has declined. Mr Ghose ascribes this decline to the following causes—(i) Defective rearing and the consequent degeneration of the Bengal silk worms and silk. (ii) Spread of Pebrine (a virulent disease which attacks the silk worms). (iii) Defects in reeling operations. and (iv) Want of knowledge of market conditions and of proper organisations which prevent the Bengal silk growers from meeting successfully foreign competition.

Mr Ghose then points out how to remove these defects by adopting improved methods of mulberry cultivation (he prefers the tree to the bush mulberry) and rearing of silk worms (here he emphasises the importance of proper ventilation and cleanliness and of crossing the multivoltine seeds of Bengal with the univoltines and bivoltines of Europe and Japan so as to get a superior breed of Bengal silk worms). In the matter of silk manufacture Mr Ghose is in favour of the increased use of silk filatures but has a word to say for the indigenous Ghasi too which though losing ground need not die out altogether. They still give employment to a much larger number of persons than the filatures and are responsible for nearly three fourths of the total output of Bengal silk (in volume, not in value—the filature silk being of a finer quality and consequently fetching higher prices). The greatest difficulty Mr Ghose seems to find in improving the cottage silk industry of Bengal is the same which faced Mr Swan when he was carrying on his official enquiry into the Bengal industries two years ago viz the chronic indebtedness of the small reelers and weavers to the village mahajans or middlemen whose paid employees they have for all practical purposes become. And the remedy suggested by both is the same—the general introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies among the producers.

Mr Ghose shows how to construct an improved Ghasi for reeling silk at a very slight increase of cost and gives a photograph of his invention.

The brochure is nicely got up and printed and contains three photographs but still we consider the price much too high.

## II STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS, by A P Patro, B.A., B.L.

The subject matter of this review is a paper read before the last annual meeting of the Madras Economic Association by Mr Patro of Berhampore (Ganjam) a gentleman of wide experience in Madras municipal and local board affairs whose *Studies in Local Self government* was published by Messrs Natesan & Co. of Madras some years ago. During the last three or four years a number of studies on the family budget of the ryot giving us an insight into his true economic condition have been published and all students of Indian economics must be grateful to the pioneers in this line of work without which no systematic or scientific study of the subject is at all possible. Four fifths of India is agricultural and the ryot is the most important person in the economic life of India consequently the study of Indian economics today means to a very large extent the study of economic condition of the Indian agriculturalists.

In this paper Mr Patro makes an attempt to study the family budgets of four different ryots in three typical villages of the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The studies bring out two facts prominently to notice first the excess of the annual expenditure over the income of the family and secondly the general indebtedness of the ryot (due partly to his unthrifty habits but mostly to this

annual deficit in the family budget). The ryot's standard of comfort is exceedingly low and his spare time and that of the other members of his family (male and female) is devoted to working for wages in the fields of neighbours but still he cannot make both ends meet. How low his standard is will be evident from the fact that he never sets his eyes upon meat or fish of any kind he grows rice but cannot afford to consume it himself a rice meal being regarded in the nature of a luxury which is only available occasionally for a night. His most common food is a raggi gruel mixed with broken rice. The only curry he knows is tamarind mixed with salt and chully made into a chutney. And even of this blessed gruel and chutney he cannot frequently have two full meals a day for then how is he to clear his debts principal and interest? This seems to be the condition of the large majority of ryots in this part of the Madras Presidency. It is hardly to be wondered at therefore that able bodied agriculturists in increasing numbers should seek shelter in the opposite shores of Burma or in the colonies beyond the seas if they cannot find employment near at hand in the big cities of the country. (At p 61 Mr Patro compares the diet given to prisoners in jails with that enjoyed by the typical ryot and the comparison is not certainly favourable to the latter.)

Compared with the Madras ryots, as depicted in this study the Bengal ryots would appear to be on the whole better off if we accept the generalisations of Mr Jack in his recently published work.

The *Economic Life of a Bengal District* to be based on accurate facts and figures. But the district Mr Jack studies (Faridpur) is one of the most prosperous in Bengal and can hardly be taken as representative of the whole province while many of his generalisations seem to be based on assumptions which tend to give a brighter outlook to the picture than the actual facts would warrant (vide the review of his book in the last April number of this magazine by I C S).

To make his study of the economic life of the villages surveyed by him complete we wish Mr Patro had not confined his attention to agriculturalists alone (though as we have already said, they constitute the most important factor) but extended it to other classes of the rural population as well whose numbers in these villages seem to be rapidly increasing at the expense of the agriculturists, so that we might have picked up some knowledge of the relative importance of agriculture and other industries in the economic life of a Madras village. Let us hope that in his future studies he will remove this omission.

J. P. C. BANERJEE

1001 GEMS OF HINDU RELIGIOUS THOUGHT gleaned from the written works and spoken words and teachings of ancient and modern Hindu saints and preceptors. Compiled by Paray Kunis Chaudh Author of an essay on the Bhagavat Gita A Malayalam translation of the Bhagavat Gita, etc etc. Second Edit on Pp 163, Price Re 1 for copies apply to the Author Thalayi, Tellichery.

The Book contains the choicest thoughts and religious utterances in English form beginning from the Vedas down to the Ramkrishna Mission including those of saints sages seers philosophers devotees preceptors and other great persons both ancient and modern of different provinces of India and thus it provides a good and pleasant reading for one's quiet hour. The

author may hope that "these gems" laboriously picked-up from the depths of Indian mines of religious writings, and neatly cut and polished by that wonderful implement, the English Language, will illumine the path of the soul to the realization of Brahman. On p 74 the author apparently means to call the sayings of that Madhvacarya who is generally known as *Madhvacharya* or Ananda tirtha the celebrated founder of the *Devata* School of the Vedanta philosophy. But he is not the author of the *Panchadashi* from which the quotations are made in the book.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

(1) ISHVASOPANISAD AND (2) KENOPANISAD WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND AN ORIGINAL COMMENTARY (IN ENGLISH) by *Kshetreshchandra Chaitanyajay & J. Lazarus & Co., Benares* Price per copy *one annas*

There was no need of a new commentary like the one that lies on our table

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

KALA PRAKASIKA WITH SANSKRIT TEXT IN DEVANAGARI, EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH by *N P Subramania Iyer Tanjore* Price *Rs 3*

The object of the work is disclosed by the name which is to make known the suitable time for every important function a man does in his daily life. As the editor puts it in the Introduction 'there is a time for sowing a time for reaping a time to get married, a time for healing, for surgical operation for taking medicine, for turning the first sod for heaping up money or grains for discharging a debt, for starting on a journey for building for buying and selling and for the various functions on which health, happiness and success depend'. The work professes to tell us the most suitable times and is based upon the belief that the celestial bodies and specially their relative positions in the heavens do signify and influence our activities. The auspicious times under about fifty heads are found for us by the computers of almanacs and usually given in the larger editions. *Muhurta-chintamani* is a celebrated and authoritative work for the computers. It is what is called a *Muhurta-grantha* a calendar. *Kala prakasika* however goes beyond the legitimate province and devotes considerable space to what is called 'Nativity,' approaching *Brinvasa Dipika* the standard work of Bengal and the comparatively modern compilation by *Raghu nandana*. The book is thus a compendium of astrological and semi-astrological lore, and will be useful to those who consult this kind of Sanskrit literature. The get-up is neat, and the translation easy to follow except in the matter of transliteration of Sanskrit terms. It seems our Tanjore friends do not acknowledge the Sanskrit pronunciation accepted by scholars and call *janma* as *janma*. It is therefore sometimes difficult to make out at a glance what the terms are. For instance, the familiar word *tithi*, is spelt as *thithi*, *krithika*, as *krithika*.

A *Muhurta-grantha* or a book of Calendar is primarily based upon usage or custom sanctioned by Rishis. It may and does vary in detail according to time and place but cannot command respect unless it is backed by an acknowledged authority. The same is the case with the astrological beliefs associated with the customs. *Narasimha* the author of

*Kala prakasika*, compiled his book from various sources some of which are mentioned. This can hardly be said to be a guarantee of the author's authority. It is quite likely that it is so in Southern India, but one would have expected the editor to supply the omissions of the author, especially in a work of this nature, whose date again is unknown. The editor has not taken the least trouble to assign even an approximate date.

One need not be and perhaps ought not to be, critical in matters of beliefs and disbeliefs. But when the editor tries to explain them we have the right to test his theories. In the Introduction he writes:

The precepts of astrology are the law of the First cause the door of which are open to the intuition of the *Yogi*. Galileo's law of falling bodies and Newton's law of motion were all intuitions. Granting that these laws were intuitions, the analogy completely breaks down when we remember that they are verifiable by experiments while astrological beliefs are not. The invocation of the names of *Yogis* does not explain such prophecies as for instance, 'To start on a Sunday causes waste Monday produces disability, Tuesday brings fever and other illness, Wednesday creates fear Saturday tends to loss of money and danger to life. Leaving only Thursday and Friday as auspicious. Yet every one knows that the Railway Trains and Steamer Services do not at all mind the evil days and passengers are not forthcoming to corroborate the intuition.' As far as our knowledge goes the division of time into the week is of foreign origin and the portents attached to the week days were borrowed from the *Yavana* professors of astrology. A cursory glance at *Upanishad* commentary by *Narasimha Brihatjataka* will convince the reader of the absurdity of the contention that the huge mass of astrological beliefs now found in Sanskrit was all bequeathed to us by Rishis or *Yogis*. At any rate there is no gainsaying the fact that *Mauu* in his code and *Yasya* in his *Purana* denounced the fortune tellers of old, and *Chanakya* the shrewd politician did not fail to take advantage of the rather popular faith in *Zadacis* in effecting his object. To give another instance of the untenable position held by the editor let us take his definition of *Rahu* and *Ketu*. He tells us that these are 'respectively the ascending and the descending nodes or points where the ecliptic is crossed by the moon'. If these are so and they are undoubtedly points and not planets like Mars, or Saturn how can we say with him that both are male? At another place he totally ignores the points and counts only seven planets! The fact seems to be that *Rahu* and *Ketu* influenced astrology long after the 6th cent. A.D., the date of *Varsha* who by the way, never claimed to be a *Yogi*. But we have no space to follow the editor in his Introduction covering 32 pages and to discuss the claims of astrology as an occult science.

J. C. RAY

### SANSKRIT-HINDI-ENGLISH.

THE SECRETS OF THE UPANISHADS COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY *Lala Amarna Maitra*, published by the Manager, *Dawood Press Pratabpura Agra* Pp 40 Price 2-6.

This booklet contains a short selection with simple Hindi and English translations by the author of some exquisite and striking passages of twelve principal Upanishads and aims at presenting to all

aspirants after truth the essence of the whole philosophy of them

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

### SANSKRIT.

*VEDĀNTASŪTRA VĀDIKĀ VṚTTI* by Panditasvami Hariprasada Vaidikamuni of Harwar Pp 37 + 583 Price Rs 5 4 a copy, for which apply to Mr Khushiram, Pensioner, Dehra Dun

Even among those of our Sanskrit Pandits whose profound erudition is beyond any shade of doubt new or original thinkers on the different systems of Indian Philosophy are now indeed very rare and still rarer are those who bring to light such thoughts by writing books. Generally they strictly adhere to a particular principle or doctrine or view of some former teachers and would write if required, hundreds of pages holding it to be an absolute truth and in that attempt their marvellous power of thinking would become clear to all. But in these days they hardly march on a new line. Panditasvami Hariprasad has, however, made a new departure by writing the big volume lying before us, and what he has presented us therein should not be ignored only for its being a new one. He is a great Sanskrit scholar, and the readers of the notices of Sanskrit in this Review may remember his *Logasutra vādikāvṛtti* noticed by us. His present work is a commentary upon the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyana. Besides these two books, he has written commentaries on the *Nyaya* and *Vaiśeṣika* sūtras. As regards the book now before us the author believes advancing his reasons thereof, that there is no commentary whatever on *Brahmasūtras* that can be regarded *Vedic*, that is to say, written strictly according to the *Vedas*. Each of the previous commentators from Bādhāyana downwards declares his particular commentary as a *Vedic* one but in reality none is of the kind. In order to remove this keenly felt want Panditasvami Hariprasad has written his new commentary which widely differs with the former ones on various points.

Let one say whatever he likes, but it is no other than Shankara who is the progenitor of the commentators of *Brahmasūtras*. No commentator, whosoever he may be, Ramanuja, Madhva, Nimbarka, Vallabha Bhaskara or any other, can ignore his various indebtedness to the great Acharya, though unfortunately he has been rebuked by them and also by their followers. And the present commentary, too, cannot gainsay the fact, though there is much difference between the two.

Panditasvami Hariprasad's language is clear and fit to be adopted for a commentary, his arguments are strong, and insight laudable. His views are also broad and liberal. He supports his statements by quoting passages not only from the Upanishads but also profusely from the *Saṁhitās* of the *Vedas*.

Shortly speaking according to him Brahman is the instrumental (निमित्त) and Prakṛiti is the material (वस्तु) cause of the universe which is real, not illusory, though it has no permanency. There are many individual souls (जीवन्तु) and their dimension is as much as an atom (अणु). They are subject to bondage and deliverance and are governed with Prakṛiti by Brahman. He has pointed out that the father of the universe is technically termed as the

Brahmasūtras as *Pradhāna*, while its mother Prakṛiti is called *Guna*. In other commentaries these two terms are overlooked and consequently the interpretations given by them cannot be true. The familiar phrase in Vedānta 'तत्त्वमसि' (तत् त्वमसि

'That you are') is explained by him (§ 17 pp 58ff) to mean 'तन्निष्ठोऽसि' ('Be firmly devoted to Him')

This corresponds to the explanations 'तत्त्वमसि' (His you are) offered by one of the four Vaisnava Schools. It is also very interesting to note that unlike all other commentators of the *Brahmasūtras* our author holds (§ 31 38) that Shudras are in reality entitled to study the *Shāstras*, i.e. the *Vedas*, and this conclusion holds good as regards a woman's claim thereto.

The new commentary which thus widely differs from former ones which are held in so much faith and reverence is naturally bound to be severely criticised and it is also quite possible that readers will not agree with the commentator in all the points discussed or all the statements made by him in the work. But it is true that most of the aphorisms has been explained by him in a quite new way and we cannot help saying that he has succeeded not to a small degree in this undertaking and in fact has proved himself by it to be a true thinker and a great scholar.

*VAKYATATTVAM* A SMALL TREATISE ON SANSKRIT SYNTAX AND COMPOSITION by P. S. Ananta Varayan Shastri. Revised Second Edition. Published by the Mangalodayam Co. Ltd., Trichur (Cochin State) Pp 51 Price 6 Annas

In his Tarkasara noticed already in these columns Pandit P. S. Ananta N. Shastri has evinced his cleverness in making easy a very difficult subject like the Sanskrit Tarka, logic and in the present work, too, he has retained that reputation in dealing with the grammatical principles of Sanskrit sentences. The booklet deserves to be approved as a "Text Book" for use in Schools.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA  
HINDI.

*MAIWAR PATAN* by Mr. Ramchandra Varma, published by the Hindi Grantha Ratnakar office, Hirabagh P.O. Girgaon, Bombay Crown 8vo pp 160 Price at 12 and R 1-2

This is an extremely creditable novel and is capable of producing all the good effects which a well written novel can do. The original author is Babu Dwyendralal Ray, a famous author in the Bengali literature. His delineation of female characters, keeping up the ancient ideal to that effect in India, is marvellous. At the same time there is a considerable novelty in his plot and one cannot give up the book after it has once been commenced. There is an over flow of sanctity and purity in the book and it does not lack new light. Certain scenes in the drama can be compared with the best scenes in any language. Besides its other useful aspects, the way in which the author has shown the downfall of Maiwar to come about will be an invaluable object lesson to the races in India who cannot unify and the men of the same locality who cannot keep together. The author was a genius and his production has felt the effect of what he was. The get up is excellent and the book is indispensable for any library.

cal eminently practical and above all instructive work that no wonder it is considered as one of the most immortal works and is accorded a high place of honour in Sanskrit literature. Its study has recently been taken up by eminent Indian scholars and as fruits of that study we are having one after another in quick succession volumes written both in English and Indian vernaculars by scholars like Rai Bahadur M. Rangacharya M. A. of Madras, Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusan of Calcutta and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Poona. Their researches have given a fresh impetus to the study of that work from several points of view and a host of writers of less eminence and ripeness in scholarship are induced to rush into print and swell the volume of commentaries on the Gita based on all possible and impossible interpretations placed on its words. The latest arrival of such works in Marathi is that of the book under review and the peculiar line of inquiry, no less than the still peculiar attitude taken up by the writer towards other schools of thought, entitle his work to the serious notice of those who feel interest in the study of the Gita. The author Mr. Rajwade has given a brief indication of his line of inquiry in the foreword of his book in these terms: 'The Dialogue between Shri Krishna and Arjuna which forms the thesis of the Gita is in complete accord with what is termed as Brahmanvāda and also with the Science of Yoga. Brahma has been defined as that Collectivity (समष्टि) which pervades the Universe beyond Individuality (व्यष्टि). Hence Brahmanvāda means

the science of Collectivity popularly known as the science of Sociology. Similarly Yoga means the Karma-yoga or the entire bundle of duties to be performed by man. Hence the science of Yoga means the science of duties or Ethics.' Mr. Tilak's monumental work 'Gitarahasya' also starts from Karma-yoga and covers a similarly vast field of philosophical inquiry but stops at the question whether Karma or action forms an essential duty of a *Dayani*, i. e., one who has attained the highest goal of spiritual knowledge. Mr. Tilak entirely devotes his attention to the thorough sifting and solution of that intricate problem. Mr. Rajwade merges Individuality into Collectivity and therefore the question of individual duties has no place or if at all occupies a very minor place in the consideration of the question he has set up before himself. Nay he even asserts that Gita can never be perfectly understood if one were to look at it from a single point of view, be it *Dayana* Yoga or Karma Yoga and claims for his own commentary the peculiar virtue of taking an all-comprehensive view of the Gita in its chief important aspect, viz., the mutual relation between Brahma and Yoga in other words, Sociology and Ethics. The attempt is undoubtedly more ambitious I shall not say audacious, and even raising the amount of labour spent upon it by the author it certainly deserves well at the hands of his critics. The subject is vast and intricate and the way in which Mr. Rajwade has attempted to interpret the first two chapters and the first eleven verses of the third chapter of the Gita in this bulky volume of five hundred and odd pages of close print cannot be said to have diminished the intricacy to any appreciable extent. On the contrary the elaborate attempt made by the writer to clear his meaning with the aid of Euclid's and other geometrical figures usually found in text books on Inductive and Deductive Logic as well as a long string of quotations and references taken from various known and unknown works on

Western Philosophy and Science only serve to confound an unwary reader worse confounded. Mr. Rajwade's work is yet incomplete, having just stepped into the task and it would be too early to pronounce judgment on his conclusions which are briefly indicated in the Preface. But a word or two will, I hope not be out of place, regarding the spirit of intolerance he has exhibited towards those who have the misfortune to differ from him and the volley of contemptuous terms poured by him on Kant, Spencer and other philosophers, who are over head and shoulders his superiors in their own lines of study. This exhibition of hot temper on the part of Mr. Rajwade often makes his readers pause and question to themselves however regretfully and reluctantly, whether the author is really the proper person to approach the serious subject to whose study he has set himself or whether the hotness of his temper is due to his consciousness of the weak points in his own cause. This suspicion gains strength from the many inaccuracies of statements made by him with regard to the conclusions of Western philosophy as also the spirit of the teachings of eminent saintly persons like Socrates, Jesus Christ and Gautama Buddha. For instance on P. 133 Mr. Rajwade states that Western philosophy has never been able to get rid of the consideration of individual interests and to attain the higher plane of thought viz. of taking a larger view of the question from the superior interests of Society. Now every student of Western philosophy knows it too well that the fact is quite the other way about. The opinion of individual philosophers apart, the general tendency of Western philosophy in modern times has consistently been towards giving a subordinate position to individual interests before the higher interests of Society and nation, and this tendency is nowhere better reflected than in the organisation of numerous public institutions dotting all over Europe. In glaring contrast stands our Indian philosophy which concerns itself more with the individual moksha or salvation than with the uplift of Society and ultimately of the Nation followed by that of humanity in general. The history of the conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism is nothing but an emphatic contradiction of the astounding proposition laid down by Mr. Rajwade that Aryan philosophers never lost sight of the closeness or identity of individual interests with the interests of the society, nation, and ultimately of the Universe, which according to the Hindu shastras says Mr. Rajwade stand in relation to each other as circles within circles. Even this bold attempt of Mr. Rajwade of representing matters topsy turvy could have been considered pardonable, had he not dared to throw mud on the sacred personalities of Socrates, Christ and Buddha the revered fountain-heads of knowledge and personal purity of the Greeks, Christians and Indians respectively. But nothing is sacred to Mr. Rajwade. Accord to him the first two stand self-condemned as utterly lacking the spirit of charity and the last personifying in himself the hatred of womankind, want of national feeling and possession of arrogance or egotism. These statements of Mr. Rajwade are very shocking and leave his readers quite dumbfounded. One need not say after this that Mr. Rajwade's effusions are nothing short of the ravings of a madman and so unworthy of the serious notice of the critics. It is so disgusting to read this portion of the work that I would have leave Mr. Rajwade alone to pour the phial of his wrath on the heads of saints who

have the superabundance of tolerance to bear the irreverence

This will, I hope, give the readers of the *Modern Review* a sufficient insight of the line of thought and the spirit in which the question is approached by the author. What public good can be served by the publication of such a work and what impression will be left by it on foreigners who read this book (fortunate if Marathi knowing European scholars are very rare) or on the tender minds of young Marathi readers it is not for me to say. Indeed I am dumb with horror at the thought that Mr Rajwade has blasphemed the intelligence and power of judgment of Educated India by producing this work for the edification of Marathi readers.

\* KUYALAYANANDACHIN GANI OR SONGS OF KUYALAYANANDA, by Mr J G Gune B A, alias Kuyalayanda. Pages 59. Price as 4

It is a welcome relief to this reviewer to turn his

attention from the above review to the nice little collection of pleasant songs inspiring deep reverence and love and breathing noble thoughts in every verse. The book well illustrates the dictum that it is not rhyming and versing that make a poet. The book is full of Vedantic thoughts and though at times the poetry looks mystical the chaste language, pleasant diction and the gentle touch of sympathy for human weaknesses lend a peculiar charm to the book.

3 *British Samrajyanti Svarajya*—This is a Marathi version of the Hon Mr Sirimwas Shastri's English book entitled *Self Government under the British Rule*. The translation is both accurate and concise and the book is calculated to interest a large circle of Marathi readers who stand in urgent need of a work which can give them in a brief space a sufficiently clear outline of India's demand for post war reforms and the solid ground on which the claim is put forth.

V G APTE

## POST GRADUATE TEACHING AT CALCUTTA

THE work of post graduate instruction divides itself into four elements

(1) The delivery of lectures on the basis of existing books (usually textbooks). This is mere class teaching of the undergraduate type, and can be done without any other limit as to the size of the class than the range of the lecturer's voice. It does not involve any personal contact between the teacher and the pupils.

(2) The delivery of post graduate lectures truly so-called, i.e., (a) lectures resulting from a wide and deep study of the latest literature on the subject and embodying a broad survey or high class treatment of it, and (b) the presentation of the results of a man's own original researches. These two can be delivered only by specialists and the second or (b) may have no close connection with any special M A course. Here, again, the size of the class is practically unlimited, as the students are mere listeners.

(3) Seminar work, which ensures independent study (as distinct from the preparation of mere lecture notes), assimilation of book learning, freshness of thinking, and co-ordination of studies on the part of the students. Here the number of students must bear a definite proportion to the number of teachers (maximum 20 to 1).

(4) Initiation in research. (a) Practical training in original research on particular subjects, and (b) acquaintance with the general methods of research irrespective of the pupils' special subject of investigation. Here, again, the size of the class under each teacher must be very small. A research professor cannot effectively supervise the work of more than ten (preferably six) pupils as "apprentices" in his research workshop. But practical training in research is demanded by only a select minority of M A candidates and is not required by all. It is indispensable for Ph D's.

Several Indian Universities have in recent times made provision for the conducting of original investigations by the newly created University professors in their secluded studies but hardly any for the organisation and guidance of research on the part of the students themselves though these two things are quite distinct and a University has failed in its duty to its highest students and to its own ideal, so long as it does not provide for the latter kind of research.

As for a knowledge of the general methods of research, it can be best supplied by a man who has actually done research.

\* See the remarks on the late Dr Thibaut in this Review, April 1915 pp 378-379.

work of his own, no matter in what special subject.

It is clear to those who know the inner side of the Calcutta University that in respect of (1) the University M. A. classes and the Colleges that have M. A. affiliation (including those of Patna and Dacca, which have M. A. classes conducted by members of their staff designated for this purpose only as "University Lecturers") are on the same footing. As for (2), the University alone is doing it or can do it, the colleges do not get the type of men necessary for this work except by accident, and even when they get such a man they cannot put his talent to the best use, because they cannot "relieve him of the back work which necessarily falls to the lot of a College lecturer." (*Public Services Commission's Report*, p. 110).

The third element of post-graduate instruction is imparted only in the affiliated Colleges and never in the Calcutta University's own teaching department; and, indeed, the unwieldy size of the University M. A. classes, (ten to twelve hundred in the 5th year), makes such a work impossible without considerably increasing its present staff. But it is a work of paramount importance, if the University wishes to maintain its highest degree a 'reliable hall-mark of merit, capacity, and character,' (as distinct from an index of mere paper qualifications). The disaffiliation of the post-graduate classes in the colleges, unless accompanied by the establishment of an elaborate and effective tutorial system under the management of the University, will convert the entire M. A. teaching, without even its present exceptions, into the work of a gigantic "lecture institute," such as the London University was in its unregenerate days. That would be a retrogression in our academic evolution.

The fourth element is not being attempted either by the Colleges or by the University, except probably in Experimental Psychology. [I do not include the Science College in the above remark, because that institution is exactly like an affiliated

College.] But unless it is undertaken and the cost of it is faced, the University must be prepared to see its edifice of "Higher studies" remain without its dome, and must fail to answer the criticism that its post-graduate classes are merely magnified under-graduate classes.

For ensuring regular and organised tutorial work by M. A. students, I suggest that the monthly fees should be raised from Rs 6 to Rs 9 and the extra amount, about Rs 3,200 a month, should be earmarked for engaging 25 young tutors on Rs. 125 each, who will give tutorial assistance and correct the essay of every student, taking him apart individually for 20 minutes, at least three times a month (in some subjects oftener), thus guiding his private studies and keeping personal touch with him. This good result can be further promoted by appointing men who are teachers by vocation as University lecturers, and greatly reducing the present army of *High Court half-timers*, who hurry to the Darbhanga Buildings after their day's work as practising lawyers, disburden themselves of their stipulated number of lectures and quickly return to their real "business" without knowing anything of their students.

As things now stand, the Calcutta University has made no provision for the organisation and supervision of research in its post-graduate classes (except in Science). If, in addition, the affiliated Colleges are deprived of their smaller but more efficient M. A. classes, without the University effecting the reforms proposed above in its own M. A. classes, the result will be that the only post-graduate instruction in the province will be imparted by a single unwieldy lecture-institute, to a great extent conducted by *High Court half-timers* styled lecturers, without the redeeming features supplied by the colleges now doing M. A. work, and equally without the high aims pursued by the Universities of Germany and America in their post-graduate departments.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG  
THE INDO-ARYANS

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., FRENCH AND ROYAL SCHOLAR.

XI  
SECTION III.BELIEF OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN THAT HE CAN  
SECURE MATERIAL BLESSINGS IN INFLU-  
ENCING THE GOD INCARNATE IN THE  
KING OR OTHERS**T**HE hypothesis expounded by Dr. Frazer  
may be summarized thus.—

Ancient kings commonly combined in themselves both the administrative and priestly functions, and in addition, the divine functions, for they were looked upon as gods incarnate. They were expected to confer upon their subjects blessings which lie beyond the reach of mortals. Thus rain and sunshine in proper seasons, growth of crops, removal of epidemics, in short, freedom from all scourges of humanity and bestowal of the essentials of public welfare, were supposed to be dependent upon their will. A primitive man hardly perceived the difference between the natural and the supernatural, and conceived the world as worked to a great extent by personal beings moved by appeals to their hopes, fears, and compassion. Guided by this belief, he thought he could influence the course of nature by prayers, threats and promises directed to none other than the god incarnate in the king, or as he sometimes believed, in himself or any one of his fellow men.

## KINGSHIP THROUGH PROFICIENCY IN MAGIC.

Along with the view of the world as worked by spiritual forces, the primitive man had another, and probably still older conception that contemplated nature as a series of events occurring without the intervention of any personal agency. Such a conception was involved in the "sympathetic magic" that played such an important part in those days. In early society, the king was a sorcerer and he appears to have risen to the throne by his proficiency in the black or white art.

"SYMPATHETIC MAGIC" AND ITS BRANCHES  
EXPLAINED

The principles involved in "sympathetic magic" are two —

(I) Like produces like, i.e., an effect resembles its cause.

(II) Things once in physical contact continue to act on each other from distant places after the severance of the contact.

Sympathetic Magic  
(Law of Sympathy)

Homeopathic or Imitative Magic (Law of Similarity)	Contagious Magic (Law of Contact)
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(The accompanying table shows the branches of sympathetic magic with their alternative names and the principles upon which they are based).

The magician infers from the first principle, the law of similarity, that he can produce any effect he likes by imitating it; and from the second, the law of contact, that whatever he does to a material object affects equally the person with whom it was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. In practice, the two principles are often combined.<sup>1</sup>

From another point of view, sympathetic magic is divided into Private and Public, the former being practised for the benefit or injury of individuals, and the latter for public well-being, or injury to public enemies.

EXAMPLES OF PRIVATE HOMOEOPATHIC MAGIC  
OF IMAGE AND OTHER THINGS.

As examples (mostly private) of "homoeopathic magic" (see the table, *supra*), Dr. Frazer cites the uses of an image, which is subjected to magical treatment in the belief that sufferings caused to it will produce like sufferings to the intended enemy, and its

<sup>1</sup> For what precedes about magic, see Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, (henceforth referred to as 'G') 3rd ed., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 50-54.

destruction will cause his death. This practice was very widely diffused all over the world, and still persists. Only a few instances are described, viz., its practice among the American Indians, Malays, and Arabs of North Africa, as also in Torres Straits, Borneo, China, Japan, Australia, Burma, Africa, ancient and modern India, Egypt, Babylon, Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The magical image is also used in various countries for various ends, viz., to get offspring, procure love, ensure food supply, maintain domestic harmony, heal diseases, and so forth.<sup>2</sup>

Not merely image but also various animals and objects, the tides, sun, moon, and stars, are magically treated to yield homœopathically the desired results.<sup>3</sup>

#### TABOOS COME UNDER SYMPATHETIC MAGIC.

Not merely positive precepts but also negative ones, i.e., prohibitions, form part of this magic, the latter being termed *taboos* and the former *sorcery*. Through these also operate the two principles of similarity and contact. To cite instances. Camphor-hunters of Malay refrain from pounding their salt fine. The reason is that owing to the resemblance of salt to camphor, they believe that by the taboo they ensure that the grains of the camphor he seeks for will be large like their coarse salt. The infringement of the taboo would make the camphor fine like the pounded salt they use.

In most parts of ancient Italy, women were forbidden by law to carry their spindles openly, for any such action was believed to injure the crops. The belief probably was that the twirling of the spindle would twirl the corn-stalks.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the taboo.

#### EXAMPLES OF PRIVATE CONTAGIOUS MAGIC.

The second branch of sympathetic magic, viz., "private contagious magic" is equally wide-spread. Only a few instances need be noted: it is customary in many parts of the world to put extracted teeth in a place where they might come into contact with a mouse or a rat, in the hope that through sympathy the teeth of their former owner would become firm and excellent like those of the rodents. This belief obtains in Africa, Europe, America, India &c., with more or less modi-

fications. Similarly, there are superstitious practices in various countries based on beliefs in sympathetic connexion between a wound and the weapon which inflicted it, a person and his clothes or foot-prints, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE "PUBLIC MAGICIAN" HIS ELEVATION TO SOVEREIGNTY A BENEFIT TO EARLY SOCIETY.

Thus far we have noticed instances of homœopathic or contagious magic practised for private ends, i.e., for the benefit or injury of individuals. But side by side with this may be found the practice of public magic for the good of the whole community or for the injury of the inimical ones. The magician ceases to be a private practitioner and rises into a public functionary. He has to direct his attention to the properties of drugs and minerals, the causes of rain and drought, of thunder and lightning, the changes of the seasons, the phases of the moon, the diurnal and annual journeys of the heavenly bodies, the mystery of life and death and such other things, a knowledge of which is necessary to make up his peculiar outfit. He is expected, by his magical rites, to secure objects of public utility—supplying food, healing diseases, making and stopping rain, controlling the sun and wind, averting diseases and other scourges of society and so forth. The means that he adopts are the same sympathetic magic with its two branches. The examples have been imported from a large number of countries and peoples all over the world.<sup>2</sup> The evolution of such a class of functionaries is of great importance to political and religious progress in early society. The public welfare being believed to depend on the performance of magical rites, they attain to a position of much influence and power, and may readily step up to the rank of chiefs or kings. The profession draws to it the ablest men of the tribe, who, as in other professions, drive to the wall their duller brethren by dint of their superior intelligence. This superiority depends for the most part, however, on a command over the fallacies that impose upon their credulous and superstitious clients. Thus the ablest members of the profession become more or less conscious deceivers, though it is by no means the case that a

1 G., pt. I, Vol. I, pp 55-70.

2 Ibid., 70-111.

3 Ibid., 135-174.

4 G., pt. I, vol. I, pp 111 ff

1 G., pt. I, vol I, pp. 174-214.

2 G., pt. I, vol I, pp. 244-331.



In the Lendu tribe of Central Africa, the rain-maker almost invariably becomes a chief.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECOND GROUP OF INSTANCES

The aborigines of Central Australia are governed by elders, who have to perform magical rites, some for the supply of food for the tribe, others for rain-fall or such other services to the community. Their most important function is to take charge of the sacred store-house, containing the holy stones and sticks (*churinga*) with which the souls of all the people, both living and dead, are supposed to be bound up. Civil duties, such as the infliction of punishment for breach of tribal custom, are no doubt attached to their position as elders, but their principal functions are sacred or magical.<sup>2</sup>

In South-Eastern Australia, the headmen are often, sometimes invariably, magicians, magical rites being inseparable from their duties. Some of them are very powerful in their own and greatly feared by the neighbouring tribes. In South Eastern Australia individuals possessing the greatest influence are the sorcerers. They are believed to have power to drive away wind and rain, heal the sick and bring down lightning and disease upon objects of their own or others' hatred.<sup>3</sup>

In New Guinea, the natives are on a higher level of culture than the Australian aborigines. Among them the constitution is still essentially democratic or oligarchic, and chiefship is only in embryo. The only effective influence is that of the wizards, who dominate over chiefs. In the Toaripi tribe of British New Guinea, the chiefs have not necessarily supernatural powers but a sorcerer is looked upon as a chief.<sup>4</sup>

Among the aborigines of the Melanesian Islands, the power of chiefs rests upon their supposed supernatural powers derived from the spirits or ghosts with which they hold intercourse. If a chief imposes a fine, it is paid because the people fear his ghostly power. As soon as they begin to disbelieve in this power, his authority to levy fines is shaken. Such belief having failed in the

Banks' Islands, the position of the chief tended to become obscure.<sup>5</sup>

In the Northern New Hebrides, the son does not inherit the chiefship, but does so, if the father can manage to convince the people that he has transferred to his son his supernatural power, his charms, magical songs, stones and apparatus, and his knowledge of the way to approach spiritual beings.<sup>6</sup>

At Tana, there are hosts of 'sacred men' among whom the disease-makers are the most dreaded. They rise to a position of immense wealth and influence. These rascals, according to Dr. Turner, appear to be on the high road to kingship and divinity.<sup>7</sup>

The African aborigines are still higher in the scale of culture, and chieftainship and kingship among them are fully developed, and the evidence for their evolution out of the magician, specially the rain-maker, is comparatively plentiful.<sup>8</sup> The respect shown to the magicians by those people is very great. Among the Ba-Yakas, a tribe of the Congo Free State, the magicians enjoy the privilege of being exempt from justice.<sup>9</sup> The office of their chiefs is associated with, and appears to depend on, magical functions. The chiefs of the Ossidinge district in the Cameroons, to cite one among several instances, have, as such, very little influence over their subjects; but should they be fetish-priests as well, they wield a great authority.<sup>10</sup> Some chiefs in South Africa allowed none else to compete with them in rain making, lest a successful rain maker should acquire immense influence and ultimately displace them.<sup>11</sup> The Matabeles of South Africa have witch-doctors with as great a power as that of kings.<sup>12</sup> The head of the tribe engages witch-doctors, with whom he busies himself a certain portion of the year in compounding potions for rain-making.<sup>13</sup> He is held responsible not only for rain but also for various other natural phenomena disas-

<sup>1</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I p. 348

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 334, 335.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 337

<sup>6</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 338, 339.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 343, 347.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 349.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 350.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 351.

trous to the people—blight, locusts drought epidemics dearth of milk in cows &c Cases are on record in which the chiefs have been exiled or put to death for failure to supply remedies for the disasters.<sup>1</sup> Parallels of such punishments are found in the annals of ancient Scythia Egypt Corea China and Tonquin.<sup>2</sup>

THE REGALIA OF KINGS ARE BUT TALISMANS  
OF THEIR PREDECESSORS THE MAGICIANS

The regalia according to Dr Frazer are the wonder working talismans, which the kings even of several modern civilized countries appear to have derived from their predecessors the magicians, and were perhaps viewed in this light in former days.<sup>3</sup> In Malaya, a few talismans of the magicians are exactly analogous to the regalia of the king, and bear even the same names.<sup>4</sup> The royal authority in some countries depends entirely upon the possession of the regalia, which the rebels and deposed monarchs try to have by all means, e.g., in Southern Celebes.<sup>5</sup> The very existence of the kingdom is supposed to depend in Cambodia upon the regalia, which are committed to the Brāhmanas for safe-keeping. They were supposed to have the same magical virtue in Egypt Greece, Scythia, and several other countries.<sup>6</sup>

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF  
KINGS SHARED BY THE ANCESTORS OF  
ALL THE ARYAN RACES

The belief in the magical or supernatural powers of kings to control the course of nature for the good of their subjects seems to have been shared by the ancestors of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland.<sup>7</sup> A noteworthy instance of a relic of this belief is the notion that English kings can heal scrofula by their touch. This gift of healing they are said to have derived from Edward the Confessor while a similar gift of the French kings, from Clovis or St. Louis.<sup>8</sup> But Dr Frazer suspects these derivations

and holds the real origin to be with the 'barbarous nay savage predecessors of the Saxon and Merovingian kings who according to him possessed the same gift many ages before.'

THE SUM TOTAL OF THE FORMER EVIDENCES.

Kings appear thus to have often been evolved out of magicians corresponding to the great social revolution in the rise of the sorcerers into monarchs there was an intellectual revolution affecting the conception and functions of royalty. For in course of time the fallacy of magic became apparent to the acuter minds and religion emerged. In other words the magician became priest and performed now by appeals to the gods the things formerly done by him by his command over nature. The distinction between the human and the divine was, however still blurred or had scarcely emerged. Hence the priest king was also looked upon as a god through the temporary or permanent possession of his whole nature by a great and powerful spirit.<sup>9</sup>

THE PRIORITY OF MAGIC TO RELIGION IN  
THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN THOUGHT

The priority of magic to religion implied in the subsequent emergence of religion just mentioned in the evolution of human thought is thus explained. By religion Dr Frazer understands a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to control the course of nature and human life. It consists of two elements a theoretical and a practical—a belief in the superior powers and an attempt to please them. Of these belief comes first and leads to a corresponding practice. The belief without the practice is no religion but mere theology, while the latter alone cannot also constitute religion. It is not necessary that the religious practice should always be rituals; it may lie in merely pure conduct. The assumptions of magic and religion are radically conflicting. The former like science looks upon the course of nature as rigid, while the latter by the implication of a conscious or personal agent, who can be propitiated contemplates the processes of nature as capable of modification. Magic like religion deals no doubt, with spirits

<sup>1</sup> G. pt. I vol. I pp. 353, 354

<sup>2</sup> Ib. d. pp. 354, 355

<sup>3</sup> Ib. d. p. 364

<sup>4</sup> G., pt. I vol. I p. 363

<sup>5</sup> Ib. d. p. 363

<sup>6</sup> Ib. d. pp. 364, 365

<sup>7</sup> Dr Frazer cites instances from India Sweden Denmark, Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland (Ib. d. pp. 366, 368)

<sup>8</sup> Ib. d., pp. 366, 368, 370

<sup>9</sup> G., pt. I vol. I p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. d. pp. 371, 372

but it treats them as "inanimate agents, i.e., it constrains or coerces instead of conciliating or propitiating them as religion would do." It takes all personal beings whether human or divine as subject in the last resort to impersonal forces which can be turned to account by one who knows how to manipulate them by proper spells and ceremonies. The opposition of principles between magic and religion had its counterpart in history in the antagonism between the priest and the magician, the former looking upon the latter as impious and blasphemous. But this antagonism seems to have appeared late in the history of religion. At an early time, they co-operated and were confused with each other, e.g., in ancient Egypt, early India, modern Europe, &c., where the priest solicited the good will of the gods by prayer, and had also recourse to rites and forms of words believed to produce of themselves the desired result. This early fusion of magic and religion was not however the earliest phase of human thought. It was preceded by a still earlier one when magic existed without religion. The fundamental notions of magic and religion may confirm this view. The conception of personal agents is more complex than a recognition of the similarity or contiguity of ideas. The very beasts associate ideas of things that are like each other, or found together in their experience; but none attribute to them a belief that the phenomena of nature are worked by invisible animals or one prodigious animal. Three stages of evolution are therefore distinguished. First, a stage in which magic existed without religion; second, a stage in which the two co-operated and to some extent were confused; and third, a stage, in which their radical difference was recognized.

#### INDUCTIVE PROOF CONFIRMING THE DEDUCTIVE.

The deductive inference regarding the priority of magic is confirmed inductively by the fact that among the Australian aborigines, the rudest savages regarding whom we have accurate information, magic is universally practised, but religion is almost unknown.<sup>1</sup> This is only a landmark of a primitive phase of human thought through which the savage as well as the civilized races of the world had all to pass. There had been an Age of Magic before religion emerged. The solid substratum

of belief in the efficacy of magic among the ignorant and superstitious who constitute the vast majority of mankind, may be an indication of this ruder and earlier aspect of the human mind.

#### RELIGION EVOLVING OUT OF THE INEFFECTIVITY OF MAGIC.

In course of time, the inefficacy of magic became gradually apparent and religion evolved. Man could no longer believe that he was guiding the course of nature by his supernatural powers. He saw that it went on without him and without heeding his commands. It must then be worked by invisible beings superior to him. To these beings he now resigned himself, beseeching and propitiating him for all good things, instead of depending upon his own supposed powers.<sup>2</sup>

### SECTION IV.

#### THE APPLICATION OF THE MAGICIAN THEORY TO INDIA.

Dr. Frazer makes this generalization in his chapter on "Magicians as 'Kings'", that the belief that the kings possess magical or supernatural powers by which they can confer material benefits on their subjects seems to have been shared by the ancestors of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland, and it has left clear traces of itself in England down to modern times; and draws this conclusion from the supposed gift of healing by touch of English and French kings that they had magician predecessors many ages ago.<sup>3</sup> He instances some other countries which he also considers as coming within the application of his theory. With regard to the supposed supernatural powers of ancient Hindu kings, he quotes the *Laws of Manu*: "In that country where the king avoids taking the property of mortal sinners, men are born in due time and are long-lived. And the crops of the husbandmen spring up, each as it was sown, and the children die not, and no misshaped offspring is born."<sup>4</sup>

#### PUBLIC MAGIC IN INDIA.

Under "public magic" he refers to the magical control of rain among the Hindus of the Central Provinces who believe that a

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence see Dr. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I, pp. 141-146.

<sup>2</sup> For the evolution of religion after magic, see G., pt. I, vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 210-243.

<sup>3</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, ch. VI.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 366, 370.

<sup>5</sup> The Laws of Manu (S.B.E.), IX, 246.

twin can save the crops from the ravages of hail and heavy rain if he only paints his right buttock black and his left buttock some other colour, and thus adorned goes and stands in the direction of the wind<sup>1</sup>.

He also refers to the rules observed by a Brāhmana student, performing the *Sakvavratā* (a kind of vow) for varying periods determined in each case, preparatory to his study of the *Mahānāmī* verses of the *Sāmaveda*. The virtue of the verses, the *Sūtra*<sup>2</sup> says, lies in water, and the performance of the vow involves, among many others, directions for touching water and refraining therefrom at certain times eating dark food, wearing dark clothes and so forth. After the accomplishment of this vow, the god Parjanya, it is stated, sends rain at the wish of the student. Prof. Oldenberg points out that "all these rules are intended to bring the Brāhmana into union with water, to make him, as it were, an ally of the water powers and to guard him against their hostility. The black garments and the black food have the same significance, no one will doubt that they refer to the rain-clouds when he remembers that a black victim is sacrificed to procure rain, 'it is black, for such is the nature of rain'. In respect of another rain-charm it is said plainly, 'He puts on a black garment edged with black, for such is the nature of rain.' We may therefore assume that here in the circle of ideas and ordinances of the Vedic schools, there have been preserved magical practices of the most remote antiquity which were intended to prepare the rain maker for his office and dedicate him to it"<sup>3</sup>.

Again, in Muzaffarnagar, a town of the Punjab, the people, during excessive rains, draw a figure of the sage Agastya, on a loin-cloth and put it out in the rain or paint his figure on the outside of the house in order that rain may wash it off. This sage is a great personage in the folklore of the people. It is supposed that as soon as he feels in effigy the hardships of wet weather, he exercises his power of stopping rain<sup>4</sup>.

When rain is wanted at Chhatarpur, a native state in Bundelcund, they paint on a wall facing east two figures with legs up and heads down, one representing Indra and the other Megha Rāja the lord of rain. It is believed that in this uncomfortable position, they will be compelled to send down the showers<sup>5</sup>.

A sun charm is held by Dr Trayer to consist in the offering made by the Brāhmana in the morning, for it is written in the Satapatha Brāhmana that "assuredly the sun would not rise were he not to make the offering"<sup>6</sup>.

#### CONFUSION OF MAGIC AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT INDIA, REPRESENTING THE SECOND STAGE IN THE EVOLUTION OF MAGIC. THE CONFUSION LASTS UP TO MODERN TIMES.

As indicative of the formerly explained second stage in the evolution of magic, reference is made to the earliest sacrificial ritual, of which we have detailed information, as being provided with practices that breathe the spirit of the most primitive magic<sup>7</sup>. The rites performed on special occasions such as marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king are models of magic of every kind of the highest antiquity<sup>8</sup>. The sacrifices detailed in the Brāhmanas are interlarded with magic. The *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana*, the *Ādhyātma Brāhmana* which forms part of the *Shad-vimsa Brāhmana*<sup>9</sup>, and the *Kausika-Sūtra*<sup>10</sup> are really handbooks of incantations and sorcery. In the introduction to the translation of the last named book, Dr W. Caland remarks, 'He who has been wont to regard the ancient Hindus as a highly civilised people, famed for their philosophical systems, their dramatic poetry, their epic lays, will be surprised when he makes the acquaintance of their magical ritual, and will perceive that hitherto he has known the old Hindu people

Popular Religion, and Folklore of Northern India (1896) I, p. 76.

<sup>1</sup> G. pt. I, vol. I, pp. 203, 297 quoting W. Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, (1896), I, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Satapatha Brāhmana, translated by J. Eggeling pt. I, p. 328 (S. B. E. vol. XII).

<sup>3</sup> G. pt. I, vol. I p. 228 quoting H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda p. 59. Also

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. quoting ibid. p. 477 &c.

<sup>5</sup> Sylvain Lévi, La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmanas (1898) p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> W. Caland Alt indisches Zauberritual, p. IX.

<sup>7</sup> G. pt. I, vol. I, p. 269 quoting M. N. Venket swami 'Superstitions among Hindus in the Central Provinces' Ind. An. quary XXVIII (1899), p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> Gobhila Grihya Sūtra (S. B. E.), III, 2.

<sup>9</sup> G. pt. I, vol. I p. 269 270 quoting H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda p. 420 ff.

<sup>10</sup> G. pt. I, vol. I p. 296 quoting W. Crooke,

from one side only. He will find that he here stumbles on the lowest strata of Vedic culture and will be astonished at the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamanism of the so-called savage. If we drop the peculiar Hindu expressions and technical terms and imagine a shaman instead of a Brāhmana we could almost fancy that we have a magical book belonging to one of the tribes of North American red skins". So also Prof M. Bloomfield "Witchcraft has penetrated and has become intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad current of popular religion and superstition has infiltrated itself through numberless channels into the higher religion that is presented by the Brāhmana priests, and it may be presumed that the priests were neither able to cleanse their own religious beliefs from the mass of folk belief with which it was surrounded, nor is it at all likely that they found it in their interest to do so". The very name of Brāhmana according to some good authorities, is derived from *brahman* "a magical spell," from which the Brāhmana seems to have been a magician before he was a priest. The Mantrasāstrī claims to effect by mantras much more than any magician ever pretends to accomplish. He is even superior to the gods and can make gods, goddesses, imps, and demons carry out his behests. Hence the following saying is every where current in India "The whole universe is subject to the gods, the gods are subject to the mantras, the mantras to the Brāhmanas, therefore, the Brāhmanas are our gods". Even up to the present day, the great Hindu trinity is subject to the sorcerers who by means of their spells exercise such a power over the mightiest gods that they are bound to do whatever they may please to order them".

## INCARNATION OF THE DIVITY, TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT

Deification of the magician king is the

- 1 As quoted in G, pt I, vol I, p 279
- 2 M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva Veda, pp xiv ff (S B E. vol xii) quoted in G, loc cit
- 3 O Schrader Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde (1901) pp 637 ff
- 4 Mon er Williams Feligious Thought and Life in India (1883), pp 201, 202 and 202 fn (G, pt I, vol I, pp 225, 226)
- 5 G, pt I, vol I, p 22, quoting J A Dubois, Mœurs, usages et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde (Paris, 1855) II, 60, ff

final step in his progress. The conception of human incarnation is, as already pointed out, common in early societies and the divinity of the king is but one of its manifestations. No country in the world is perhaps so prolific of human gods, and nowhere else has the divine grace been poured out in so great a measure on all classes of society from kings down to milkmen as in India.

## TEMPORARY DEIFICATION

A Brāhmana householder who performs the regular bi-monthly sacrifices is supposed thereby to become a deity for the time being. "He who is consecrated becomes both Vishnu and a sacrificer". Among the Kuruvikkarans, a class of bird-catchers and beggars in Southern India, the goddess Kālī is supposed to descend upon the priest for a time. The Takhas on the borders of Kashmir have prophets who become inspired and communicate with the deity.

## PERMANENT DEIFICATION

Among the Todas of the Nilgiris, the dairy is a sanctuary and the milkman a god. "Every king in India is regarded as little short of a present god" and the Hindu law-book of Manu goes further and says that "even an infant king must not be despised from an idea that he is a mere mortal, for he is a great deity in human form". The same treatise lays down that a Brāhmana "whether ignorant or learned is a great divinity just as fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity," and "though he employs himself in all sorts of mean occupations, he must be honoured in every way for every Brāhmana is a very great deity". The *Satapatha Brahmana*

- 1 and 2 G, pt I vol I p 380, quoting Eggeling's transl of *Satapatha Brahmana* (S B E) pt II, pp 438-440, 29
- 3 Ibid, p 38, quoting E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, I, 11, 187
- 4 Ibid, p 383 quoting C F Oldham, "The Nagas" J R A S, 1901, pp 463-465, ff, 467-470 ff. The Takhas are according to Oldham, descendants of Nagas of the Mahabharata
- 5 Ibid, p 402 citing among others W E. Marshall's *Travels amongst the Todas* (London, 1873), pp 156, 137
- 6 Ibid, p 403 quoting Mon er Williams *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p 259
- 7 G, loc cit, quoting Manu (S B E), VII, shlo 8,
- 8 G, lb d, quoting Ibid, IX, 317
- 9 G, lb d, quot eg Ibid, I, 319

records a similar view. Verily there are two kinds of gods, for, indeed, the gods are the gods and the Brāhmanas who have studied, and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice of these is divided into two kinds: oblations constitute the sacrifice to the gods, and gifts to the priests, that to the human-gods the Brāhmanas who have studied and teach sacred lore.<sup>1</sup> The spiritual power of the priest *purohita* of a village community is described by Monier Williams as unbounded. 'His anger is as terrible as that of the gods. His blessing makes rich, his curse withers. Nay more he is himself actually worshipped as a god. No marvel no prodigy in nature is believed to be beyond the limits of his power to accomplish. If the priest were to threaten to bring down the sun from the sky or arrest it in its daily course in the heavens no villager would for a moment doubt his ability to do so.'<sup>2</sup> A sect in Orissa some years ago worshipped the late Queen Victoria in her lifetime as their chief deity and to this day all living persons noted for strength, valour, or miraculous powers run the risk of being worshipped as gods.<sup>3</sup> Nikkal Sen was the deity of a sect in the Punjab. He was no other than the brave General Nicholson.<sup>4</sup> At Benares a celebrated deity was incarnate in Svāmī Bhāskarānandī Sarasvatī, who was worshipped in temples during his life and had other temples erected

to him since his death.<sup>5</sup> The Lingayat priests are worshipped as divinities and considered superior even to Siva.<sup>6</sup> In 1900, a hill man in Vizagapatam gave out that he was an incarnate god and gathered five thousand devotees who resisted even to the shedding of blood the armed force sent by the Government to suppress the movement.<sup>7</sup> At Chinchvad a small town about ten miles from Poona<sup>8</sup> in southern India there is a family of whom one in each generation is believed by a large number of Mahrattas to be god Ganapati in flesh and blood.<sup>9</sup> A Hindu sect which has many representatives in Bombay and Central India regards its spiritual chiefs or Mahārājas as incarnations of Krishna giving them homage including offering of incense, fruits, flowers and waving of lights, just as they do to the god Krishna.<sup>10</sup>

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Frazer (op cit p. 404) borrows the description from the Rev. Dr. A. M. K. B. who knew the Svāmī personally (Contemporary Review, June, 1899 p. 768). Also R. Bahadur Lala Bahadur S.A. Hinduism Ancient and Modern (Meerut 1903) pp. 94 ff. The difference between god and a mad man or a criminal says Dr. Frazer is often merely a question of latitude and longitude.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India iv 236-280 (C pt I vol I p. 404).

<sup>3</sup> E. Thurston's Ethnographic Notes on Southern India (Madras 1906), p. 301 (C pt I vol I p. 405).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Frazer (ibid p. 405) writes: Poona in western India. It should of course be in southern India.

<sup>5</sup> Among other references Captain Edward Moor's Account of an Hereditary Lingayat in the Asiatic Researches VII (London 1803) pp. 381, 395 and Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency VIII, pt. III (Bombay 1835) pp. 175 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Monier Williams op cit pp. 136 ff. Also History of the Sect of the Maharajas or Vallabhacharyas (Trubner Series London 1862)—(C pt I vol. 407).

<sup>1</sup> G pt I vol I p. 403 quoting Satapatha Brāhmana (S.B.E.) pt I pp. 309 ff. cf. ibid pt II p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Monier Williams Religious Life and Thought in India, p. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Monier Williams op cit p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 160.

think therefore, what the reasons may be for this sudden ascendancy of social themes in all kinds of literary productions. In the literature of the past, these themes had hardly any place; the feelings and actions of the individual man and woman formed the chief motif of plays, fictions and short stories. Now the case is the reverse. So the question has to be fully considered why has the literature of today taken this distinctive socialistic turn?

The reason is on the surface. Never before in the history of the world, had civilised society had such a thorough shake up as it has been having for the last three or four centuries. Society is like a tempest tossed sea, the whole of it is in disturbance. 'Being's Flood and Action's storm' are lashing up huge billows of change in it, which are coming one after another in rapid succession. This dynamic in society in place of the medieval static order, this seething unrest, this incessant weather disturbance, forces society upon the consciousness of man far far more strongly than ever and hence the expression of that consciousness, on the artistic and literary side, is wrought in its very texture by social facts and social problems.

But this surface view and surface explanation of such a question of moment are not enough. The equilibrium of society has been disturbed at other times, social earthquakes have been hatched but no seismographic records in literature are to be found on such a large scale as they are found now. For, the average social man is more intensely individualistic today than he was a century before, he takes off the label which society fixes on him and emerges out of the 'class' category, a unique type and temperament, not to be confounded with any other type of individual in the world. This rank individualism is at the basis of all social experiments—this free self assertion of the individual. So, what is called socialistic literature may, from this view point, be fitly called individualistic literature. One wonders where one may draw the bounding line between the two—they seem to be so inseparably connected. One presupposes the other, Society, as such, is it dynamic, is an aggregate of individual units which form various atomic combinations and build up compounds of consciousness in every line of life and thought. Individuals inasmuch as they act and react on one another and are

mutually related, form various self-conscious selective groups and build up larger and larger wholes until the entire cosmic humanity is embraced. But all this sounds extremely paradoxical, although paradox it is not. So I must proceed to explain the why and wherefore of this phenomenon which pervades and permeates the whole range of modern literature.

In Europe, the entire history of the modern era from the fourteenth century on, may be viewed as an awakening of the spirit of reflection, as a revolt against authority and tradition, and as a protest against both absolutism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. Democracy versus absolutism, nationalism versus ecclesiasticism gradually settled the conflict in favour of the former. The principle of subordination, the prevailing principle of the Middle Ages receded, the principle of freedom of thought, of feeling and of action, gained ground.

For a time, Individual Reason became the sole authority in all matters. Reason proudly sat upon the throne once occupied by ecclesiastical authority, she believed herself competent to solve all problems for she thought she could explain the universe. That was in the eighteenth century period of enlightenment, when the spirit of criticism walked abroad undermining tradition and authority of every kind.

But the spirit of criticism, once fully awakened and quickened, could not long stop at reason. It soon began to question its claims. It asked: Can reason venture alone on the sea of speculation? Has the seaworthiness of the vessel been properly tested? Doubts thronged in the human mind. The claims of reason were found to be too ambitious, too hollow and inadequate therefore. Knowledge became strictly restricted to the field of experience and therefore sciences grew at an amazingly rapid rate shoving off philosophy and all questions of ultimates into the lumber room of idle speculation along with intuitions, instincts and such like psychic elements, all mixed up pell mell in a confused heap. The age of generalisation was gone, the age of specialisation began.

Materialism, as a world view, was worked out in consequence of this aversion from philosophy. A world construction out of atoms (or later out of electrons) was simple enough and as soon as the theory of evolution was ushered in, mate-

rialism joined hands to it and evolutionistic materialism became the creed of the new scientific enlightenment. It was no thing more or less than a system of metaphysics although the majority of scientific thinkers fought shy of metaphysics, wishing to pluck it out of the human heart, which was very hard to do indeed. For materialism is based on certain theories and not on scientifically proved facts. The theories of matter, the theories of life, are not as yet justified and supported by the facts of science. Hence the most cautious scientists apprehending that the bounding lines of physics and metaphysics may overlap each other sooner or later, strongly repudiate the attempt to build a theory of the universe or a theory of life on the lines followed by Evolutionistic materialism. Such cautions in the camp of science prove however useless. The correlation of sciences is more and more established and a new methodology is being worked out and constructed. Just as steam has very effectively demolished the artificial geographical boundaries of countries and continents of the world, so the rapid strides with which science is advancing will make powerful and unobstructed encroachments upon other fields of enquiry.

For instance, we may or may not accept a material interpretation of the universe, but we cannot but accept the evolutionary conception, the conception in a word, that things are not made but grow. For this conception is the lord of all our thinking, its application is in all fields of enquiry, in literature and art, in religion, in society, in government and law, etc.

It must be admitted that it is a misfortune to a country, where philosophy takes no bread. At the same time, it is a favourable symptom that modern thinkers now fight shy of system building. It is not true, therefore, that the modern man does not care for a conception of man's relation with the universe, for the why and wherefore of things for the explanation of fundamental problems. He does care for these things a great deal, but he cares more for an intensive search of life for facts and experiences. His philosophy must therefore be a philosophy of life. Such a philosophy cannot rest content with building any system of a static kind, when life and its phenomena are dynamic and ever changeful. We come, conse-

quently, to another paradox, like the one we started with in the beginning of this article, that the modern world desires philosophy and at the same time clings more firmly to it than ever. Materialism as a system is therefore failing to win its way into the camp of the scientists themselves, who have given it birth. There are abundant symptoms of a growing faith in a world of ideas as witness the interest in psychic research, etc., crude expressions, however, of revolt against materialism.

As I said before, the socialistic man is most individualistic, so I say now that the philosophical man is most practical or rather believes most in investigations that promise practical results. The modern man holds that knowledge itself must be put to practical tests and the philosophy of *'Pragmatism'* which makes the practical test the criterion of truth has therefore been quite a recent development. It is another very characteristic sign of the times that counter tendencies are thus running side by side and are acting and reacting on one another in modern life and thought.

The question of philosophy, therefore, to my mind, is in essence the same question with which I started. The generalising tendency of philosophy aims at system building. The particularising tendency aims at overthrowing systems and making the practical test the ultimate one or rather making realities and their correlative analysis, the basis of philosophy.

The same tendencies have affected religion. The old dogmatic theology is practically dead everywhere. Still churches grow and sects multiply. The socialistic side of religion is represented by churches and sects, the individualistic side by the gradual abolition of dogmas and creeds on which alone sects and communities can stand. The multiplication of sects is however a sure test that sectarianism is not being advocated, yet at the same time it cannot be dispensed with.

It must not, for one moment, be supposed that I have been all along trying to draw a picture of the western world in matters of thought, science, religion and other departments. The same picture holds true and good in Bengal also. Socialistic literature, as I have said, forms the greater bulk of Bengali literature. The same problems of socialism and individualism are at work here also. Al-



though there has been little of scientific progress here, there has been a revolt against traditional authorities, a growth of the critical spirit. We passed through a similar period of rational illumination in the ages of Raja Rammohan Roy and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. There was a period of Renaissance then; there was also a period of Reformation afterwards. We built a creed of religion, we broke it again. Religious sects have amply multiplied within half a century and are still in process of formation. Modernism has thus affected the East no less than the West. But the expression of it by the East has been very feeble for many reasons. Life, under political and social conditions as we are in, is bound to be feeble. There is hardly any other kind of activity except that of thought. And thought without action is like soul without body. The soul of the East has awakened, not its body. It is still in slumber.

Well, in the political and economic spheres, in the West, we notice the same tendencies. There is the tendency of political and economic individualism on the one hand and of political and economic collectivism on the other. Political individualism may degenerate into political selfishness. The combination of self-seeking individuals, the 'representatives', the 'bosses', may thwart the will of the people. Hence, reforms are gradually evolving to correct these evils. But still individualism cannot be set aside on the mere ground of these evils. Individualism and the organisation of En Masse have to go side by side. One presupposes the other. One corrects the other. One is the counterpart and the correlative of the other.

Economic individualism has also been not an unmixed blessing. Unrestricted individualism has defeated the very object of individualism. To think of the clashes between capital and labour is awful. The rights of the weaker go to the wall every day; they have to bear the strong man's burden. Therefore, working men's unions, trade unionism, socialism and syndicalism and all kinds of economic programmes are on foot. They are all up to cure the inequalities in the distribution of wealth, to prevent the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. But, do all these attempts while reacting against the 'laissez faire' doctrine, aim at killing individualism by striking it at its very roots? No! There

have rather been protests against selfish and unrestricted individualism, not protests against individualism itself. For, as I said at the outset, socialistic experiments are based on a broad conception of individualism. Even those who preach most violently against selfishness and egoism in the scheme of society or politics like Tolstoy or Rabindranath Tagore, and such other absolute pacifists, are prophets of individualism, its most staunch defenders. For they speak against 'organised selfishness', which crushes the individual. They are for freeing the individual from all pressure of organisation. The philosopher, Herbert Spencer, defended individualism on evolutionistic grounds. In his opinion, all-embracing state functions characterise a low social type. Nietzsche, the extreme German individualist, is another defender of it. But no one among these prophets and intellectuals, believes in unrestricted individualism. They all repudiate it. Even does Nietzsche, in whose scheme of life there is no place of sympathy towards the weak and the unfit, the defective and the delinquent. He believed in 'overmen', not in the rabble. He was for a government where the overmen must have the upper hand. He therefore, was no advocate of unrestricted individualism, as has been mistakenly thought of by many who confused his overmanism with anarchism.

I must now come to my starting-point again. The tendency of modern times is neither towards over-socialisation, nor towards over-individualisation. The tendency is rather marked by the individualisation of social ends and socialisation of individual ends. In a word, the modern world is seeking for a harmony between the two, the individual and the En Masse.

The new literature, in which the above tendency is most marked, is, therefore, from one view-point socialistic; and individualistic from another view-point. It bursts the bonds that civilisation has woven for the individual—The Doll's Houses, and the Pillars of Society. It lays bare the souls of the individuals struggling against unmeaning fetters. This is the motif of the 'social dramas' which like an epidemic have spread from one end of the world to the other. In Scandinavia, Ibsen, and Strindberg; in Germany, Hauptmann and Sudermann; in England, Bernard Shaw and Galsworthy; in France, Brieux and Maeterlinck; in Italy

D Annunzio in Russia Tschekoff and Leonid Andreyev and in Bengal Rabindranath Tagore and Sarajubala are names of the greatest writers of social dramas in the world to day They are all for strong individualism but all against over individualisation They are really for dynamic creative cosmic individualism That in individualism however, is still a far off divine event whose consummation is devoutly to be wished for The stage of higher individual freedom the stage of citizenship as Hobhouse calls it at which the individual freely approves of the Social

Union is yet far off *The freedom of the individual must harmonise with the freedom of the whole*—this is the kernel of the whole social problem today Modern Literature is not yet tackled this problem It has only been partially and to some extent treated by the Bengali writers The key of this new harmony we believe is in the hands of the East the East must deliver it unto the lands of the West when the occasion rises for it That is however a mere hope not a fulfilment

AJITUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Education as a Factor in Industrial Development

is the title of an article contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for May by Prof B Mukherjee

The want of industrial efficiency of the laborer, is in Prof Mukherjee's opinion the foremost difficulty in the path of industrial development in India The industrial efficiency of the laborers depends upon

- (a) Industrial Training which includes
  - 1 General Education
  - 2 Technical Education
  - 3 Commercial Education
- (b) Health and Strength of the people
  - 1 Physical
  - 2 Mental
  - 3 Moral
- (c) Other various causes

It might be asked how does general education promote industries? By acting directly or indirectly upon the character of the person educated

Directly it promotes what Professor Marshall calls "general ability" which is the power to be able to bear many things at a time to have everything ready when wanted to act promptly and show resource when anything goes wrong to accommodate oneself quickly to changes in details of the work to be steady and trustworthy to have always reserve of force which will come out in an emergency Indirectly it stimulates the mental activity of workman It fosters in him a habit of wise decision it makes him more intelligent more trustworthy in his ordinary work it is the tone of his life in work and leisure and out of work and leisure.

There is much truth in the following observations of the writer

Education is really a national investment that more than pays its way It makes men think it increases the brain power and the intellectual capital of the nation to the greatest of all powers The real object of a sound system of education is not only strength and progress first and individual culture next It increases the value of human life and makes men see life steadily and see it whole It increases the reflective faculty and promotes the acquisition of the qualities of the head and heart which make for a real great nation Renan remarked "What defeated Frenchmen in the Franco-German War? Not Moltke not Bismarck but the mind the high seriousness, the method the thought of Germany It was Luther Kant Hegel who fought with us in the Franco-German War"

In India a child on breaks down the artificial angularities of the caste system and ranks more equal and free—free from the dual distinctions and disabilities of the blue laws, of a coercive social system

In India the home is hardly a place where the child can hope for any education at all Except among the richer classes the conditions which surround the lives of the mass of the people are most trying Poverty leaves little leisure to the parents and drives them both to labour for life for most of the day This leaves them hardly any opportunity or inclination to look after the child even with that care and attention which alone can produce any good result

Where the home performs its educative functions most satisfactorily even the school is needed to supplement the efforts of the home Hence the importance and responsibility of the school is everywhere great But when the home is so selfish its natural functions properly as in India and when even the robust opt must be shortened in the length of the time that must elapse before the home can be properly fitted for its task the responsibility of

the school—it will hardly be disputed—becomes of supreme importance, which, it would be certainly a folly—almost a crime—to shirk.

Yet, inspite of all this necessity for education, some of our countrymen, who have had the benefits of western education, and who profess to be educated themselves, say, that the working classes or the masses need have no acquaintance with the three R's because, forsooth, the tranquility and the peace of society will then be jeopardised!

### Aesthetics versus Ethics

In the course of an ably written article entitled *The Psychology of Social Development* appearing in the *Arya* for May the writer points out that the misunderstanding between the aesthetic and the ethical sides of our nature "is an inevitable circumstance of our human growth which must experiment in extremes in order that it may understand its capacities."

The aesthetic man tends to be impatient of the ethical rule, he feels it to be a barrier to his aesthetic freedom and an oppression on the play of his artistic sense and his artistic faculty. He is naturally hedonistic—his beauty and delight are inseparable powers—and the ethical rule tramples on pleasure—even very often on quite innocent pleasures,—and tries to put a strait waistcoat on the human impulse to delight. He may accept the ethical rule when it makes itself beautiful or even seize on it as one of his instruments for creating beauty, but only when he can subordinate it to the aesthetic principle of his nature—just as he is often drawn to religion by its side of beauty, pomp, magnificent ritual, emotional satisfaction, repose or poetic idealism and aspiration—we might almost say, by the hedonistic aspects of religion. But even then it is not for their own sake that he accepts them. The ethical man repays this natural repulsion with interest. He tends to distrust art and the aesthetic sense as something lax and effeminate, something in its nature undisciplined and by its attractive appeals to the passions and emotions destructive of a high and strict self-control. He sees that it is hedonistic and he finds that the hedonistic impulse is non-moral and often immoral. It is difficult for him to see how the indulgence of the aesthetic impulse beyond a very narrow and carefully guarded limit can be combined with a strict ethical life. He is evolved from the puritan who objects to pleasure on principle, in his extremes—and a predominant impulse tends to become absorbing and leads towards extremes—he remains fundamentally the puritan.

### India's Greatest Need

The following is taken from an eloquent article of the above name appearing in the *Young Men of India* for June.

So long as man is human and has life he will have

a desire to live and if what I say is true of individuals (as undoubtedly it is) why should it not be equally true of nations, who are but assemblages of individuals?

The sole aim of all national activity, therefore, is the maintenance of a free, unhampered, universally progressive existence and the ability to attain this end is, as with every other nation, our greatest need.

The first thing that India wants is the determination to live as a nation. So long as we do not have this determination, we shall not struggle and without struggle there is no existence. It is only when we struggle for life that we will become acquainted with our national drawbacks, and it is only when we realise our weaknesses that we will get to remedy them. We want a change in the national mind.

With the national spirit we must have united action. We must learn the great truth that individual objects must yield to common causes and we must act upon it because for all corporate existence there must be sacrifice on the part of the individual.

The strength of a corporate body depends not merely upon the number of individuals composing it but upon the extent to which they have merged their individualities in the making of the combination. The bee merges its individuality in the swarm and that gives to the swarm its power. Sheep, whether there be one or a thousand, will all flee before a single little boy but not so will do the swarm of bees.

For a long time past we have never thought of our mutual responsibilities. We have not felt anything to be our common cause and we have not been a united nation.

It is time that we make the realisation of the common cause of our nation our individual object.

Unity and sacrifice, let that be your aim for it will produce strength, and it is only the strong that rule the weak.

Social and economic problems demand our greatest activity. The bars of superstitions is squeezing life out of India. Child marriage is ruining the younger generation and making the old generation bankrupt. Millions of our countrymen are going to bed hungry every night. You that are well fed do you ever think of helping the weak brother? Do you remember that there are millions of our countrymen, who are starving, who go to sleep on bare uneven ground hungry or at best half-starved? Do you remember that there are so many of our brethren honestly in search of employment? Do you remember that we have people among us who would have shown the way to the world, but for adverse conditions and lack of opportunity? Is it not the duty of every nation to provide such an educative environment to every one of its component individuals as would develop his best capabilities? Are there not millions of people whom we rank lower than beasts? Are they not our brothers and sisters our own flesh and blood?

Having so cruelly depressed them, are we not responsible for their backwardness?

So long as 90 per cent. of our women are ignorant, so long as we have people actually hungering for want of employment, so long as our average income is six pice per head, so long as we have people ground down by superstitious religious sentiment so long as disease and misery are rampant, so long as millions are carried away by epidemics every year, so long as infant mortality is so

outside supplies of those compounds of nitrogen without which no country can continue to exist

### Making the Best of Things

The following is taken from an article of the above name appearing in the *Islamic Review* for May from the pen of Professor N. Stephen.

Do not say "Kismet" too soon. Beware of making the mistake of sitting down and letting things slide without an effort or a care, and a wrongly calling such weakness "submission to the will of God." It is true, for instance to say, "God tempers the wind to the shorn sheep," but as Killings added, "*Man must take care not to shew it too close*." We must do our part first. It is no use trying to cross a river by sitting on the bank. God never meant man to sit down and do nothing to help himself. If He had, He would have made us much less complex creatures than we are and more like the oyster which just stops where it is put. But God the Merciful, the All-Powerful has given to man the ability, the talent, to help himself over many. I may say most of the rough places of life and expects him to use it. His first, his chiefest, duty lies in this. "If there is a remedy try to find it." Only after this comes the wisdom of the second part of the line. *If there is none—never mind it.* Don't worry just accept it as the will of God who doeth all things well.

To get the best out of life you must make the best of yourselves and the things you have. Surely this is a life's duty philosophy. Yet many people never realize it, or if they do, ignore it, while some even seem determined to make the worst of themselves. I knew, many years ago, a man who was a typical example of this. An artist, perhaps the greatest Liverpool has produced, but he sacrificed himself, his art, and his life to a love of intoxicating drink. He had every opportunity, every chance, given him to make his life a great success, but he refused them all. He had a picture on the line at the Royal Academy exhibition when he was but seventeen years old, and the President referred to it and said, "With such a gift a man might rise to any height. I see in that picture, the shadow of a coming president." Later, the great art critic, John Ruskin, spoke of him as "the Rembrandt of England," yet when he died the *Art Magazine* could find no better title for his memoir than "The Story of a Failure," while a personal friend wrote of him, "if ever a man's life was a living death, his was."

### When a Poet Rests

is the title of a delightful article contributed to the *Hindustanee Student* by Mrs. Arthur Seymour, being her impressions of Rabindranath Tagore when the poet was staying at Urbana (U.S.A.) for a few days to take a little rest. We make no apology for presenting the article to our readers almost in its entirety. We read:

On a sunny afternoon three days before Christmas Mr. Tagore arrived in Urbana like a punctual guest, but one which could by no means be lulled aside or

postpone! He brought with him his latest volume in English, *Stray Birds*, the favorite among his books, he confessed. As I think over his visit, and the spirit of the lectures given here, I begin to understand his partiality for these tiny poems which occupy each in itself such an unobtrusive portion of a page, and yet which sing their way triumphantly into our hearts. They are sparks from inspired radiance which set fire to the imagination. They symbolize the poet's spirit of freedom in them he comes like a bird to light for a moment in the field of his reader's imagination, and then darts away to new freedom leaving us also free to build up the summer day and the unfinished song. He has such faith in the poet in us that setting it free with a line he trusts to it the achievement of its own vision.

Consistent with this explanation is his custom not to interpret his poetry to anyone. Once expressed, the poem is ours and we may, nay, rather, we must choose the meaning it is to hold for us. It is his recognition of the essential diversity of our personalities he would intrude himself only to awaken in us a consciousness of the universe of freedom and beauty that lies within the boundaries of our human life and invite us to claim our citizenship therein.

As he sat with his friends the second evening after his arrival he told how he had been hurried on from one city to another through the desert land of hotels, and in no place had he been able to give his entire message. We sat breathless as he unfolded his plan for us here. If we liked he would read to us all the lectures he had prepared for this tour. It was entirely characteristic of the man, of his need to be doing and giving. By all the laws of being he should have been totally exhausted after an exacting lecture tour of three months. We had thought of his visit to Urbana as a period of needed rest, a halt midway on a weary journey. We had felt how joyfully contented we should be just to have him in our midst and see him once again and yet he had no sooner taken breath than he was making this generous offer. Even then we hesitated to accept it we could not have accepted it had he not appeared hale and vigorous—an unexhausted radiance.

In this manner it came about that his entire message to the west was given not in proud cities that think to lure with wealth and climate and crowds, but here in our little prairie town that had nothing to offer in return but gratitude and quiet appreciation. There are experiences that come only once in a life time and one such has come to our campus.

When I add that our University community enjoyed a delightful illustrated lecture on Shantimuktan by Mr. W. W. Pearson a teacher in the school who is accompanying the poet in his travels, and that the poet read his play *Sannyasi* at a Christmas party given by Dr. and Mrs. Kuntz to the Tagore Circle, the anxious will begin to question if the abode of the gods was really a mountain and not rather a humble, unpretentious prairie.

Mr. Tagore's master speech, the Cult of Nationalism, constituted his special message to America. He shows how the nation has become a machine, wonderfully efficient and perfectly soulless and inhuman. It arrogates everything unto itself; it would be master. But, objects the positive and pragmatic listener, what are you going to give us in its place? You tear down, you fail to build up. I am purposely overemphasizing this error

schist, but always in the neighbourhood of granite. It is also found in the form of rolled lumps and grains, 'stream tin', in alluvial gravels as the products of the disintegration of the primary deposits.

Tin stone occurs in many different colours and shades, viz.—ash grey, light brown, pink, amber yellow, dark brown and black. The specimens which are lightest in shade are generally the purest. The mineral gives being first powdered and then heated with soda and potassium cyanide on charcoal minute white malleable globules of metallic tin.

The minerals most commonly associated with tin are quartz, topaz, tourmaline, fluor spar, wolfram, chlorite, iron copper, and arsenical pyrites. Its association with minerals containing fluorine seem to show that it originally existed as fluoride of tin and that the associated minerals have been formed at its expense.

The dressing processes of tin are very complicated. The first operation after the rock has been crushed to a very fine powder is the concentration of tin stone and pyritic minerals. The latter are calcined and washed away and the tin ore is brought up nearly to a state of purity

forming what is known as black tin. Of the impurities of the ore the wolframite has in the past been most troublesome, as its high specific gravity renders the separation by dressing most difficult. Recently this difficulty has been overcome by the help of the magnetic separator. The dressed ore is smelted with carbon either in the shaft furnace or in the reverberatory furnace after which the metal is refined by liquation and "boiling" before it is ready for the market.

Nearly one half of the world's total supply of tin is obtained from the Federated Malay States. The ore is chiefly won from stream deposits. Large quantities of tin are now being obtained from Burma as well the chief localities being in the Mergui and Tavoy districts. The value of tin and tin ore produced in Burma in the year 1913 amounted to £46 000. Tin ore has been known to occur in the Hazaribagh District. A small amount of the ore has been obtained from a deposit at Nuringa, Hazaribagh. In the year 1911 the world's total output of tin was 118200 tons of which 57944 tons were obtained from the Malay Peninsula. More than one half of the world's total supply of tin is the output of the British Empire.

## NOTES

### The Recent Madras Internments.

We have no hesitation in condemning in an unqualified manner the internment of Mrs Besant, Mr Arundale and Mr B. P. Wadia by the Government of Madras. It is unjust and unstatesmanlike, and an infringement of the right to endeavour by all lawful means to bring about constitutional changes. It is a conspicuous example of a wrong use of the provisions of the Defence of India Act. Neither Mrs Besant nor her associates had done anything which could justly bring them even in an indirect manner under the operations of that Act. They had not conspired with the enemy, nor had they done anything else to subvert the British Government in India. They had not put any obstacles

in the way of the vigorous prosecution of the war or done anything to make the position of India or Indians unsafe. On the contrary, Mrs Besant's denunciation of the barbarities of the Germans was among the fiercest in India, her appeals to young Indians to enlist in the regular army or to join the Defence Force were most earnest, forcible and telling; she had enlisted the largest number of recruits to the Defence Force in the Madras Presidency and her exhortations to the people to subscribe to the War Loan are well known. She had always insisted on political agitation being carried on in a perfectly constitutional manner. The Government of Madras have not told her for what offence she has been interned. Anglo



MIR B P WADIA    MRS ANNIE BESANT    MR C S ARUNDALE

papers say that her writings and speeches brought the Government into contempt. If that was her offence, she could be prosecuted under the ordinary penal and press laws of the country, she herself had more than once challenged the bureaucracy to proceed against her in that way. Why was it not done? It was suggested in Lord Pentland's speech in Ootacamund that officials had been calumniated by some persons, among whom Mrs Besant was no doubt meant to be included. If that was her offence, there were the ordinary penal laws of the country at hand. But the Madras Government and its officials did not avail themselves of these laws. Perhaps they were not sure of the result of a prosecution and also wanted to avoid the publicity and prevent the public excitement which are always the concomitants of such trials. But if judicial tribunals are not to be resorted to, because they do not always see eye to eye with the executive, laws and law courts need not exist. Let the will of the executive be the only law of the land. As for the prevention of excitement, there is not less but more of it now than if there had been a public trial.

Perhaps, the executive do not realise that their ukases cannot produce the same conviction in the minds of the people as an open and fair trial does, or probably they do not care much for public opinion.

Our clear opinion is that neither Mrs Besant nor her associates have done any thing wrong. Some people find fault with her strong and passionate language. But the question is not whether her language was strong but whether it was truthful. We think it was. When one feels strongly one must use language which is proportionately forcible and charged with feeling. And the political condition of India is such and many things which are done and happen in India are also such that it is natural for all just and liberty loving persons to feel deeply and strongly. Mrs Besant is a free born woman, brought up in the bracing free political atmosphere of an independent and free country. Unlike ourselves, she has never been accustomed to speak with bated breath and in whispering humbleness, and therefore never minced her words. And she was right. It may be natural or easy for a certain class of our countrymen to mistake servility for courtesy, sobriety or moderation, and,

therefore, to condemn strong language even when it truly indicates the strength of a person's justly roused feelings, but British statesmen, holding high office in India, who were accustomed to the atmosphere of free and fearless criticism at "home", ought not to find anything strange in the use of such language. There is nothing in the Indian press to compare with the rabid language to be found in many British party papers. Perhaps their autocratic and bureaucratic surroundings and the fact of their not being responsible to the people of India, make the rulers of India thin skinned and impatient of criticism. And we, too, are to blame. We seem, either expressly or by implication, to consider all Englishmen immeasurably superior to us and to worship them as if they were so many gods or godlings. The principle of reciprocity ought to guide us in our dealings with them. We ought certainly to be courteous, but the degree of our courtesy should be the same as theirs towards us.

As we have never been among the associates or followers of Mrs Besant in any of her many fields of activity, as we have occasionally criticised her sharply, as we are not formally connected with any Home Rule League or Congress Committee, we feel it all the more incumbent upon us to say that we feel sincerely grateful to and admire Mrs Besant for the invaluable political services she has rendered to India. Since the day of her active participation in Indian politics, she has been the most active, strenuous, fearless, and hopeful worker in the cause of India's political regeneration. She has brought new hope, courage and inspiration to many other workers in the same field.

These internments will not serve the purpose which Government may have in view. In the course of Mrs Besant's interview with Lord Pentland, as reported in the *Hindu*, His Lordship said "You must understand, Mrs Besant that we shall stop all your activities." That is true, but only literally. Mrs Besant will, no doubt, not be able to act in her own person, but her spirit will walk abroad, and the Home Rule or Self government propaganda promises to be carried on all over the country in spite of her internment. In fact, that unwise and arbitrary step has brought a new strength to the movement.

entire and intelligent leading men and numerous other persons have joined the Home Rule League, and that whatever Anglo Indian papers may tauntingly say, means much.

### "A United Front Performance" ?

*The Madras Mail* writes —

What significance can possibly attach to the action? Either Home Rule for India in the immediate future is desirable and practicable, or it is not. If it is why have not those patriots joined the movement before? If it is not how can the statement of any individual affect the unfitness of India as a nation to govern themselves? Are we to infer that if the Government cancelled the order against Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Jinnah and Jhangir Pictet would discover that India was once more unfit for Home Rule and leave the League they have just joined? The fact of the matter is that this is but one more illustration of a United Front performance. Adherents have joined in this manner may swell the numbers of the Home Rule League but they cannot add the weight of sincere and reasoned conviction to it.

Some other papers of the sojourners have written in the same strain. The taunts of the Anglo Indian journals are utterly nonsensical. They say if the persons who now join the Home Rule League are convinced that India is fit for Home Rule, why did they not join before? Was India unfit before and has Mrs. Besant's intervention made it fit? Our reply simply is that it is natural for MEN to declare their adherence to a cause when it is threatened though they may not have done so before for some reason or other. In the course of the present European war has not enlistment in the British army been particularly brisk as often as England has seemed to be in great danger owing to some event or other or when British feeling has been roused by some outrage which we need not specify? Shall we therefore foolishly call in question the sincerity of the patriotism of those British soldiers who joined late or shall we stupidly ask whether these soldiers did not formerly consider England fit to fight for and die for? Or shall we describe their enlistment as a 'performance' as the *Madras Mail* foolishly describes the joining of the Home Rule League by some of our leaders? Before the present war there were many political parties in the United Kingdom at loggerheads with one another. But the crisis in their nation's history has led them to close up their ranks and present a united front to the enemy. Is it a performance or are the parties in deed

earnest? Hate us, if you will but don't be foolish.

### Fighting for Freedom and Democracy

In the present crisis both the bureaucracy and the people of India have their duties to perform. The leaders of the people as we shall see later on are not unmindful of their duties. The bureaucrats do not yet appear to understand what duty and statesmanship require of them. Of course, their duty has always been to prepare the people of India for self government and to grant it before it is too late. History will record how they have performed that duty. It would have been an act of consummate statesmanship if at the present time the rulers of India had granted to the people of India at least the first instalment of responsible self government. Thereby they could have done not only an act of long deferred justice but would also have been able to enlist the active co-operation of India in the prosecution of the war to a much greater extent than they have been able to secure.

But far from promoting the cause of self government in India some of them have chosen to act in a directly contrary manner. At the same time we have been hearing for some time past from the lips of British Colonial and American statesmen that this war is so far as Great Britain and her allies are concerned a war for safeguarding democracy and freedom all over the world. And it is true, in theory at least that the rulers of India here are responsible for what they do to the British Parliament and Cabinet. Therefore either our rulers here should of their own accord see that their acts are in accordance with the declarations of British Colonial and American statesmen regarding the nature and objects of the war or British statesmen from the Premier downwards should take steps to ensure that their principles are followed in practice in India. Otherwise the aforesaid declarations in favour of freedom and democracy are bound to stink in our nostrils.

### The Object of Repression

We have said above that Lord Pentlands object will not be gained for though Mrs. Besant and her two associates have been deprived of liberty of speech and action others will take up the work which they have been hitherto doing. His Excel



League's object was also no doubt, to wean men from thoughts of Home Rule, but the cause of Home Rule has already gained and will continue to gain new adherents. And a far larger number of persons will now sympathise with Mrs Besant and the cause for which she stood than was the case before, though they may not all formally join the Home Rule League.

It is always a loss to the cause of law and order when that which is legitimate comes to occupy the same level with that which is not. Hitherto, ostensibly at any rate men had been interned for alleged conspiracy or indirect connection with conspiracy. But here we have three persons, whose loyalty cannot be impugned, deprived of their liberty apparently for no other reason than that they were active promoters of a vigorous constitutional propaganda. It is not, of course the object of the bureaucracy to lead men to think that sedition is as good as constitutional agitation, but people may infer that the bureaucracy want to frighten them by practically showing that in official estimation constitutional agitation is as bad as sedition. This inference, too, may be entirely unwarranted. But, in any case one of the objects of repression is to deter men from a certain course of conduct by frightening them. Now, if the object of repression is to prevent both sedition and constitutional agitation, what are we to do? Are we to go on singing the praises of the bureaucracy and burning incense at their altar from year's end to year's end and wait on their good pleasure? That is plainly to expect the impossible. What are we then to do? Perhaps, the bureaucracy would not object, if we simply played at constitutional agitation, never venturing to make it a reality.

As for fright, people cannot always be frightened. Familiarity generates courage, as it may also breed contempt.

### Repression then and now

When the Swadeshi agitation was at its height nine Bengali gentlemen were deported, including such well known leaders as Babu Aswini Kumar Datta and Krishna Kumar Mitra. We know the consternation which these deportations produced at that time. None of the big political leaders being available. Pandit Satyendra Nath Sastri who is not a politician but a mis-

sionary, consented to take the chair at our protest meeting. There was a feeling of great insecurity in the public mind, nobody knowing whose turn it would next be to be deported. Lists of the next batch of deportees passed from mouth to mouth. House searches also added to the vague feeling of terror of the people of Bengal. Month after month, swadeshi meetings in Calcutta had not the benefit of being presided over by some of the most prominent leaders who were still enjoying their liberty. All workers were not, of course, frightened away from the swadeshi plot form, but some were. We write all this from personal knowledge and experience.

What is the state of things now? During the war hundreds of men have been interned and otherwise deprived of their liberty for reasons not known to the public. A few of them are reported either to have died in jail or become insane. And there has been no end of house searches. But, though the relatives and intimate friends of the men deprived of their liberty keenly feel for their sufferings, there is not the same feeling of consternation, vague fear and insecurity in the public mind as there was in the days of the swadeshi agitation. Evidently, then, repression cannot now have the same deterrent effect as it had in those days.

### Good Signs.

On the contrary, good signs are clearly perceptible. There is nothing to show that the leading men of India have been frightened. At the first intimation of the coming repression the oldest living Congressman, after the venerable Dadabhai Naoroji, declared in simple and dignified language his determination not to desert his post of duty. In answer to the appeal of the Governor of Madras, contained in his closing speech at the Ootacamund session of the provincial legislative council, for the support by influential persons of the measures, then intended to be taken, to suppress the Home Rule agitation, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., LL.D., retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, issued the following weighty and courageous pronouncement—

### To My Countrymen

We have all read the speech of His Excellency the Governor of Madras to his Legislative Council in which he foresaw a case for the suppression of the Home Rule propaganda and asks for the

in the measures taken, of all who have personal or hereditary influence I answer that appeal, being a responsible public man, having held high judicial office in the State, having been recognised and rewarded by the Crown and honoured by my University, and being an old man, of trained caution in coming to a decision and of mature judgment. I therefore think it is my duty to the Government to state my position.

Before I was raised to the Bench I was a Congressman and to me Self Government, or Home Rule is no new thing I believe and have long believed that that its early establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire and that it is therefore necessary to carry on a constitutional and educative agitation for it, as ordered by the Congress at its last session. Believing thus I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidency of the Home Rule for India League, Honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps. I will not resign my office, even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision, for I believe that the time has come when God in whose Hands are all earthly Governments, calls on India to assert that right to Freedom which He has given, and to claim Self Rule—in the words of the Congress—in the Reconstruction of the Empire after the War. To defend Home Rule is to me a religious as well as a civic duty and this duty I will discharge. I call on you, my countrymen to do the same.

S SUBRAMANIAM K C I E LL D

*Retired Acting Chief Justice of Madras High Court*

Sir S Subramaniam was not the only man in Madras to make a kind of response to the appeal of the Governor which must have been disappointing and unpalatable to his lordship. Mr K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, representing the landed aristocracy of Madras in the Supreme Legislative Council, wrote a very outspoken rejoinder to Lord Pentland's appeal, in the course of which he said—

The Legislative Councils, as they are at present, serve no purpose but to present an illusion to the civilised world that India is governed through representative assemblies. Even without these Councils the Autocracy would be better off as they will be then solely held responsible. So the Congress the Muslim League and the Indian elected representatives of the Viceroy's Council have all come to the one conclusion and that, *Self Government*.

We stand by it at all risks. How could such a worthy goal be obtained without an effort and a struggle? Conviction of the righteousness and the necessity of this goal would certainly make us slight the threats and actual harassment. As has been boldly and lucidly stated by our revered and clearheaded countryman, Sir S Subramaniam Aiyar K C I E, I hold the conviction that Home Rule is the goal and the methods of attaining it are legitimate and constitutional and I am prepared to brave any penalty or humiliation for holding it at conviction or for transgressing any mandate that may be illegal as my holding such beliefs, or my longing for a better state of affairs or for expressing to others what my convictions and hopes are. Repression is ever the reveiler of the National conscience and if the present time

does not teach us methods of organisation and work what else is going to do it?

Some members of the Madras Legislative Council also protested against and expressed their disapproval of the policy foreshadowed in Lord Pentland's speech.

In the United Provinces, the Hon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon Dr Tej Bahadur Saprú wrote weighty letters to the press on the official policy of repression. At the time they wrote these letters they did not know that orders of internment had been served upon Mrs Besant and two of her co-workers.

It is not our intention to give a chronological or exhaustive account of all that has happened in this connection. We mention only a few items just to give an idea of the temper of the country. The following petition to H E the Viceroy has been drawn up on the subject of the measures foreshadowed in Lord Pentland's speech for the suppression of the Home Rule propaganda—

We the undersigned loyal and law-abiding citizens of this country who have all attained majority having read with surprise and pain the menace of measures of repression to check the expression of the legitimate desire of Indians for Self Government, or Home Rule made by H E the Governor of Madras in his speech at the closing session of his Legislative Council in May last desire to submit to Your Excellency our earnest hope that Your Excellency will refuse your sanction to all attempts to stop political agitation for the gaining of reform which will in the words of the Premier of Great Britain, raise the Indians from continuing to be 'a subject race' and will bestow Self Government or Home Rule on the people of India. We view with alarm this proposed annulment of a constitutional right, never before denied by the Government to subjects of the Crown, and believe that it will cause widespread discontent and will place a weapon in the hands of the King's enemies.

It has been numerously signed

Mr S R Bomani, a prominent citizen of Bombay and a member of its Home Rule League, has written to the Hon Mr Jinnah, saying, "I am prepared to place the sum of a lakh of rupees at the disposal of our League for its future activities." *New India* says—

A fund called the *Escant Home Rule Fund* has been started by some members of the Home Rule League. The following gentlemen are appointed Trustees: Messrs C. Jivarnadasa C P Ramaswami Aiyar Katani D Morari and Jannadas Dwarakadas. The donors hitherto received are 'A friend' Rs 20,000 Mr Katani D Morari, Rs. 5,000.

An Associated Press telegram from Bombay informs the public that Mrs

Hawabai Petit has given five thousand rupees to the Mrs. Annie Besant fund started in Madras by Sir Subramania Iyer. Other contributions also have been received. Miss Petit, it is understood, has also paid a sum of twenty thousand rupees to the Home Rule League, Bombay.

In Bombay, U. P., and elsewhere many prominent men, including members of Council, have joined the Home Rule League. Less prominent additions to the ranks of the Home Rulers have been simply numerous. In Allahabad some leading gentlemen, who wanted to form a Committee for obtaining recruits for the Defence Force, have cancelled the notice of the meeting at which it was to have been formed, by way of protest against the policy of repression.

Numerous public meetings of angry and strong protest have been already held all over the country, and more are to be held in the immediate future. Ladies also have met in public to protest against Lord Pentland's policy and to express sympathy with Mrs. Besant. Demands for the recall of Lord Pentland and the repudiation of his policy by the British Government have been made in the press and on the platform. Many persons have expressed their determination to carry on the Home Rule propaganda in an open and constitutional manner, braving all risks. A manifesto, embodying a similar resolve, is to be issued in Bengal, signed by all leading public men.

A correspondent has written to the *Lahore Tribune* suggesting that Hon. Members of councils should resign by way of protest, and that paper does not disapprove of the idea.

All this is very encouraging and hope-inspiring. *The most difficult part of the business, however, is not to make resolves or to hurl defiance at the bureaucracy, but to carry out the resolve. Let us be true to our determination to do our best to make the demand for Home Rule as intelligent and wide-spread as is possible under the present circumstances of India.*

We must give to our people both general education and political education.

It is very encouraging to be able to record that both the organs of Mrs. Besant, *New India* and the *Commonweal*, are to go on. Competent men have volunteered to do this part of her work. It is to be hoped that others who have taken the

Home Rule vow will do their duty with equal courage and sacrifice.

### Mr. Chamberlain Supports Lord Pentland.

As was only to be expected, our Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who was our representative at the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet and will be our representative at future Imperial Conferences, supports Lord Pentland's action. A Reuter's telegram says:—

In the Commons, replying to Sir A. Williamson, Mr. Chamberlain said, he had no doubt that the action of the Madras Government in regard to Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia was necessary. He pointed out that other Governments had satisfied themselves that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excited unrest which might easily be dangerous at present.

We entirely and absolutely deny that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excited any unrest of such a character as might easily be dangerous at present. The danger does not lie in the activities of any of our political workers along constitutional lines, but in the obstinacy and the blindness to the needs of the times of most of the privileged and exclusive class of officials.

When Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the unrest and its possible dangerous consequences, he spoke with the confidence born of wrong information and personal ignorance. As a matter of fact, what Mrs. Besant is reported to have said to Lord Pentland in her interview with him, can be easily proved, namely, "that at the present time the Madras Presidency is absolutely quiet and untroubled." Not only at the present time, but during the whole course of the war, Madras has been more free from political disorder than many other provinces of India, e.g., the Punjab, Bengal, &c. And the reason for this quietness probably lies in what we wrote in December last (p. 683), viz., "A hope-inspiring vigorous constitutional propaganda is a cure for many political maladies;" and also in the wise observation of Lowell, quoted by us in the same number (p. 683):

"It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy."

So it is not improbable that Mrs. Besant's vigorous constitutional propaganda and her insistence on the reason-

able and the practical had kept Madras free from political distempers.

We have always had our suspicion that men of autocratic temper who do not wish to part with their power and privileges, dislike constitutional agitation more than the efforts of the physical force party. For in a disarmed country like India the latter can be very easily suppressed, and such suppression can be truthfully justified; but constitutional agitation cannot be suppressed without inventing such excuses as "unrest possibly leading to dangerous developments," &c., which constitute only a show of justification. What Mr. Chamberlain said from information supplied from India can be explained on this view. But whatever he or his henchmen may say, we must go on with our duty.

### Our Contribution

*The Modern Review* has preached and advocated Home Rule or something better than Home Rule from 1907, the year of its birth. It will continue to do so according to its ability and resources.

Should the use of the words "Home Rule" be forbidden, we would not hesitate to obey. We would give up the use of those words, and use "self-government" or "self-rule," within the Empire, "internal autonomy," and the like. Should all these be also interdicted, and the idea of self-government within the Empire be declared unlawful, it might not be possible for us to climb down. But we might consider whether it would not be possible for us to climb up in a right legal and constitutional manner, and discuss, within the limits of the law, the ideal of a more perfect citizenship and the legitimate means for its attainment.

In the meantime we are content to live in the region of more immediately practical politics, which occupies a lower plane than that of those higher political speculations, and offer to the public, besides the monthly issues of the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review*, the second part of "Towards Home Rule." The first part was sent for review to all our contemporaries with whom we are in exchange. The second part has been sent only to those Indian journals which were kind enough to notice the first.

### "Renegades."

*The Indian Daily News*, we regret to find, has called Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale a couple of European renegades. We are of opinion that this word of reproach ought rather to be applied to those who can neither take part in nor appreciate a struggle for civic freedom.

### Mrs. Besant's Interview with Lord Pentland.

*The Hindu* of Madras and other papers have published a report of Mrs. Besant's interview with Lord Pentland, which makes interesting and instructive reading. Here it is

Immediately after the interview with His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, on June 16th, 1917, before returning to the office where the order was served about an hour later, Mrs. Besant described to some friends the interview with him as follows

At the beginning H. E. said 'I have come down from Ooty Mrs. Besant, in order to show my great consideration for you, and to speak to you myself and give you opportunity for consideration'

I said "What am I to consider?" He said, "That is for you to decide, Mrs. Besant." He added, "You may ask me for time to consider and see me again to-morrow. You might like to consult your friends"

I answered, "The only two people I shall consult would be Sir Subramaniam and C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and, as we know each other's opinions, I don't see what would be gained by consulting." He said, "If you would like to ask for consideration I will give it to you"

I asked H. E. for what reason I was about to be interned. He said, "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant"

I said, "In the Supreme Council, Sir Reginald Craddock stated that no one was interned without a full statement of the offence for which he was interned, and without being given a full opportunity for explanation or defence. I did not think at the time that it was true, because some of my own friends had gone and I knew they had no such opportunity. But I am very grateful to Your Excellency for proving it to be false." H. E. answered, "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant."

I said, "I can only act according to my conscience, and leave the rest to God." He replied, "We must all do that"

I added, "I have nothing to regret in anything I have written or in anything that I have said and unless Your Excellency tells me what you wish me to consider, I am at a loss to know what to suggest." He replied, "That is for you to consider, Mrs. Besant"

I said, "I have heard it said that Your Excellency was going to offer me the alternative of going to England." He answered, "For the period of the War I will give you a safe conduct to England to take you through." I replied, "I do not intend to go to England"

Again I said, "We all understand from Your Excellency's speech that you object to the Congress programme, and that is identical with the programme of the Home Rule League." He replied, "I

cannot reopen the subject Mrs Besant I added I think I should say to Your Excellency that the Home Rule League is simply supporting the Congress programme (Here I read from the Congress programme) H B said I don't know what that is I replied It is the Reform Resolution passed by the Congress He said I have not seen it I answered Your Excellency, this is the Indian National Congress

After a pause I said In Your Excellency's Press Communique just issued you have stated that deliberate appeals had been made to the young, to join in an active political agitation People consider that that is aimed at me but it is the exact opposite of my printed and spoken statements He answered I don't know anything about that Mrs Besant it applies to whomsoever it would suit You must understand Mrs Besant that we shall stop all your activities I said I suppose so I think I ought to say to Your Excellency that at the present time the Madras Presidency is absolutely quiet and untroubled Your proposed action will turn it into a condition of turmoil like that of Bengal He answered, I cannot discuss that Mrs Besant

I said 'It seems to me that as Your Excellency has no proposals to make and I have none that I am wasting Your Excellency's time Will you permit me to take leave?' I arose and he walked with me to the door and on his way he said I wish you to consider Mrs Besant that we cannot discriminate and the whole of your activities will be stopped I said 'You have all the power and I am helpless and must do what you like There is just one thing I should like to say to Your Excellency and that is that I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India Then as we neared the door I said You will pardon my saying to Your Excellency that as you are acting as the Governor I have no personal feeling against Your Excellency

The impression which the report of the interview produces is that Lord Pentland came down from the heights of Ootacamund to receive the humble prayers and most respectful submissions of Mrs Besant But as she was not in the mood to pray, his lordship could not say anything that was of any use or had much meaning, he was evidently not prepared for such impudence He could not discuss this or that or 're open the subject'

His Excellency's statement that he did not possess any knowledge of the Congress programme may appear to the followers of the bureaucratic cult supremely Olympic in manner and matter, but to us such ignorance of and indifference to merely mundane affairs cannot but appear as a most lamentable and reprehensible disqualification in the ruler of a province The only articulate class of people in the country are those who have received education The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League give expression to their views A man who

after five years of stay in the country does not know the joint reform programme of the progressives and yet on the strength of his ignorance can think of depriving law abiding and earnest workers for the public good of their liberty is certainly not a tower of strength to the Empire, but is rather one who is unconsciously undermining its foundations Mrs Besant spoke only the bare truth when she said to Lord Pentland I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India Will the blow be allowed to strike home, or will it be intercepted midway by the British Cabinet, Parliament or Democracy?

Mrs Besant has very neatly proved to His Excellency's face that the official statement that those who are interned are informed of their offence and given an opportunity for an explanation or defence, is false

### Entire Pre occupation with the War.

REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS  
A COMMITTEE TO BE APPOINTED  
(*Reuter's Telegram*)

London June 22

Received 1 20 p m June 22

In the House of Lords, Lord Curzon announced that the Government had decided to appoint a committee to deal with the question of reform of the House of Lords as promptly as possible

This is a fresh proof of the correctness of the assertion of the Viceroy and some other rulers of India that the attention and energies of the British Government at 'home' are exclusively concentrated on the immediate task of winning the war, and that this pre occupation makes it impossible for them to pay any attention to any other, and particularly any Indian, problem

### "The World's Freedom"

Speaking at a luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association in his honour, Mr Balfour said in part that in America 'he had been deeply impressed by the spontaneous exhibition of enthusiasm for the common cause of the world's freedom' Is it the freedom of the world or of the world minus India?

He also said —

The American nation welcomed the opportunity offered by the Mission to manifest their deep moral and spiritual agreement with the policy of the Allies

I believe Anglo-American co-operation in this war is based not upon the fact that each has something to get out of it but upon the deep congruity and harmony of moral feeling and moral ideals Therefore

of the House of Lords, on May 15 last, General Smuts said —

What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past and even in regard to the United States is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation—always one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation or of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole ideal basis is entirely different (Cheers) You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards a greater nationality. These communities the offspring of the Mother Country or territories like my own which have been annexed after the vicissitudes of war must not be moulded in any one pattern. You want them to develop on the principle of self-government, and therefore your whole idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of nations does not stand for standardization or conventionalization but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.

Does the British Empire in reality stand 'for the fuller, richer and more various life' of the people of India?

The General went on to observe —

Even the nations which have fought against it like my own must feel that the interests, their language, their religion are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own households and your own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realized that you will fulfil the true mission which is yours (Cheers) Therefore it seems to me that there is only one solution and that is a solution supplied by our past traditions—the traditions of freedom, self-government and of the fullest development.

There is no question that the General has hit upon the right solution. Englishmen sojourning in India may ask themselves whether they are trying to 'fulfil the true mission which is theirs by following 'the traditions of freedom, self-government, and of the fullest development' In his peroration General Smuts further expatiated on this mission.

You talk of an Imperial mission. I think the British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for liberty and a mission for greater self-development. You represent the only system in history in which a large number of nations has been living in unity. You talk about a league of nations. You are the only league of nations that has ever existed. If the lines I am sketching here are correct, you are going to be even more a great league of nations in the future. And if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom and are those views of your future you must exercise and a far more beneficial influence on the story of mankind than you have ever done before.

That is a very big if!

## General Amnesty to Irish Prisoners

The British Government at "home" has released all Irish prisoners now in confinement in connection with the recent rebellion in Ireland. Though this act of clemency is due to the exigencies of the war and to the pressure exerted upon Great Britain by American and colonial opinion, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise from this example of courageous and wise statesmanship. Curiously enough the news of this general amnesty to Irish rebels reached India on the day the most active constitutional agitator in India, also Irish by birth, was deprived of her liberty.

There has been no rebellion in India. Men have been imprisoned after trials for conspiracy and interned or deported on suspicion or for inconveniently vigorous constitutional agitation. As the conciliation of India is not necessary for speedy victory or for satisfying public opinion in America or the colonies, the release of any prisoners detained or deportees cannot be expected.

## Ireland and the Outside World

At the first of a series of meetings under the auspices of the Canadian Round Table held at London, Ontario, Canada, Mr. Rowell argued that a necessary preparation for closer organisation should be the concession of Home Rule to Ireland. At another meeting a crowded one, held in the Russell Theatre at Ottawa, Canada, the following resolution was enthusiastically adopted —

That with a view to strengthening the hands of the Allies in achieving the recognition of equal rights for small Nations and the principle of Nationality against the opposite German principle of military domination and Government without the consent of the governed it is in the opinion of this meeting of Canadian citizens essential without further delay, to confer upon Ireland the free institutions long promised to her.

The following extract will show the trend of American opinion and the pressure it exerted on England.

The *Times* New York correspondent had taken some pains to sound American opinion on the subject and he felt no hesitation in stating that from Ireland Wilson downwards the people of the country feel that now is the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem in the interest of the Allies and above all in the interest of the most effective possible participation of the United States in the war.

Those who are acquainted with the mind of the President will be surprised to learn that before the autocratic selfishness of Germany finally

-drove him into declaring war for the salvation of democracy he was constantly confronted by two arguments which he found it very difficult to answer. One of these arguments concerned Russia. When he was asked: 'Do you think the victory of Tsardom will be in the interests of democracy?' he was reduced to silence. The recent revolution dramatically removed this obstacle to a clear vision of the issue of the war as a struggle between democracy and autocracy. It dissipated the last scruples of the President, but it left Great Britain in the anomalous light of being the only Power in the democratic Entente which was open to the charge of 'oppressing' a small nation."

In his famous Guildhall speech Mr Lloyd George said:—

"If he appealed for a settlement in Ireland it was because he knew from facts driven into his mind every hour that in America, Australia and every other part, it was regarded as one of the essentials of speedy victory."

We learn from *New India* (June 12, 1917) that almost immediately after America's declaration of war, Mr. Medill McCormick introduced the following resolution into the House of Representatives:—

Whereas the United States is now at war with the German Empire, and whereas the other Great Powers at war with the Empire have voted their purpose to secure the rights of small peoples no less than of great, therefore be it resolved that the House of Representatives send its greetings to the Chamber of Deputies at Rome and at Paris, to the Duma at Petrograd, to the House of Commons at London and Ottawa, to the House of Assembly at Cape Town, and to the House of Representatives at Melbourne and Wellington, and that this House express to the other Chambers the hope that peace shall witness the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and the establishment of a united and self governing Ireland and Poland.

Resolved further, that the Speaker of the House of Representatives transmit these resolutions to the Presidents and Speakers respectively of the several Chambers herein named.

The same paper quotes the opinions of Mr. J. F. Fitzgerald, late Mayor of Boston, of Mr. Justice V. J. Dowling, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, of the President of Columbia University, of Colonel Harvey, Editor of the *North American Review*, of the Mayor of New York, and of Archbishop Ireland, all asking that Home Rule shall be given without further delay to Ireland. Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Dr. Charles Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cardinal Gibbons—all have appealed to Britain to do her duty to Ireland and to justify her assertion that she is fighting in the cause of liberty. And the *Times'* correspondent at Washington has cabled to his newspaper that Americans

are inclined to attribute the tragedy of our relations

with Ireland to the same John Bullish stupidity that produced the American Revolution. Since the Ulster crisis of 1914 they have, indeed, begun to see that there are two sides to the question. But the effect of that realisation has been modified by the War. German assertions that we are insincere in our protestations regarding the freedom of small nationalities tend to place us in a somewhat illogical light.

And further that

when it is a life and death matter, not only to the British Empire but to the free democratic institutions of the world, that this War should be successfully prosecuted, British reputation for statesmanship and patriotism will suffer badly if such a sacrifice to the common cause is refused. Inversely a settlement will immensely increase our prestige here, will clinch the success of Mr. Balfour's mission, will help the President to weld his countrymen together behind a vigorous prosecution of the War, and will render infinitely smoother Anglo-American relationships. London, Dublin, and Belfast have, in fact, the power to deal the German Trans-Atlantic intrigue a deadly blow.

### India and the Outside World

Why does not any nation exert similar pressure on Great Britain for India, though India's political status is far inferior to that of Ireland?

Sympathy means fellow-feeling. There have been men like Buddha who have had fellow-feeling for the meanest worm; but such souls are rare. There are men who have formed themselves into societies for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals, not out of fellow-feeling but out of compassion. Ordinarily men feel only for their fellows. The Irish being Europeans, white men, and Christians, are considered the fellows of peoples of European extraction dwelling in America and the British Colonies. In the days before the abolition of slavery, even many so called good and pious men did not believe that the Negroes were human beings, and therefore had no sympathy for them. If we want practical sympathy we must prove that we are human beings and the fellows of other nations. We must be known, not as mere human cattle to be shut out or admitted according to the convenience of "civilised" men, not as mere producers of raw material, but as real civilisers of the race whose co-operation is needed for the progress of the world. What our ancestors did in ancient times cannot help us much. We must show in the living present that the world cannot do without our manhood and our spiritual, moral and intellectual services. We must be creators in the sphere of literature and art, seers and

discoverers of truth, inventors, and benefactors of mankind. Let us strive to rise and advance, not as a select class, the upper ten, but as a whole people, and join and help in the forward march of humanity. We ought to have intercourse with the whole world. A hermit-like existence will not do. If we allow the world to forget our existence, if we do not try our best to make our true condition known all over the world, it would be foolish to complain if the world did not exert its influence on our behalf. True, the sympathy of "civilised" men is limited by creed, colour and race. But the remedy does not lie in inveighing against such narrowness, particularly as we are not ourselves fruitless in this respect, but in practically showing to the world that true worth is not the monopoly of any particular creed, colour or race, and in setting an example of a broad sympathy which is no respecter of creed, colour or race.

### The Champaran Enquiry Committee

We cannot approve of the constitution and personnel of the Committee which the Bihar and Orissa Government have appointed to enquire into the relations between landlords and tenants in the Champaran District including the grievances of the cultivators against the indigo planters. The European element is far too preponderant. Considering that blood is thicker than water and that, in the language of Lord Curzon, administration and exploitation are only the two aspects of the same kind of work in which official and non-official Europeans are engaged in India, there is a well-founded suspicion in the public mind that European officials are, owing to unconscious prepossessions generally unable to hold the balance even between Indians and Europeans.

### Freedom and Democracy in South Africa.

*Indian Opinion* writes —

A public meeting under the auspices of the Transvaal British Indian Association, was held on Sunday, 6th inst. at Goldberg's Bioscope. Fully five hundred British and Indian, representing all sections and affiliated Associations were present. The Hall was much too small to hold the gathering and the proceedings were marked by feelings of considerable indignation and resolve.

The Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association presided and said — Centenies we have met firstly to express our sorrow at the death

of a respected young brother, the latest victim to the contempt in which the British Indian of this Province is held and the cruelty to which such unbridled contempt can be carried. Bhula Bhowan was a young Indian gentleman of education who a few days back was travelling on one of the Municipal Tramcars running to Vrededorp and forcibly thrown off the car while it was in motion by a European who resented his presence thereon. Our young brother was left in the road unconscious while the tram moved on. He never recovered consciousness and shortly afterwards died. The individual responsible for this act of brutality is still at large and this community is going to know no rest until he is brought to justice. This is not because we are seeking revenge or because to an Indian death is felt to be a great calamity. We intend to nip in the bud the tendency we observe to be growing to regard Indian life and Indian rights as matters of small account.

So there is at least one European in the British Empire who does not believe in fighting for the freedom and equality of all men, and has the courage of his conviction. General Smuts need not despair of finding a fit audience, though few, for his lectures on the true mission of the British Empire, and its traditions of liberty, equality and democracy.

We learn from *Indian Opinion* that the Draft Natal Local Government Ordinance attacks the right of Indians to vote at municipal elections and become Councilors. This, too, shows that General Smuts will find fit audience.

What have Indians in Natal done that they should be deprived of the Municipal vote? It is they who made Natal the 'Garden of South Africa.' Many European businesses depend very largely upon Indian support and assistance. Indians contribute liberally to war funds and take their place alongside Europeans on the battlefield. It is not right that any intelligent section of the people should have no say regarding the spending of the rates they pay. Apart from the achievements of Indians in the higher regions of human endeavour, in the lower sphere of politics they have done good work as members of the British Parliament, members of the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet, members of the Secretary of State's Council, Prime Ministers of Indian States, Members of the Executive Councils and Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and Provincial Governors, &c. It would be supremely foolish to say that men of the same race are unfit to exercise the municipal franchise. There are Indians in Natal who have been municipal voters and even councillors in India.



Indians are compelled to ride on a specially-reserved tram car, separate cars having been secretly and illegally established for Europeans on certain routes. Indians are, moreover, segregated and compelled to reside in special areas. These facts also show that General Smuts ought to have fit audience when he returns to his native land. Those who object to the establishment of self government in India until the abolition of caste, are requested to reflect on the state of things prevailing in the self-governing dominion of the South African Union.

### Our Public Services Commission Number.

We sincerely thank the very few contemporaries who have kindly noticed our Public Services Commission Number after its publication. The public demand for it has been, as we anticipated, very very small. Though the Number is worth more than eight annas, we regret we could not make it better. Its defects were partly due to hurry, which again was due to our getting the report from our bookseller very late. Government did not think us worthy of receiving a copy. We hope the many dailies and weeklies, &c., which Government favoured with copies, have made an adequate return in the form of numerous notes and articles on the Report.

### Representations on the Public Services Commission Report.

The United Provinces Congress Committee and twenty-one members of the U. P. Legislative Council have evinced a commendable sense of duty, zeal for public welfare and promptness in submitting to Government well-reasoned and weighty representations on the Report of the Public Services Commission. What have the great statesmen and politicians of Bengal done?

### Finland

Free Russia has freed Poland and has been "discussing the Finnish demand, including autonomy for Finland under international guarantees." In the mean time we learn from a Reuter's telegram dated Helsingfors, June 22, that "the Finnish Social Democratic Conference has passed a resolution in favour of an independent Finnish Republic."

### Bokhara and Khiva.

An unobtrusive paragraph in a corner of the London "Times" conveys a lesson, says India, which we beg to hand on to those whom it may concern. We read that "in consequence of the influence of the revolution in Russia, the Emir of Bokhara has published a manifesto promising extensive internal reforms and containing an order to set at liberty all persons detained in the prisons." A similar announcement has been made by the Khan of Khiva.

### President Wilson's Flag Day Speech.

In the course of his "Flag Day" address in Washington Monument grounds, President Wilson, referring to the intrigues and other sinister endeavours of the Germans, said—

Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for rights of peoples and self government of nations, for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing the Liberals in their enterprises, but let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of a great military Empire.

It would be good to have a list of all those nations who "stand for rights of peoples and self government of nations" "throughout the world", both in profession and in practice.

President Wilson concluded by "declaring—

We shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

We wish Americans godspeed in their noble resolve. But will they please remember that the world cannot be free until India possesses civic freedom?

### American Labour on Democracy for all the World

Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, has cabled to Mr. Duncan, the Labour delegate in the American mission to Russia, advising him to attend, if invited, the conference in Petrograd to consider the advisability of calling a world congress of Socialists and Trade Unionists. Mr. Gompers continues: "Of course you will insist on the acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy for every country and also on the necessity for all people of each country living their own lives and working out their own destinies. America entered the

war in order to safeguard these principles and American labour will fight for the destruction of autocracy and the victorious establishment and maintenance of democracy

Remember that India is a country and its inhabitants are a people

If the unity of India and of her peoples be denied let the principles of democracy be accepted for Sind Punjab Oudh Bengal Bihar Maharastra Andhra Gujarat &c separately for these at least are countries

### British Note to Russia on Allied War Aims

His Majesty's Government's reply to the Russian Note regarding the Allied war aims states that they heartily concur in the sentiment of the proclamation to the Russian people which declared that free Russia did not propose to dominate other peoples or deprive them of their national patrimony or forcibly to acquire foreign territory. The reply proceeds

Great Britain did not enter the war as a war of conquest and are not continuing it for any such objects. The purpose was at the outset to protect the existence and enforce respect for international engagements. Another object has now been added namely liberation of the populations oppressed by alien tyranny. The Government heartily rejoices at free Russia's intent on the liberation of Poland—not only Poland which old Russia an autocracy ruled but equally that within the German Empire. British democracy wishes Russia God speed in this enterprise. Beyond everything we must seek a settlement which will secure the happiness and contentment of peoples and take away all legitimate causes for future wars.

We understand the meanings of words and, in case of need have several English dictionaries at hand

### President Wilson's Message to the Russian People

We print below the concluding paragraphs of President Wilson's noble and hope-inspiring message to the Russian people

We are fighting again for the Liberty of Self Government and the undisturbed development of all peoples and every feature of the settlement that concludes this War must be conceived and executed for the purpose. Wrongs must first be righted and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent the recurrence recommended. We ought not to consider any remedy merely because they have a pleasing sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means.

Phrases will not accomplish this result. Effective readjustments will and whatever readjustments are must be made but they must follow a

principle and that principle is plain. No people may be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing to those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples and then the Free Peoples of the World must draw together as a common covenant some genuine practical cooperation that will in effect combine the resources to secure peace and justice in the dealings of Nations with one another. Brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a far but empty phrase. It must be given a structure of force and reality. Nations must realise the common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of an autocratic self-seeking power. For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure for these are things we have always professed to desire and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed we may never be able to unite or show a conquering force against the great cause of Hamad Liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If force and autocracy can drive us they will overcome us. If we stand together victory is certain and the Liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous but cannot afford then or now to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security.—(Reu.)

Has America any message for India?

### The Present Crisis

By JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL.

For mankind are one and spirit  
and an instinct bears along  
Round the earth's electric circle  
the swift flash of right or wrong,  
Whether conscious or unconscious  
yet Humanity's vast flame  
Through its ocean-sundered fibres  
feels the gash of joy or shame —  
In the gain or loss of one race  
all the rest have equal claim

Not 'subject races' but Partner Nations

In the fairly long summary of the Premier's Guildhall speech which Reuter called out to India, there was a very significant omission. Towards the close of his speech Mr Lloyd George said that he had only two more points and that one was about Ireland. Reuter gave a summary of Mr George's plea for Ireland but did not transmit a word of his observations on the other matter namely India. Here is the passage

The other matter is India. Germany's greatest disappointment in this war has been India. (Cheers) She has had many disappointments. She has had no worse than India. She expected and then disappointed on disloyalty. She expected the forces of Britain to be absorbed upon the task of subduing

and suppressing. What did she find? Eager en thusiastic loyal help to the Empire from India. (Cheers). I think they are entitled to ask that those loyal myriads should feel not that they were subject races of the Empire but partner nations. Both these questions require bold statesmanship. Timidity, timorousness, faintheartedness, abhorrent in peace or war in war is fatal. (Cheers). Britain which has faced the problems of war with a courage that has amazed the world must face the problems of peace in the same great strength.

We do not know who made this omission, and why. It was a perfectly unnecessary piece of foolishness. For it is well known that the words of British statesmen, and even of British sovereigns, need not be understood and given effect to in their ordinary sense. As of Suez. Meanwhile we note that the Premier's declaration that Indians should not be treated as subject races has caused rejoicing in France. But will France or any other of the Allies keep watch how Mr Lloyd George's implied promise is kept? Should he fail to keep it, Germany is sure to try to make capital out of the failure.

### "There is only one form of Government"

Mr Balfour had a magnificent reception when he addressed both the Houses of Parliament in Canada on May 29. We quote one passage from his speech and italicise one sentence. He said:

"Wherever you find free democracy and the spirit of liberty abroad that great spirit of self-development on national lines, there you find the friends of the Allies and enemies of the Central Powers. *We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people.* We have staked our last dollar on this and if democracy fails us we are bankrupt indeed. But we know that democracy will not fail us." (Cheers)

As in Mr Balfour's opinion there is only one form of government, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people, and as in India there is no such control, is there any government in India, or is there not? Will democracy not fail the British people in their dealings with India or will it not?

There is one sentence in Balfour's address to which we desire to draw the attention of our people. It is "Patriotism overcomes all difficulties." We need to remember, however, that patriotism

consists, not in getting angry and shouting, but in love, sacrifice and service.

### Why the Boers are fighting

Speaking at the Empire Day celebration at Stepney, General Smuts said —

I am a barbarian from the Veldt a Boer who fought for three years against you when you were very wrong indeed. However, we have helped to convert you and win you back to the right road of freedom and liberty and on that road you are now making the biggest struggle in your whole history. I am fighting with you and not alone but thousands of my old companions of the Boer war. What has brought these men into the struggle? I don't think it is love of the British Empire. It is that they feel what you all feel that the greatest, the most precious and most spiritual forces of human race are at stake. Either we are going into the future under the drill sergeant or of Prussian hoes or we shall move forward as free men and women. It is not a battle of the British Islands or of the British Empire. It is a battle of the world and when success is achieved I hope we may all be happy and now we fought for a lasting peace for mankind and that for centuries war will not be heard of again on earth.

Who are meant by "we" and "mankind" and what kind of "peace" will "subject races" enjoy?

### "The Anglo Saxon Creed"

In the course of his address at the dinner given to him at the London Savoy Hotel by the Pilgrims' Club, Dr. Page, the American ambassador, said,

We are come to save our own honour and to uphold our ideals—come on provocation done directly to us. (Hear hear?) But we are come also for the preservation, the deepening and the extension of free government. Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means government set up by the governed for this alone can prevent physical or intellectual or moral enslavement. This is the ideal towards which the whole world is now moving along bloody paths. It is a colossal upheaval which will turn the world into a better home for free men.

Does this "Anglo saxon creed" hold good in India?

### Mr Bernes on British Principles

The Right Honourable Mr G N Bernes made his first speech as a member of the war cabinet on June 21st. It gives some idea of British political principles as they are professed and understood in England. He said, "We stood for the principle of each nation living its own life in its own way. The Central Powers stood for letting each nation live as they ordered."

It is to be hoped our Government has interpreted or sent out of the country all

Central Powers citizens India can be free from the fear of coercion only in that way.

Mr. Bernes also said 'We were not out to fight the German people, but we were out for the liberation of all peoples.' This is indeed a very noble object, especially if it can be accomplished, both within and without the British Empire. Englishmen ought to be convinced that India is not a free country, it stands in need of liberation. For when Russia overthrew the tsardom, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, described the Russians as a 'free people,' meaning that they were not free before. Yet they were independent and had their parliament called the Duma. Dependent India without any kind of parliament certainly, then requires at least home rule, in order that 'the liberation of all peoples' may be an accomplished fact.

### Russian Mission to America

Mr. Bachvetti heard of the Russian Mission, in a statement to the American people avowed Russia's consecration to war with the German autocracy to the end "Only through victory could stable world peace and the fruits of the Russian revolution be secured. The Russian people thoroughly understood and were fully convinced that it was absolutely necessary to root out the autocratic principles which underlay German militarism that threatened the peace, freedom and happiness of the world."

There is no doubt that the Germans are greatly to blame. But is it certain that autocratic principles and militarism are exclusively German? On his first public appearance in England since his return from America, Mr. Balfour also said—

President Wilson's latest speech formed a complete justification of the great alliance of nations loving liberty against monstrous tyranny and coercion of the civilised world which was promised if we submitted to an inconclusive and ineffectual peace.

This is true. But we do not think that monstrous tyranny and coercion of the civilised world, and particularly of the "uncivilised" world, will disappear from the face of the earth with the crushing of Germany. That devoutly wished for consummation can not be brought about without a change of heart throughout the "civilised" world, as General Smuts observed in effect on a recent occasion.

### Poland in the House of Commons

The following question and answer which took place in the House of Commons on April 26, should be found interesting—

Mr. H. Samuel (L.—Cleveland) for Mr. Asquith asked whether His Majesty's Government was now in a position to make any statement in regard to Poland.

Mr. Bonar Law. As the House is aware one of the first acts of the Russian Provisional Government was to issue a proclamation to the Poles recognising their right to decide their own destinies and stating that the creation of an independent Polish State would be a sure guarantee of durable peace in Europe. (Cheers.) I am confident I rightly interpret the feeling of this House when I say we welcome the declaration and look forward to the time when thanks to the liberal and statesmanlike action of the Provisional Russian Government—(Cheers)—Poland will appear again in international life, and take her share with other nations in working for the common good of civilisation. (Cheers.) Our efforts in the War will be directed towards helping Poland to realise her right to the lines described in the Russian proclamation on that is today under conditions which will make her strong and independent. We hope that after the War Great Britain will remain united to Poland in bonds of close friendship. (Cheers.)

Poland has been on the whole, under German, Austrian and Russian despotism for a longer period than India has, been under the benevolent rule of the British people. We have learned from many British authors and journalists that the oppressors of Poland never made any efforts to fit her for self rule. On the other hand our rulers claim that they have been continually giving us a training in the art of self-government. And the achievements of the Poles in any sphere of human endeavour, including the art of government, can not be said to surpass those of the Indians. Nor have they won their freedom by a war of independence. British statesmen acknowledge with enthusiasm that Poland is fit for independent existence. But in India they intern people apparently for demanding a qualified home rule after the war. What is the explanation?

### A Lesson from the Philippines

The Filipinos have received fully responsible self government after some 17 or 18 years of American occupation. Much is said now-a-days about the stages of political progress, about the fearful character of catastrophic changes, &c. The following extract from General Frank McIntyre's report to the Secretary of War, U.S.A., dated March 1, 1913, will show how fit the Filipinos were for even municipal self

government sixteen, ten, and seven years ago.

"The principal difficulties encountered in the inception of self government in the municipalities were summarized in the Philippine Commission's report for 1901, as follows.

The educated people themselves though full of phrases concerning liberty, have but a faint conception of what real civil liberty is, and the mutual self restraint which is involved in its maintenance. They had it hard to understand the division of powers in a government and the limitations that are operative upon all officers, no matter how high. In the municipalities in the Spanish days what the friar did not control the presidente did and the people knew and expected no limit to his authority. This is the difficulty we now encounter in the organization of the municipality. The presidente fails to observe the limitations upon his power and the people are too submissive to press them.

"Manifestly this condition called for the education of the inhabitants of the municipalities and their officials in the duties of local self government. In addition to the official supervision every effort possible was utilized to this end, so that each American, whether employed as school teacher, engineer, or otherwise, should give that element of personal help, which would be the more valuable because it was free from the shadow of official authority. The Americans were few in number, the natives many, and these educative efforts were slow in producing enough results to make much showing.

"A more careful administration of municipal affairs became necessary. Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows.

In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been wisely not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 685 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements.

"Two hundred and twenty six municipalities

spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored and the Commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues.

"Fifteen months later Governor General Smith, in his message to the Legislature, February 1, 1909, reviewed municipal conditions as follows.

Nearly all the municipalities made great sacrifices in the interests of education and especially to secure

school buildings and adequate school accommodations, but there the interest in making expenditures for purposes other than salaries and wages ended, at least in most of the municipalities. It must be admitted that the law putting a limit on the gross amount which might be expended for municipal salaries and wages was to a certain extent a restriction of the autonomic powers originally conceded to municipal governments, but it was an interference with municipal autonomy completely justified by hard experience and more than five years of wanton waste of the public moneys.

Prior to the passage of Act No. 1733 of 1909 per cent of the municipalities excluding the city of Manila had no fire departments of any kind. Every year - great loss was caused by conflagrations.

During the year 1908 the Governor General personally visited some 200 municipalities, and in not more than half a dozen did he encounter a police force that was worthy of the name. The municipal policeman of these Islands, as a rule, does not rise to the dignity of the ordinary house servant, and in a great majority of cases performs no higher duties.

With five or six exceptions, the entire municipal police force as it is organized and disciplined to day might be abolished without any evil results what ever. He is appointed as a rule, not because of his intelligence, his uprightness of character, and his physical fitness, but because of his relationship to the appointing power or by reason of the political services which either he or his powerful friends have rendered to that official.

Evidently the Americans were bent on making the Filipinos free. They did not, therefore, make any of the latter's failures or shortcomings an excuse for indefinitely lengthening any of the preparatory "stages" of training in the profoundly abstruse and highly mysterious art of self-government.

Indentured Emigration not to be revived.

On May '23 Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that indentured emigration from India would not be revived. This is good so far as it goes. But labour emigration under any kind of arrangement ought not to be allowed for at least a decade to places like Fiji.

Students proclaimed as a "criminal tribe."

The Krishnanath College, Berhampur, is an institution entirely maintained by Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, without a pice of subsidy from Government, but its Governing Body is presided over by the local magistrate. The new term of the college begins on 10th July next, and the Principal, under orders of the

"To reduce this preventable loss the Commission passed this act, requiring each municipality to provide at least buckets and ladders and to drill its police force, with any volunteers, as a fire department."

Governing Body has issued the following rules about admission to it —

Students resident in the district or already in the college will be first taken and then students of the neighbouring districts in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. But students from other Divisions — i.e. what was formerly *East Bengal* — may be admitted on production of good and reliable credentials.

We have so long been accustomed to read of *credentials* as being presented by ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary. As Berhampur has not been selected for the Peace Congress after the present Armageddon the word *credentials* has been clearly used by the Principal in the sense of passports. So matters have come to this pass that a student from one part of Bengal cannot go to another part of the same province without producing a certificate of identity and character like members of the proclaimed criminal tribes such as the Maghia Domes or persons visiting a foreign country. We are not told by the Principal Krishnanath College whether these credentials must be v<sup>is</sup>e by the local C I D.

A year and a half ago the D P I of Bihar issued a notice (printed in this *Review*) ordering that every student of a different province wishing to join any Government or private college in his charge must produce certificates of respectability and character from two men of position in the district from which he was coming. This policy of keeping Indian provinces apart like water-tight compartments has been first applied by Maharaja Manindra Chandra to districts of the same province. So much for the promotion of Indian solidarity and national homogeneity.

The root cause of this policy of suspicion is the occurrence of political crimes ascribed to Eastern Bengal. In Ireland the natives have committed a hundred times as many political murders and atrocities as the people of Eastern Bengal. They have also been recently responsible for a bloody rebellion. But no student from Sligo is required to produce good and reliable credentials before he can enter Trinity College, Dublin, and no student from Kilmurphy has to file two certificates from men of position in his district before he can be admitted to Maynooth College.

### Sinn Feiners and Indian Youths

On 15th June the Prime Minister announced that all the Sinn Fein prisoners would be released unconditionally as a step towards Irish conciliation. Let us consider what these men had done. On April 26 1916 they proclaimed an Irish Republic seized a quarter of Dublin and lasted an assault upon the residence of the Viceroy (Dublin Castle). They shot down innocent soldiers walking unarmed in the streets and many civilians. The rebellion lasted a week and before it could be suppressed the casualties on both sides exceeded that of a regular battle in a great war. Fourteen persons were tried by court martial and shot (some by a British officer who was subsequently found to be insane) and in addition Sir Roger Casement was hanged after a regular trial by a jury. Three thousand persons were arrested out of whom above a thousand were detained in England. And now they have all been released.

In Bengal more than 800 of our young men some of them the best graduates of our University and several known only for their unselfish devotion to social service have been kept in prison without a trial without being given a full opportunity to answer the calumnies of their enemies and the hearsay recorded against them in the Police *dossers* and in the absence of any act of treason here which may bear the ghost of a resemblance to the Sinn Fein rising. These unhappy youths have been rotting in their cells or in unhealthy villages of detention, and months and years are passing away and still more young men are being interned. If the energy that is now being directed to hunting new cases had been turned to giving a fair trial to the old detenus many of them might have been restored to liberty. O for a Lloyd George in India!

When the Sinn Fein rising took place the *Statesman* censured us for our criticism of the reign of suspicion established by the C I D in Bengal and told us to wait and see how the British Government suppressed that rising. We have waited and seen.

### Competition for the Public Service

As early as 1863 Sir George Otto Trevelyan wrote in his charming sketches of India (the *Competitionsallah*) as to the best method of recruiting the public services.

We must not close our eyes to the undoubted advantages of competition. A gentleman in very high office out here (Calcutta) proposes that the Secretary of State should name twice as many candidates as there are vacancies (in the I.C.S.) and that the half of these should be selected by a searching competition examination. But it is impossible for a statesman with his hands full of work to make on his own judgment a large number of appointments. He must rely on the recommendation of others. Suppose twenty vacancies and a Secretary for India with free opinions on the matter of patronage. What would be easier than to nominate twenty favourable candidates and twenty youths who had failed three times running in the preliminary examination at Cambridge? The only chance for a man without interest would be to resign in incapacity and then to burst on the horror-stricken examiners with a flood of unsuspected information and latent genius.

The examination for the Finance Department of India last year presented an illustration of these words which would have been amusing but for its deplorable result in lowering the calibre of our public service. We absolve Sir William Meyer of any free opinions on the matter of patronage, for he had no hand in the matter. But the case will convince him how "as the result of the present 'favour cum competition' system for filling the enrolled appointments of the Finance Department he is not getting the best Indian talent which he could have caught for the same pay under a free and fair system of competition."

The Finance Department greatly needs men trained in Political Economy. In 1916 a local Government (let us call it Bombay) sent up the names of certain duffers and that of the best graduate in Economics in the whole university (First Class First in Honours and also in Political Economics) as its nominees for the competitive examination. But the father-in-law of the brother of one of these duffers sent an anonymous letter to Simla calumniating the best candidate on the ground that his brother was interned on suspicion! The Government of India on the strength of this letter refused to let the Senior Economist sit for the examination and the result was that all the three posts in 1916 went to—let us call them Burmans—who already fill 90 per cent of the higher posts in the Finance Department. This is what Sir William Meyer gets as his money's worth!

#### Compulsory Education for Girls in Mysore

An important proposition discussed by the recent Mysore Economic Conference

related to making education of girls up to the age of nine universal and compulsory. Principal C. R. Reddy of the Maharajah's College who moved the proposition, stated that public sentiment was in favour of compulsion. He said that the Ladies Associations were in favour of compulsion. The Bangalore Municipality which expressed itself against compulsion had written to say that while women were for compulsion men were conservative. Mr. Reddy stated that he generally approved the idea of enforcing compulsory education in the case of girls between the ages of 6 and 10. The proposition provoked considerable discussion and in the end was carried by a majority of one vote.

We record this with pleasure.

#### Round Table Philanthropy & India

Mr. Lionel Curtis's letter to the people of India should not fall into a sense of false security. The Round Table Political Philanthropists are busy in Canada. From a cable received from its Toronto correspondent and printed in the London *Times* of April 29th we learn that at a Round Table public meeting held at London Ontario Mr. Flavell demanded for Canadians the right of full citizenship in the Empire and urged the acceptance of full responsibility for the defence of the Empire, and even proportionate responsibility for the Government of India and Egypt. What eagerness to share the white man's burden!

Unless India can secure Home Rule early enough she may get an extra dose of other rule.

And by the by if the Canadians can agitate for the right of full citizenship and of governing India and Egypt too at a time when every man ought to show his loyalty to the British Empire by concentrating every effort and straining every nerve to secure the triumph of our arms, why can't we discuss controversial topics?

#### Sinn Féin

"The courageous and far-seeing statesmanship of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the cabinet in giving a general amnesty to all Irish rebels in prison and allotting five seats to the Sinn Féiners in the Irish Convention which is to draft a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland cannot be fully measured and appreciated without

a knowledge of recent Sinn Féin doings and happenings

The Nationalist party no longer represents the Irish nation, says a special correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*, writing from the South of Ireland, for the great majority of the people of the West and South now profess the doctrines of Sinn Féin. It writes with but little sympathy for the Irish cause, and says

'There is not the slightest doubt that here as elsewhere throughout the country Sinn Féin as an economic force has grown and is growing tremendously. A phoenix brood has arisen out of the ashes of Sackville Street and though there is no actual Sinn Féin party the movement is broken up into many small groups each trying to find an outlet for action.

They consist of rebels of varying degrees—from out and out Sinn Féiners whose favorite diet is gunpowder and gas and complete isolation from anything and everything English to the constitutional Sinn Féiners who would elect members of his clan to the Imperial Parliament provided they were in favor of complete separation. These form two of the seven degrees of Nationalists who to day add to the complexity of Irish affairs in Ireland, and who include the O'Brienites who are out for that kind of conciliation which means 'If you don't agree with me I will break your skull,' the Redmondites whose policy is held here to be to make a Tammany Hall of Dublin Castle, the Irish Nation League in Ulster and the Partition party. Through all these the Sinn Féin element is sweeping like a strong spring tide, and I am assured by thoughtful and observant Unionists and men of affairs here that if there was a general election in Ireland to-morrow Sinn Féin would sweep the board. Most of the national schools are inoculated and inoculated deeply with the Sinn Féin germ, the women are spreading it in innumerable ways and in the streets at night the Sinn Féin rallying song is sung with united fervor.'

According to the Dublin correspondent of the London *Times* a Sinn Féin convention was held on April 19th at which votes of honour were proposed in memory of the men who had fallen in the rebellion and of those who were now in prison and exile. And the meeting passed these votes amidst cheers for the non-existent Irish Republic. The principal business transacted at the meeting was the adoption of a declaration 'proclaiming Ireland to be a separate nation, asserting her right to freedom from all foreign control, and denying the authority of any foreign Parliament to make laws for Ireland affirming the right of the Irish people to declare that their will is law and to enforce their decisions in their own land without let or hindrance from any other country, maintaining the status of Ireland as a distinct nation and demanding

representation at the Peace Conference; affirming that it is the duty of the Peace Conference to guarantee the liberty of the nations calling for their intervention and to release small nations from the control of greater ones, and asserting that their claim for complete independence was founded on human rights and the laws of nations.'

The gathering also proclaimed that 'Ireland had always fought against foreign rule, and they bound themselves to use every means in their power to obtain complete liberty for their country.'

Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues undoubtedly hope that as they have met the Sinn Féiners half way, the latter will also give up their irreconcilable attitude. But whether that hope be realised or not, there can be no question that they have given proof of great courage and statesmanship.

### Memorandum on Indian Emigration

The Blue Book of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference contains, among other things, a memorandum on emigration from India to the Dominions, which was presented, by the Indian 'representatives' and which the conference recommended to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned. Let us consider one by one the recommendations contained in the memorandum.

First as regards Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions that they should be allowed to bring in their wives (subject to the rule of monogamy) and minor children and in other respects should not be less privileged than the Japanese settled immigrants.

'If accepted, this proposal would result in some improvement on the present state of things and is, therefore, good, so far as it goes. Of course, polygamy is an evil, and ought not to be countenanced. But it is not a worse evil than prostitution. Hence, considering that the Dominions tolerate prostitution, they ought not to be so squeamish as to exclude all the other wives and their children except one and her children, of an Indian already settled in the Dominions who had married more than one wife before he emigrated from India. Of course, he must offer strictly legal proof of such marriages. And the Dominions may pass a law laying down that this concession is not to apply to the cases of fresh emigrants, but only to those



already settled. We make this suggestion, not in the interests of the polygamous men but in that of their additional wives and their children. These wives, married, for the most part, in their infancy or childhood, are not responsible for their husbands being polygamous. Nor are their children responsible. They ought not, therefore, to be deprived of the advantage of being protected and maintained by their husbands and fathers.

Regarding the last clause of the proposal our opinion is that it should read as follows: "in other respects [Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions] should not be less privileged than the Japanese or European settled immigrants." It is not true that all Asiatics are inferior to all Europeans; it is a fact that some Asiatics, some Indians, even of the laboring class, are superior to some Europeans. Therefore, Indians ought to have the same privileges as European immigrants, particularly as Indians belong to the British Empire, which is not the case with many European immigrants.

Secondly, that future admissions of Indians for labour or settlement should, if possible, be regulated on lines similar to and not less favourable than those governing the admission of any other Asiatic race.

"Why 'of any other Asiatic race?' It ought to be 'of any race, Asiatic or European.'" Discrimination, when necessary and justified on reasonable grounds shown, should be against *unsuitable* individuals, not against races or continents. Taking everything into consideration, Asiatics (including labourers) are not inferior to Europeans (including labourers); they are, in fact, superior in some respects.

Thirdly, that if this is impossible, there might be reciprocal treatment in India and each Dominion of immigration for purposes of labour, or permanent settlement. If a Dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, India should be free to do the same as regards that Dominion. It would be clearly recognised that exclusion in either case was not motivated by race prejudices, but was the outcome of different economic conditions.

Though there is plenty of land lying unoccupied in some of the Dominions where Indians may settle with great advantage to themselves, the Dominions concerned and the British Empire, and though the same cannot be said with regard to India as a country for the British colonials to settle in, there is at least a *partial* fair-

ness in the proposed arrangement that a Dominion may exclude intending settlers from India, and India may exclude intending settlers from that Dominion. But the other part of the "reciprocity" arrangement is manifestly unfair. Were it proposed that Indians should not go to the Dominions to earn money in any way, and the citizens of the Dominions should not, similarly, come to India to make money in any way, that would be reciprocity of a just and fair character. But the proposal says that Indians must not go to earn money in the Dominions by labour (manual or bodily labour is meant thereby); which is the means of earning which has hitherto been adopted or may in future be adopted by most Indian emigrants; and the memorandum proposes to stop this means of making money. Similarly, it would empower India to exclude colonial labourers. But there has never been, nor, as far as human eyes can penetrate into the future, will there be in the future any colonial labourers in India. Colonials earn money in India as public servants, traders, industrialists, merchants, assistants, &c.; and this, the proposed arrangement, will not prevent them from doing. Therefore, this reciprocity is reciprocity only in name. It is a handicap to the Indians, but not so to the colonials. It reminds us of Aesop's fable of the Fox and the Crane. "A Fox invited a Crane to supper, and provided nothing for his entertainment but some soup made of pulse, and poured it into a broad flat stone dish." The Crane's vexation at not being able to eat afforded intense amusement to the Fox, who could herself lap up the soup. The Colonial Fox and the Indian Crane are to feast on each other's Resources. But the feast has to be enjoyed under such conditions that the Crane can derive no sustenance from it, whereas the Fox can do so. If the Crane had the power, as in the fable, he would reciprocate by altering the conditions in such a way as to suit himself, but not the Fox.

We are of opinion that both Indians and colonials should be allowed to make money all over the Empire by any honest means they can. If that does not suit the Dominions, the arrangement should be that the Colonials must not make money in India by following any kind of occupation whatever, nor must I

money in the Dominions by following any occupation or profession whatever

Some Anglo Indian journals have sought to support the proposed one-sided reciprocity by sophistry. They say when colonials start some factory or engineering works in India they create opportunities for work for Indians and employ hundreds of labourers but when Indian labourers go to the Dominions they only disturb the labour market. But the main object of the colonial immigrants in India is to exploit the resources of the country not to confer a boon on it. If that exploitation be of some indirect advantage to us that is a trifle. Moreover to the extent that outsiders occupy the field of commerce or industry, we are excluded from it actually or prospectively. Alien exploiters try to put obstacles in the way of Indians competing with them. The extraction and carrying away of the mineral wealth of India is a permanent loss to the country. Besides the liberally paid colony born public servants of India like Inspector General of Police Mr. Morris of the U. P., do not provide a labour market for our manual workers. As regards Indian labourers in the Dominions the wages paid to them form a very small fraction of the vast wealth they create. Is not that an advantage to the colonies? Indians made Natal the Garden of South Africa. The sugar plantations of Fiji have been the source of untold wealth to white capitalists. The real fact is the colonials have been and are very eager to employ indentured Indian labour under conditions of servitude but they have neither the humanity, nor the sense of justice nor the feeling of Christian brotherhood to treat Indians as fellow-citizens.

As the memorandum has in previous paragraphs recommended for Indians advantages similar to those enjoyed by the Japanese or by other Asiatic races but not those enjoyed by European immigrants the proviso that it would be clearly recognized that exclusion in either case was not motivated by race prejudices but was the outcome of different economic conditions sounds rather funny. The memorandum having in previous paragraphs acquiesced in or connived at the racial prejudice of the colonials in their discrimination against Indian and other Asiatic immigrants cannot consistently object to our exclusion of the colonials even if we want

to do so solely or mainly on the ground of race or because they have discriminated against us. As regards different economic conditions the Dominions are guided by them in proposing an arrangement which is favourable only to them. If we say that the economic conditions of India and Indians are such that it is necessary and advantageous for them to emigrate to the Dominions for labour purposes why do they object to our being guided by our peculiar economic conditions?

Fourthly that along with such exclusion reciprocal arrangements would be made for granting full facilities for the admission of tourists, students and the like and for business visits entailing temporary residence so long as the residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement.

This proposal is of greater positive advantage to the Dominions than to India as colonists come to India for purposes of travel and on business visits more often than Indians go to the Dominions for such purposes. But as it does not entail any disadvantage on Indians we need not make any further comments on it than this that if in any British colony, Canada for instance any poor students of that Dominion support themselves by labour Indian students proceeding there for study should also be allowed to work for their own maintenance on producing certificates from the heads of the educational institutions where they study to the effect that they are *bona fide* students.

### A Mother's Memorial

FOR A STATE PRISONER ALLEGED TO HAVE  
BECOME INSANE

We have received a copy of a memorial submitted to the Governor of Bengal in Council by Srimati Dikshayani Dasi mother of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh M. A. a state prisoner confined under Regulation III of 1818. The lady says that she has learned with grave anxiety and utmost concern from various sources that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has developed symptoms of insanity and also that the condition of his health is far from reassuring. She received for the first and last time an autograph letter from her son dated the 13th February 1917, from Rajshahi Jail. She brought this fact to the notice of the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal but to no effect.

That from a letter no. 3240 N. dated the 5th April 1917 of the Additional Secretary to the Govern-

ment of Bengal to Babu B. B. Mitter, your Excellency's humble memorialist first came to know that her son is placed under medical treatment.

Your Excellency's humble memorialist addressed a letter dated the 16th April, 1917, to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal in which she wrote "that I am very much anxious for him (Jyotish Chandra Ghosh) and would beg your favour to let me know the nature of his ailments. Many say that the detention in the solitary cell with books, etc., is not quite sufficient to keep good health and such state of restraint in a jail may turn the prisoner mad."

4 That in reply to the above Your Excellency's humble memorialist received a letter No 4316/X dated the 1st May, 1917 from the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal in which there was no mention of the nature of the illness of her son so earnestly prayed for. From the contents of the above-quoted letter Your Excellency's humble memorialist came to know that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has been removed from Rajshahi to Berhampore jail for better medical treatment. This sudden removal from one place to another having caused a great apprehension for the state of health of her son, Your Excellency's humble memorialist again addressed a letter, dated 13th May, 1917, to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which she wrote, "As it appears from the information contained in letter 4316/X of 1st May, 1917, that the condition of the health of my son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh is critical and, to my mind requires the constant attendance of his nearest relatives, able to counsel and thereby mitigate the cares and anxieties naturally attending a prison life, as well as the morbidness due to ill health. I therefore pray you would be graciously pleased to make such arrangements whereby some of his relatives may at their convenience see him once every month, other wise, knowing his nature well as I do, I am almost certain that the prisoner will be driven mad or succumb to a premature grave."

1) No reply to the above had been received up to 19th June, the date of the memorial.

The sorrow stricken mother's prayers are embodied in the following paragraphs

'8 That in consideration of the above, therefore, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased to hold a thorough and impartial enquiry by proper authority as to the condition of health of Jyotish Chandra Ghosh the nature of his ailments, and whether it is true that he has developed symptoms of insanity, and if so, the causes of such development of symptoms of insanity, and what steps conducive to the restoration of his health have been taken.

9 That if the grave misapprehension of Your Excellency's humble memorialist proves to be true in the enquiry, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that in consideration of the shattered health and mind of her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh he be immediately set free or if this be against the policy of the Government, he be immediately released from prison and be allowed to live with Your Excellency's memorialist under proper surveillance and such conditions as Your Excellency may be pleased to direct, so that constant attendance and care may be taken by her and other relatives to bring life and health back to him in the quiet and peaceful atmosphere of home.

These prayers are quite reasonable and

ought to be granted. Both considerations of policy and of humanity and justice make it imperative that the first prayer, namely, that an enquiry should be held, should be acceded to without the least delay. And if on enquiry it be found that the prisoner's condition is as has been apprehended, he should be released from prison either unconditionally or on the conditions suggested by his mother.

As Berhampore is not known as a health resort and as it has a Lunatic Asylum maintained by Government, and as the prisoner has been transferred there, the mother's fears may not be entirely unfounded. The article on "Prison" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "Cloistered seclusion is an artificial condition quite at variance with human instincts and habits, and the treatment, long continued, has proved injurious to health, including mental break-down."

Should it be found on enquiry that the prisoner has been reduced to a state of moribund imbecility, it ought not to be difficult for an Empire which is strong enough to release hundreds of actual Irish rebels to set free a mere political suspect, not capable of any mischief now, if ever he was.

### An anti-smoking circular.

We noticed with pleasure in the *Panjabee* for the first time the circular relating to the harmful habit of smoking cigarettes among the boys in schools and colleges in Bengal. We support it heartily, and print an extract from it below.

It has been brought to the notice of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, that the habit of smoking cigarettes among the boys in schools and colleges in the Presidency of Bengal is prevalent and on the increase. It is necessary that steps should be taken to check the growth of the habit in view of the permanent injury to the constitution that may result from acquiring it at an early age. The Director of Public Instruction considers that every effort should be made to prevent boys from acquiring the habit and Head Masters of Schools and Principals of Colleges and Madrasahs are requested strictly to prohibit the sale of cigarettes on the premises of their institutions and also to forbid students to smoke on or outside those premises. They should occasionally hold informal talk in the class-rooms, pointing out to the boys the evil-effects on the constitution of the young of tobacco-smoking or of using any intoxicating substance. They should also exert a healthy influence upon their pupils by abstaining from smoking on the school premises or at any rate by not smoking before the pupils disobeying the order should in the first warning, they should be punished for all offences.

What is to be done to what those teachers or professors who may be here after found smoking on the school or college premises or before the pupils?

### Sir S. P. Sinha's Politics.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has contributed to the *Commonwealth of Madras* an account of an interview which he had in England with Sir S. P. Sinha. We extract from it some opinions of the latter.

"The Morley-Minto Reforms though a distinct advance gave Indians in the Legislative Councils only influence and not power. Power is different from influence and what we need is a steady increase of power to determine and to control policy."

"Then you would not be contented I asked if a few more high posts were thrown open to Indians?"  
"No," he emphatically replied. "Persons who make out that educated Indians are after the loaves and fishes maliciously libel our character. We shall not be contented with a few crumbs. What we want is real power in the administration of our affairs."

After a brief pause Sir Satyendra continued. "Often our critics allege that educated India is represent no body." To cite a single instance where have educated Indians in any of the Legislative Councils in India sought anything for themselves—sought anything that was not for the common good of the Indian people?"

"Asked Sir Satyendra. Do you think that India can develop her industries rapidly and adequately without being given fiscal autonomy?"

"Fiscal autonomy such as that possessed by the Self-governing Dominions is necessary for the expansion of Indian industries," he answered.

"Would you be prepared I asked to let India have fiscal autonomy without the Government being made responsible to Indians?"

Sir Satyendra replied. "To give the Indian Government more power without making it responsible to Indians would be to make the Government still more despotic. Further power should not be given to the Administration unless accompanied by legislative concessions to the people."

Now Sir Satyendra said. "I will put the last question that I intend to ask you. Pray tell me what above everything else, you would like Britain to do for India."

"One thing above all others," he replied. "Words will not satisfy India. Actions are necessary. In spite of all that has happened we of the older generation have unshaken faith in British integrity, fair play, and justice. The case is very different with young Indians. We of the older generation are therefore taunted by the younger men for our faith in Britain. The younger generation in India must be convinced that the older Indians are perfectly justified in reposing faith in Britain's promise to give India free institutions. Not words but the steady delegation of power into Indian hands will convince young India."

### The Lesson of History.

It has been shown in this Review that the demand of Indians that the commissioned ranks of the army should be thrown open to them is not a merely sentimental

craving, but that it is absolutely necessary for the true defence of our hearths and homes. This view has been supported with facts from the history of Great Britain. But Indian history also teaches the same lesson.

At present Englishmen are foreigners in India only in a geographical sense, politically they are, strictly speaking, not foreigners in India. For both Indians and Englishmen belong to the same Empire. But there was a time when Englishmen were foreigners in India both geographically and politically. And in many of the Indian States, commonly known as Native States, Englishmen continued to be foreigners both politically and geographically after they had ceased, politically, to be foreigners in the rest of India.

With these prefatory words, we wish to show what may happen in an emergency if Government place exclusive reliance on foreigners from the independent territories adjacent to India and others appointed as commissioned officers (according to the Government of India Consolidation Act) instead of trusting the children of the soil.

Only a century ago, Maharajah Sindhia raised a regular army of more than 40,000 men, chosen from the brave and sturdy population of Oudh and the Doab. There was no finer material in the East India Company's Sepoy army. Sindhia's higher officers were all Europeans—Frenchmen and Englishmen, and "natives" were not allowed to rise higher than the rank of non-commissioned officers in this picked corps,—as in the army of British India today.

In August 1803 the day of trial came. Lord Wellesley declared war on Sindhia, and issued a proclamation inviting Sindhia's European officers to desert to the Company, promising them the same pay and pension as in Maratha service. The English mercenaries of Sindhia accepted the offer and refused to fight against their own countrymen, while most of the French officers did the same, being eager to carry their accumulated wealth out of India without risking a conflict with the English. Thus in the first stage of the war, Sindhia's army was suddenly deprived of all its accustomed officers and the result was its defeat in spite of its admitted bravery and devotion. "Disheartened, but undismayed at being suddenly left to unrecognised leaders, these brave troops met the

onslaught of the British. But what could mere hands do without brains? The result is best told in the words of the victor Lord Lake 'Those fellows fought like devils or rather like heroes and had they been commanded by [their old] French officers the event would have been I fear extremely doubtful (Letter 2 Nov 1803)

Such may be the fate of all armies that rely for training and leadership on foreigners and such may be the ultimate fate of nations that place their Home Defence Force under a *corps d'elite* of alien officers however brilliant instead of training their own sons for the higher command

### Social Legislation in Indore

A recent social enactment in Indore is in the right direction. A civil marriage act in that State makes it possible for men and women of any caste race or creed to contract monogamous marriages provided the bride and bridegroom are not less than 14 and 18 years of age respectively and are not related to each other within any prohibited degree of consanguinity. They must have resided in the State for not less than 14 days consecutively and if the bride is less than 18 years of age and the bridegroom less than 21 years of age they must have obtained their guardians consent to the marriage. Of course the law is only a permissive and legalising enactment. Those who are not natives of Indore may also avail themselves of it. The need of such legislation has been felt by many educated persons who do not attach any importance to caste restrictions and want to contract intercaste marriages but do not wish to declare themselves non-Hindus. In fact intercaste marriages were permitted in ancient India and still prevail in Nepal, Sikkim and in the Darjeeling district the parties remaining orthodox Hindus.

Such a law is needed in British India and all the Indian States for the unification of the peoples of India by gradual social fusion.

It may be made to serve another purpose which is not quite trifling. In large towns like Calcutta there are numerous Brahmin cooks and servants and maid servants of various castes who live together as man and wife and even have children. The social atmosphere can be purified to some extent by legalising these connections and

thus legitimising the children. That would mean some real social improvement.

### The Nautch in Mysore

Nautches by professional dancing women as a part of the festivities in connection with the annual celebrations of the birthday of the Maharaja of Mysore have been discontinued from this year. This is a real gain to the cause of social purity. There is nothing inherently wrong in dancing. It may be an artistic expression of pure joy. There is no necessary connection between dancing and voluptuousness or lasciviousness. We have seen Santal women dancing without the least trace of anything objectionable in it. It is the close connection between professional dancing and professional vice which has made the nautch pernicious in India.

### School going age

It was in April 1915 that we first proved by quoting educational statistics from the principal civilised countries that it was wrong to take 15 per cent of the total population of a country as the maximum proportion of those under instruction in Schools, Colleges and Universities. But the Government of India and the various provincial Governments had long been wedded to this percentage and Mr H. Sharp, now Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, defended this percentage in the last quinquennial review of the progress of education in India. We refuted his arguments. We also showed how by placing the maximum of possible students at so low a figure as 15 per cent of the whole population an exaggerated idea of the real educational achievement of the Government of India was being conveyed. It was not once that we had to do this. We had to return to the charge more than once. We are therefore glad to find that in the latest report on Indian education published by the Government of India Bureau of Education namely that for 1915-16 Mr H. Sharp says in the Introduction

In view of the vexed nature of the question of the percentage of the population which should be regarded as of school-going age the percentages of pupils are now shown not against 15 per cent of the population but against the population as a whole.

Let us now try to obtain an accurate idea of our educational progress by comparison with a civilised country. Mr Sharp tells us in his report that last year

(1914-15) 3.06 per cent of the whole population was under instruction. This year [1915-16] 3.1 per cent of the whole population was under instruction. In the United States of America in 1913 the percentage of the population under instruction was 21.40—which is seven times as high as our percentage. In some States of U.S.A. the percentage is higher still. For instance it is 27.10 in North Carolina, 26.37 in Arkansas and so on. But let us see how many years it would take us at our present rate of educational progress to equal the United States as a whole in 1913. Our present rate of annual progress is 3.1 minus 3.06 or 0.04 per cent. The present difference between India and U.S.A. is 21.40 minus 3.1 or 18.3. To make up this deficiency at the rate of 0.04 per annum would require 457 years and 6 months. Truly a most cheerful prospect!

#### Usmania University

We are glad to learn that His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has sanctioned the establishment of a University in his Dominions to be named the Usmania University. Hyderabad is the premier state in India for though it is slightly smaller in area than Kashmir it is more than four times as populous as that Himalayan country. But in education it is more backward than Baroda, Travancore, Mysore and some still smaller states. The Nizam's ministers have become alive to this state of things and are making more earnest efforts than before to combat illiteracy. We do not wish to enter into an academic discussion as to whether the establishment of a university ought to precede or follow the provision for universal elementary education. But we hope the Nizam will lose no time in establishing primary schools in all villages containing say at least 300 inhabitants. For in respect of education Hyderabad is the most backward part of Southern India. 28 persons per thousand being literate there whereas in Travancore Cochin Baroda and Mysore 150, 171, 101 and 63 persons per thousand respectively are literate.

In the Usmania University the vehicle of instruction up to the highest standards is to be Urdu. The carrying on and encouragement of research will be among the functions of the University; the results thereof being also embodied in Urdu. English will be taught only as a language

and literature. We are in favour of the plan of imparting education up to the highest standards through the medium of a vernacular, English being taught as one of the main subjects. The choice of the vernacular to be adopted as the medium would not be everywhere as easy as it would be for example in Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In Bengal 9,192 persons per ten thousand speak Bengali. In the U.P. 9,115 per ten thousand speak Hindi. So in these provinces Bengali and Hindi should be the media respectively. In Hyderabad State per 10,000 of the population 4,761 speak Telugu, 2,616 speak Marathi, 1,256 speak Kanarese, 1,022 speak Western Hindi or Urdu and so on. It is clear then that to the majority of the Nizam's subjects Urdu would be almost as much of a foreign language as English. If they must have university education through the medium of a foreign tongue it would be better for them to choose if possible a university where English is the medium because English has a far richer literature and a far larger number of excellent text books in all subjects of study than Urdu. We do not write all this to discourage university education through the vernaculars; we are for it and whatever the vernacular chosen great difficulties must be overcome at first in creating a body of literature. What we mean to say is that the Nizam will have to do for his other subjects too what he is going to do for his Urdu speaking subjects.

#### A United States of the World

Current Opinion of New York expresses the opinion that a United States of the World may grow out of this war. It says that the ultimate results of the participation of America in the war can only be predicted intelligently in the light of what President Wilson regards as America's objects in entering the war. On January 22 in an address to Congress he stated these objects substantially as follows:

- (a) A League of Nations to insure peace and justice in place of Balance of Power;
- (b) Equality of rights among nations;
- (c) Democracy—Government by the consent of the governed;
- (d) Independence and autonomy for subject nations e.g. Poland;
- (e) Guarantee of security of life of worship and of industrial and social development to all peoples;
- (f) Freedom of the seas and free access to the great highway of the sea for all nations.

### (g) International limitation of armaments

The first item on this program may be regarded as already near to realization. The nations of Europe now allied with the nations of North and South America in warfare against Germany constitute a League of Nations that is likely after the war, to be fully competent to insure peace and justice throughout the world. And the common principle which more and more clearly underlies their common action is the principle of democracy. 'Democratic world federation' and the United States of the World are phrases that we find in newspaper editorials. It is the hour of the federation of the world, of the parliament of man according to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston).

India is not mentioned by name. But we should rejoice to see other dependent nations liberated though our own liberation may be delayed. Our day also must come.

### 'Freedom and Autonomy' for India

The *Review of Reviews* observes that the Maharaja of Bikanir 'rendered British India service by making it clear that there is considerable unrest that is not seditious nor anarchical, but perfectly legitimate—unrest that 'originates from impatience at the rate and the nature of the political progress made in India.' The *Review* hits the nail on the head when it says that "There is but one way to allay this unrest, and that is to advance India on the path of 'freedom and autonomy'."

### Settlement in Tropical Regions.

Mr A Wyatt Tilby contributed an article on the "vitally important" subject of "Migration within the Empire." The *Review of Reviews* summarises its concluding portion as follows:

We possess large territories in the tropics but in the long run we cannot hold a country that we do not populate. We have to attempt organised tropical colonisation by white men if we are to hold certain of our tropical possessions at all and under modern conditions of health and sanitation we may hope to attempt it with every prospect of success.

But why hold a possession? Why not make all free partners in the Empire? Is not England out to liberate all the world?

Anyhow, if white men are to settle in our country, it is only fair that we should be allowed to settle in the vast unoccupied regions of Australia, &c., which the white man has not yet been able to turn to any good purpose and may never be able to do so.

### America and Ireland

The London *New Statesman* makes an imprisoned appeal to the British Government to apply Home Rule to Ireland in order to secure the unqualified moral support of America in the war.

In Australia, with its very large Irish population the issue has almost as much importance as in the United States. We can never attain a harmony of the English speaking peoples with the Irish left out. But when once the Irish sore is healed, the path is straight before us. Great Britain can fight the war to its end with no further aspersions on her role as the champion of freedom. The United States can then give us an unqualified moral support.

### But what about India?

Some of our foremost men consider the *New Statesman* very friendly to India.

### Improvement of the Backward Classes

The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes has been doing very good and vital work in our province for some years past. It has been spreading education among the classes generally spoken of as the depressed classes. Unfortunately it does not receive adequate financial help from the public, which it fully deserves.

During a period of seven years it has been able to start and maintain 8 Middle English Schools and 54 primary Schools including 11 girls' schools and one night school.

In these 62 schools there are 1916 boys and 263 girls under instruction of whom 1333 are Namrudras, 147 Vudhus and the rest belong to other castes. A steady upward progress has been maintained and from 39 schools in 1913 the number has increased to 62 in 1916. The Society expects still better results in the current year.

It has been found by experience that with monthly grants of Rs. 2 and 3 a lower primary school may now be started in Eastern and Western Bengal respectively the balance of expenditure being met from local contributions by the people or school fees. If sufficient public help be forthcoming the work of the Society in this direction may be indefinitely extended.

We appeal to the generous public for liberal help in the shape either of monthly or annual subscriptions or of donations on behalf of this noble cause.

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We cordially support this appeal.

### Scotland and the I C S

The *Empire* notes that an emphatic memorial has been submitted by the 'Senatus Academicus' of Aberdeen University to the Secretary of State, protesting against 'the injustice to Scotland' that the report of the Public Services Commission perpetrates. The memorial de-

clares that there are two features in the changes proposed by the commissioners, which must inevitably close the door of the examination to all but the sons of the wealthy in the north-eastern districts—the obstructive features being the lowering of the age limitations and the highly specialised character of the new test to be imposed on candidates. The memorial states that as things are at present the average age of entrants to the University is, owing to the requirements of the preliminary examination, slightly over eighteen. Moreover, by reason of the broad character of Scottish school education as contrasted with that given in the English public schools, even the best students who might ultimately look for success in the Indian Civil Service examination do not now come up conspicuously better prepared in individual subjects than they were when the average age of entrance to the University was lower. The disability is further aggravated by the highly specialised character of the new examination test, and the memorial declares, it is clear that the Commissioners in framing their examination syllabus have left Scotland out of account.

#### Oxford University and the I C S.

The *Athenaeum* discusses how the recommendations of the Public Services Commission relating to the Indian Civil Service may affect education at Oxford and the interests of its alumni. It observes—

The final Report of the Royal Commission on the Indian Civil Service, which was published early this year deals with matters that touch this university very closely. If the proposal were to be adopted that candidates should henceforth be chosen at the age at which they come up to the universities rather than as at present at the end of their academic career, our final schools would undoubtedly be hard hit. We should find ourselves back in those lean days when the average scholar of a college who lacked private means must win his fellowship or resign himself to the schoolmaster's life of ill-paid drudgery. In recent years, on the contrary, any man of good ability who was ready to put his shoulder to the wheel could make tolerably sure of an administrative post abroad, such as brings out all that is best in the average well-educated specimen of our race.

And yet India is a land of regrets. Obviously Englishmen are fonder of regretting abroad than of rejoicing at home in "the school master's life of ill-paid drudgery."

The paragraph printed below shows that, taking everything into consideration, the *Athenaeum* is opposed to the changes

recommended by the Royal Commissioners.

The rule of India counts among the proudest achievements of the British race. We must see to it, therefore, that the ruling class is thoroughly representative of British culture. No one doubts that the old type of Indian civilian—the man selected at 19 whose views by the way, must largely constitute the basis of the present Report—has done wonders. But it is at least possible, that he was some what over specialised. At any rate there is surely reason why the Indian official should be thoroughly in touch with our ideals and ways of thought at home as can hardly be the case if he had never shared in the same higher education as the ruling class in England. On purely educational grounds therefore—a matter on which academic opinion has a right to count—it is to be hoped that no reactionary step will be taken to cut off Indian administration from the influences that make for culture and breadth of mind.

#### Nationalisation of Swiss Railways.

In an interesting and instructive article entitled "A Lesson in Nation Building" contributed to *East and West*, Mr. F. H. Skrine, I C S (retired) describes, among other things, how the railways in Switzerland came to be nationalised. On the general question of State versus Private Company ownership and management of railways Mr Skrine delivers himself thus.

All who are not blinded by self-interest have arrived at the conclusion that Transport cannot be safely left to private enterprise. Mobility is essential to civilised man and anything that hampers it must tend to lower the standard of national efficiency. A Railway Company's first duty being to earn comfortable dividends, it is tempted to over work and under pay its staff and to charge excessively for service. The State occupies a very different position. It should aim at serving the public rather than fleecing them and should stand forward as a model employer. It need not compete with rivals poach on their preserves, construct branch lines solely in order to fitch traffic. The State can go further than any Company in carrying out extensions which will not be immediately profitable. But seventy odd years ago Great Britain, the mother of the world's railway system, was hypnotised by the dogma *laissez-faire*, which calls 'hands off' to the State. In the economic sphere

We need not follow him through all the intermediate details, but will record the final result.

In 1897 the nationalisation of Swiss railways became an accomplished fact, the needful finances being provided by the issue of £40,000,000 Railway Stock, redeemable in 46 years. The results of this relatively stupendous operation which imposed a burden of £16 per head of the people, surpassed the champions' wildest anticipations. In every year passenger traffic increased by 7%, fares and rates were proportionately reduced while the train-service had improved beyond recognition. Railway men enjoyed far better wages than of yore and were guaranteed the ten hour working day for which their British colleagues sighed in vain. The most hide-bound partizan of *laissez-faire* would not place his



'once more under the heel of private enterprise in transport.

### The Secret Police in Pre-revolution Russia.

We print below a few extracts from an article in a British journal on the role of the secret police in Russia before the revolution.

The secret police attracted to itself the choicest ruffians of the country, and no man can ever have joined its ranks without the precise knowledge that he was embarking on a career of villainy. It has been said that Russia was ruled, not by the Tsar, but by the police and the Orthodox Church. There is a good deal of truth in that, but possibly there would be more if the Church were left out of the count. The police were the real masters of that patient suffering nation of 170,000,000 souls, and they ruled it with a hard hand. They were a Frankenstein monster which had grown more powerful than its creator, and which he could not have destroyed even if he had wished to. Only one thing could have put an end to its malevolent power, and that one thing has now come to pass. The sum total extorted annually by this body from the Russian people in bribes and blackmail must have amounted to many millions of pounds and infinitely have exceeded the official emoluments of the force. In the extinct Russia nothing could be done without greasing the palm of the police, and with that lubrication it was possible to do anything. A shrewd observer justly remarked that "in Russia, if one wants to do anything illegal, all that is necessary is to give money to the men whose duty it is to prevent one from doing it."

The soldiers in Russia all joined the revolutionary movement, either at once or after very brief hesitation, but the police held out to the last, fighting desperately with machine-guns from their strongholds on the tops of public buildings.

The reason is not far to seek. The police were loyal to the old regime because they were the old regime. None had so much to hope from the obsolete order, none so much to fear from its overthrow. Most of them were only too well aware that the dawn of a new era would mean for them, if not long terms of well merited imprisonment, at any rate the loss of their livelihood. Other classes of officials, though lazy, incompetent, and corrupt, might hope to be left in their posts, but there could be no chances for a new Russia till the old police system had been cleared out, lock, stock, and barrel.

### Japan Guards India.

Speaking at a banquet in London on April 8th, the Japanese Ambassador said:

Since the fall of Kiao Chan Japanese operations had been mainly confined to labour expeditions, the protection of the coast of British Columbia, the hunting down of German squadrons and commerce raiders, guarding the coast of India, and conveying military transports from Australia.

That a foreign power should guard the coast of India is both an unnatural and a temporary arrangement. The only permanent, natural and safe arrangement, and one which alone can be in consonance

with the self-respect of India and the British Empire would be to train India herself to do the work.

### University Examination Results.

Complaints come from Madras and the U. P. of the very large proportion of failures at University Examinations. These failures are due less to the dulness of the candidates or to bad teaching than to the stupid and pernicious theory that the efficiency of a University is to be judged by the small number of examinees it passes. The Anglo-Indian professors who believe or pretend to believe in this theory are in many cases both teachers and examiners and also lay down and control the courses of study. As our students of even average merit show satisfactory results when they study at foreign universities, do not these professors see that it would be absurd to lay all the blame for the failures on our students? The only correct conclusion to arrive at is that either the teaching is bad or the examining is bad.

### An Eazhava Girl Graduate.

The Eazhavas are described,—it gives us pain to transcribe the words,—as "one of the backward and despised communities of Malabar and Travancore." It is, therefore, with particular pleasure that we note that for the first time in the history of Travancore the Eazhava community has produced a girl graduate. Her name is Srimati Gauri Amma. The Sri Narayana Dharma Parapalika Yogam convened a special meeting at which the Eazhava ladies of Travancore presented her with a gold medal. She is studying for the M.A. degree.

### Students and Public Meetings.

College students should attend public meetings where addresses are delivered on religious, social, educational, moral, literary, scientific, political, economic or other similar subjects. This they should do as a part of their education, during hours not set apart for study. They should also render such personal service as the volunteers at our conferences, &c., perform. This helps to make them patriotic. These are only the general principles. All meetings are not worth attending, nor are all speakers worth listening to. Discretion has to be used. The parents or other guardians of students ought to be able to advise and guide them in these matters. To order that students must not attend

meeting, or any public meeting whether political or not, is quite unjustifiable. Of course, it is right to enjoin that students should not attempt to play the role of agitators, leaders or teachers of the public.

Even school boys may be allowed to and should attend public meetings of certain descriptions. They can certainly profit by listening to addresses on the lives of prophets, great men, &c., and on popular scientific subjects, &c. No exhaustive list of subjects can or need be given.

The Bombay, Madras, C. P. and other provincial governments by ordering students not to attend political meetings, are only preventing them from listening to those lawful arguments which can be openly and constitutionally urged and thereby making them more liable to believe in wild and visionary politics. The spread of the latter sort of politics from mouth to mouth no government can prevent. The only remedy lies in a hope inspiring constitutional propaganda, and in allowing all who like to do so to attend all lawful public meetings.

### Sir John Woodroffe on the Marriage and Education of Hindu Girls

Presiding at the prize distribution meeting of the Mahakali Pithashala Sir John Woodroffe gave some very wise and much needed advice to managers of that orthodox school for girls. He said:

It is gently to your credit if you give education free. I want however to point out that unless you recast some common ideas and practices concerning women you can neither give a true education nor keep your community alive. Look what happens among you. Your girls leave you whilst mere children to be married. It goes without saying that no sufficient education and such as will build up the future womanhood of India can be thus given. This results from insistence on too early marriage. Your report seems to me to seek to palliate the matter by saying that the mother is the real guardian of true womanhood. In a sense this is true. It is however a crude and animal but common view. I come to read this as meaning that women are only *Yantras* or machines for the bearing of children. Moreover of what use is it to be a mother if she is a mere child and suffer physically thereby if her mind is ignorant and stupid so that she is no real companion to her husband or teacher of her children? How can a wife of this type be a true *Shatadharini*?

How can she uphold your race? Therefore this and other customs injuriously affecting women must be done away with if you would survive.

Sir John does not believe that Hinduism cannot move forward. He observed:

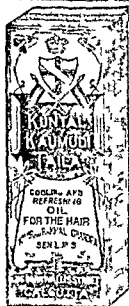
There are a class of people who think that "Hinduism" (meaning thereby everything which so calls itself) is immobile. Such neither know history nor their own *Shastras*. It is true that there is a *Sanatana Dharma*. But if every rule and custom which exists is unchangeable, pray, what is the meaning of *Desha, Kala, Patra* of *Yuga Dharma* of *Lokachara* and other similar terms? They all imply this that we must take into account time, place and circumstance. We must all move on and live with the vital current of our age or we shall be left stranded high and dry on the banks to wither and die.

He pointed out in telling words how the future of every race and of mankind rests on the free and full development of womanhood along right lines.

Remember that all civilisations work on woman as on one of their main pivots. They are the source whence men and women spring. Honour woman. Remove all customs which stand in the way of her true freedom and advancement. If you do not your race will pass away by the will of that great *Shakti* whose earthly representatives (*Vigraha*), according to your Scriptures all women are. One need not, however believe in *Shakti* but need only have common sense to know the reason why. As that great American Walt Whitman said: "Unfolded only out of the superbest woman of the earth is to come the superbest man of the earth. Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded." In an old *Shakta* hymn it is said—*Striyah devah Striyoh pranah*—"Women are Devas" women are life itself. Mark the words: life itself for all that I might say to you is concisely stated there. If you will not give women your education others than yourselves will give theirs. It would ask you one and all to do what you can to defer the year of marriage and so extend the years of education, and to make that education real.

### Republican Propaganda in South Africa.

Reuter's long telegrams regarding the republican propaganda in South Africa makes it plain that it is not an insignificant movement. Yet it goes on in spite of the pre-occupation of the war. Perhaps it is not a controversial topic. No propagandist has been interned, nor even General Hertzog. Is it because there are no strong and wise rulers there like those in India, or is there some other reason?



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### Towards Home Rule

Like the first part, we have in it copious evidence as to the fitness of the Indian Nation for Home Rule, and it is a compilation which every worker in the cause of the Motherland must have with him. There are two articles on the alleged inferiority of the coloured races, in which we have a thorough exposure of the cry of some European jingoists that a colourless skin is a token of superior intellectual powers. Furr-minded European Research students have proved beyond criticism that neither physically nor mentally is the white man superior to the coloured. The writer in *Towards Home Rule* discusses that point along several lines, the most convincing being that at various periods in the history of mankind the white people have been far inferior to the coloured. Thus, up to the time of Caesar, the natives of England were in a state of primitive barbarity. The writer next discusses some features of the various periods of history when the coloured races found themselves in every way superior to the colourless. We are how ever, doubtful whether such evidence as to the bogus claim of the European jingoists is needed by any Home Ruler, specially after the Russo Japanese War, or indeed by any other Indian who has cared to acquaint himself with the doings of our great men like Buddha or Shivaji, Ranade or Gokhale. Among other chapters in the book we may note Social and Political Evolution, The Problem of Race Equality, A Japanese Paper on the Indian Struggle for Self Rule, The Rationale of Autonomy, and Home Rule and Super Brahmanas—*New India*,

waging a war against the movement of self-government. A perusal of the book will show that the claim of Indians for self government is irresistible. We can only hope with the editor of the publication that the British people will be convinced sufficiently early to reap the advantages of the movement of self government—*The Pynjabee* (1st notice)

### "Towards Home Rule."

The able and patriotic editor of *The Modern Review* has rendered a valuable service to the cause of self government by now bringing out the second part of his work, of which the first part was published some time ago. These works give a complete answer to those who seek to misinterpret and minimise the importance of the demand of Indians for self government. A perusal of Mr Ramananda Chatterjee's brochure will show how those who have started the present campaign against self-government are proceeding against all lessons of history, wisdom and commonsense. There is a movement which is bound to irremediable failure if they do not admit to be times the error of their ways and retrace the false steps that they have so far taken. While in every nook and corner of the civilised world, the cry is for progress—incessant and never-ceasing progress—India cannot believe—as she is asked to believe by those emissaries of darkness and retrogression, that her salvation lies on following the counsels of these timorous and faint hearted persons who are ever engaged in rolling backwards. Canute like the onward tide of progress—*The Pynjabee* (2nd notice)

### Towards Home Rule II.

At a crisis like this when so much is being done or said in the matter of Home Rule, either against or for it, the appearance of the second part of "Towards Home Rule" by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the talented Editor of the "Modern Review", is most opportune. He has done a service to the cause of Indian Home Rule which should be recognised not only by the supporters of the movement but even by its opponents to whom we recommend the work, since it proves that the advocates of self government do not seek anything which would either bring about any "catastrophic change" or the establishment of complete autonomy for India at the close of the war. Very justly does Mr Chatterjee assure his readers, that it is "Home Rule, not independence, which is entirely within the range of practical politics," for as he explains, "we want to remain within the British Empire and have internal autonomy." We hope the book will command a large sale and attain to wide circulation—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

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The Editor of the *Modern Review* has issued another small pamphlet dealing with the burning topic of the hour, viz the demand for Home Rule in India. The book is properly styled "Towards Home Rule" and has brought together a number of papers from various sources, all tending to show how interested the contention is of those who would maintain that India must make no advance towards it, because of its unfitness. It contains some excellent papers on subject races, originally read before the International Races Congress either in an abridged or complete form. The Problem of Race Equality, Alleged Inferiority of Coloured Races, the Rationale of Autonomy by J. M. Robertson. M. P. are papers which every educated person, whether he be an advocate or opponent of Indian Home Rule, should carefully read.

There is another extract contained in the little book and taken from one of the most important news papers in Japan viz the *Japan Chronicle*, which contains an effective answer to those who would deny self government to India on the ground of internal disunion. It would be remembered that this was written in 1908 when the cry for Home Rule for India had not become so insistent as it has become now.

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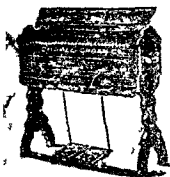
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#### To Contributors.

ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS AND NOTICES, MEANT FOR ANY MONTH'S ISSUE, SHOULD REACH THE EDITOR BEFORE THE 1ST OF THE PREVIOUS MONTH.

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## OPINION

now agitating the entire educated Indian public. The brochure will be a mine of information to them in almost all its phases. It is a valuable acquisition to the literature on the subject, and everyone interested in it should have a copy of it by him.

### The Message says —

There is no serious student of Indian politics who does not read the *Modern Review*.—it has simply become indispensable. Much of the credit belongs to the editor Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who possesses, in addition to a mine of information and a well of righteous feelings, a critical faculty of a high order and a peculiarly trenchant style of expression. The book before us exemplifies these qualities in a remarkable degree. All the arguments purporting to show that India is not fit for democratic institutions are examined with ruthless logic and irrefutably proved to be erroneous. The copy ought to be on the book shelf of every Home Ruler. Whatever argumentation can do in the matter of winning Home Rule is done here. If it fails to make the bureaucratic readers prepared to grant self Government to India within a reasonable period, the failure will not be due to any defect in the argument but to something else. How we wish that Ramananda Chatterjee were rich enough to send a copy to each and every member of the ruling race in India so that their ignorant self complacency might receive a rude shock and their eyes be opened to the realities of the situation.

### New India says —

It is a most instructive and representative selection that he has made, and includes the opinions of many distinguished persons both in India and in the West. The first forty nine pages give us the editor's own views on many aspects of the question, under the title, "Fitness for Self Rule." Everyone agrees—even many British officials in India—that self rule is the ideal towards which India should move, but when we begin to discuss the question in detail and as a matter with which the country will have to deal in a practical way in the near future, then all sorts of objections are raised. With the most common of these the author deals very satisfactorily, bringing forward the facts of history and the pronouncements of writers and speakers of note to show that these objections are not of any serious importance. "India and Democracy" by Sister Nivedita is the next paper. The main question here considered is that implied in the remark "English Democracy cannot be planted in India. India is not fitted for it." The author points out that it is not English democracy that is wanted, but the right of Indian democracy to find self expression in its own country and among its own people. And as for India being unfit for democratic institutions—she quotes at some length instances of democratic methods which have been recorded in literature as the ideal of the people of ancient India.

Mr. John P. Hoppes writes on Home Rule for India, and urges Indians to make some effort to inform the British public in England of their needs and wishes, and, later, in another short article, he gives an account of an interview he had with Alfred Russell Wallace in which he asked the great naturalist his opinion on the question of Self Rule for India. A very interesting contribution by Mr. Abinib Chandra Das gives an account of popular assemblies in ancient India. It is impossible to enumerate all

the many interesting points dealt with. We can only recommend the book to our readers as full of a great deal of information worth having.

### The West Coast Reformer says —

We have received from the Modern Review Office, Calcutta, a neatly got up booklet entitled *Towards Home Rule*. The book is a timely publication, which effectively disposes of some of the silly arguments advanced by the ideal of Self Government for India, by interested people. In the opening paper on "Fitness for Self Rule" the position taken up by those critics is closely analysed and demolished. Mr. Lionel Curtis of the notorious Round Table organization also comes in for his due share of notice. Altogether, a very strong case in favour of granting Self Government for India has been made out, and the book is undoubtedly a step 'Towards Home Rule'.

### The Commonweal says, —

Ever since its starting, the *Modern Review* has been devoting a great deal of attention to the subject of Home Rule, and various articles have appeared in India discussing why we need Home Rule and whether the time to have it is not overdue. No contemporary event bearing on that movement has failed to find a place in its columns, and the attention of the readers has been very often drawn to incidents happening in countries enjoying Self Rule—events of the type which are quoted in India to show that we are not yet fit to govern ourselves. Our past and contemporary history has also been utilised very freely to prove our incapacity. Hence, month by month, the *Review* was making a valuable contribution to current Home Rule literature, and it was a good idea which has induced the Editor, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, to publish the most striking of such contributions in a small book of 132 pages. He has wisely decided not to republish much on the question whether we need Home Rule, for no Indian asks such a ridiculous question to day. If any thinking persons have still stood aloof from the Home Rule movement, it is because they doubt our fitness to manage our own affairs, and the present book has much valuable information for them.

The very first chapter is on "Fitness for Self Rule." In its 48 pages, every conceivable objection advanced by our enemies has been scrutinised and its hollowness exposed. Here is one typical instance.

The most interesting chapter, at any rate just at present, is that dealing with the caste system. This alleged obstacle is examined in two ways. Whether the caste system has disqualified for attaining Home Rule countries where it exists in one way or other, and secondly, whether it can be a serious obstacle in Self Governing India.

The book contains much authoritative evidence that racial feuds were very rare when India had Self Rule, as they are rare now in those parts of India which still enjoy Self Rule as Hyderabad or Kashmir. The various quotations collected in its pages are equally telling and no Home Ruler propagandist should be without the volume. A more efficacious remedy to cure an Anti Home Ruler is not now available in the market.

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# Towards Home Rule

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SOME OPINIONS ON THE SECOND PART :—

Like the first part, we have in it copious evidence as to the fitness of the Indian Nation for Home Rule and it is a compilation on which every worker in the cause of the Motherland must have with him. There are two articles on the alleged inferiority of the coloured races, in which we have a thorough exposure of the cry of some European jingoos that a colourless skin is a token of superior intellectual powers. Far minded European Research students have proved beyond criticism that neither physically nor mentally is the white man superior to the coloured. The writer in *Towards Home Rule* discusses that point along several lines the most convincing being that at various periods in the history of mankind the white people have been far inferior to the coloured. We are however doubtful whether such evidence as to the bogus claim of the European jingoos is needed by any Home Ruler, specially after the Russo Japanese War or indeed by any other Indian who has cared to acquaint himself with the doings of our great men like Buddha or Shivaji, Ranade or Gokhale. Among other chapters in the book we may note Social and Political Evolution, The Problem of Race Equality, A Japanese Paper on the Indian Struggle for Self Rule, The Rationale of Autonomy, and Home Rule and Super Brahmanas—*New India*.

At a crisis like this when so much is being done or said in the matter of Home Rule, either against or for it, the appearance of the second part of *Towards Home Rule* is most opportune. He has done a service to the cause of Indian Home Rule which should be recognised not only by the supporters of the movement but even by its opponents, to whom we recommend the work since it proves that the advocates of self government do not seek anything which would either bring about any catastrophic change or the establishment of complete autonomy for India at the close of the war.—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*

The able and talented Editor of the *Modern Review* has rendered an important service to the cause of self government by bringing out the second part of his work *Towards Home Rule*. This is a most timely publication, and we commend it to the notice of those persons who are engaged at this moment in waging a war against the movement of self government. A perusal of the book will show that the claim of Indians for self government is irresistible. We can only hope with the editor of the publication that the British people will be convinced sufficiently early to reap the advantages of the movement of self government.—*The Panjabee (1st notice)*

These works have given a complete answer to those who seek to misinterpret and minimise the importance of the demand of Indians for self government. A perusal of Mr Ramananda Chatterjee's brochure will show how those who have started the present campaign against

self government are proceeding against all lessons of history, wisdom and common-sense. Their is a movement which is bound to irretrievable failure if they do not admit to be the error of their ways and retrace the false steps that they have so far taken. While in every nook and corner of the civilised world, the cry is for progress—incessant and never-ceasing progress—Indians cannot believe—as she is asked to believe by those emissaries of darkness and retrogression, that her salvation lies on following the counsels of these timorous and faint hearted persons who are ever engaged in rolling back towards Canute-like the onward tide of progress.

—*The Panjabee (2nd notice)*

The value of the republication of these most instructive articles (from the *Modern Review*) in handy book form cannot be disputed while Mr Chatterjee has, it appears, added to and amended them in the process of adaptation. The contents are varied and the author includes several Europeans of established reputation besides eminent Indians. A perusal of the volume must be convincing to the most obstinate Reactionary and Conservative as to the fitness and desirability of India being granted self-government. All the fallacious and commonplace arguments to the contrary are clearly refuted and all misrepresentations exposed. The fitness of Indians for self government is emphatically and irrefragably argued in a number of articles with striking illustrations from the history of India and several other countries within and without the British Empire. The book is a splendid tonic to the political invalids in India.

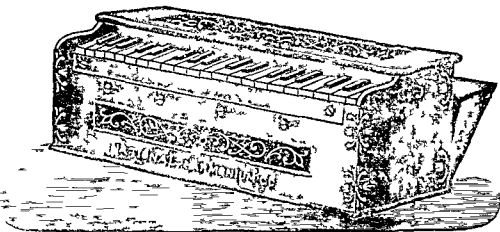
—*The West Coast Reformer*

Dealing with the burning topic of the hour viz, the demand for Home Rule in India. The book is properly styled "Towards Home Rule" and has brought together a number of papers from various sources all tending to show how interested the contention is of those who would maintain that India must make no advance towards it, because of its unfitness. It contains some excellent papers on subject races, originally read before the International Races Congress, either in an abridged or complete form. The problem of Race Equality, Alleged Inferiority of Coloured Races, the Rationality of Autonomy by J. M. Robertson M.P. are papers which every educated person, whether he be an advocate or opponent of Indian Home Rule, should carefully read.

There is another extract contained in the little book and taken from one of the most important newspapers of Japan viz, the *Japan Chronicle*, which contains an effective answer to those who would deny self government to India on the ground of internal dissension. It would be remembered that this was written in 1904 when the cry for Home Rule for India had not become so insistent as it has become now.

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## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RAMINDRANATH TAGORE.

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review).

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(81)

Shelidah,  
16th May : 1893.

WALK about for an hour on the river bank, fresh and clean after my afternoon bath. Then I get into the new jolly boat, anchor in midstream, and on a bed spread over the planked up stern, I lie gently there on my back, in the darkness of the evening. Little S— sits beside me and chatters away, and the sky becomes more and more thickly studded with stars.

Each day the thought recurs to me : Shall I be reborn under this star-spangled sky ? Will the peaceful rapture of such wonderful evenings ever again be mine, on this silent Bengal river, in so secluded a corner of the world ?

Perhaps not. The scene may be changed ; I may be born with a different mind. Any such evenings may come, but they may refuse to snuggle so trustfully, so lovingly, with such complete abandon, to my breast.

Curiously enough, my greatest fear is that I should be reborn in Europe ! For, here, one cannot lie like this with one's whole being laid open to the infinite above, — one is liable, I am afraid, to be soundly rated for lying down at all. I should probably have been hustling strenuously in some factory or bank, or in parliament. Like the roads there, one's mind has to be stone-metalled for heavy traffic, — geometrically laid out and kept clear and regulated.

I am sure, I cannot exactly say why, that this lazy, dreamy, self-absorbed, sky-filled state of mind is by no means the less glorious. I feel no whit inferior to the busiest business men of the world as I lie

here in my jolly boat. Rather, had I girded up my loins to be strenuous, I might have seemed ever so feeble compared to those chips of old oaken blocks !

(82)

Shelidah,  
21st June : 1893.

This time in the "Diary"\* I am not desecrating on the beauties of nature, but am considering the disturbance which has been wrought by the entry of the wayward thing they call mind into our bodies.

The original idea evidently was that we should eat, drink and keep alive. What, then, was the necessity of our hankering after the ultimate causes of things ; or our struggles to express something very very difficult indeed, while making it harder still by insisting on having rhymes at every step : or, for the matter of that, our plunging head over ears into debt that the *Sadhana* magazine, forsooth, should be regularly published.

Look at Narain Singh over there. He kneads and bakes huge cakes of flour with *ghee*, and eats them, dipped in curds, with immense relish. Then after a few pulls at his hubble-bubble pipe, he gets through his allotted task and is at rest, reposing peacefully the whole night. He never even dreams of having lived in vain, or of his life being out of gear ; nor does he hold himself responsible that the world does not progress any faster.

"Success in life" is an unmeaning phrase, — Nature's commandment being simply to live. Narain Singh obeys that behest

\* A series of papers by the writer entitled "A diary of the five elements" which used to come out in the *Sadhana* magazine.

and is satisfied But the wretch into whose being the thing called mind has burrowed its way and there made its home—for him there is no rest Nothing is good enough for him He loses all harmony with his surroundings When on the water he pines for land When on land he is beset with an infinite longing to swim What a good riddance say I if only this dissatisfied turbulent mind could be cast into the bottomless pool of universal peace

(83)

Shehdah

2nd July 1893

To enjoy a thing properly one has to hedge it round with a barrier of leisure It has then to be spread out smoothed down and stretched to the full if every bit is to be made the most of

We specially enjoy letters from friends when in the country just because we have the leisure to read them word by word to drink them in drop by drop our imagination twining itself round every thought the while Long does their momentum linger If we allow ourselves to be goaded by our greed into hastening through a letter the pleasure of it is lost The desire to be happy hurries so in its haste that it outruns the happiness and in the twinkling of an eye all is left behind

Beset as I am here with land records and managers and clerks no amount of letters seems enough But as I grow older I am beginning to see that the degree of getting depends on the capacity of the receiver Complaints about the meagreness of the gift do no manner of good the defect lies in the scantiness of the power to take It needs much training much striving much restraint to be able to grasp fully what comes to hand Three quarters of one's life is often spent in acquiring such faculty leaving but little time in which to make use of it

Thus endeth the first chapter of this treatise on Happiness

(84)

Shehdah

3rd July 1893

All last night the wind howled like a stray dog and the rain still poured on without a break The water from the fields is rushing in numberless purling streams

to the river The dripping *ryots* are crossing the river in the ferry boat some with their *tokas*\* on others with yau leaves held over their heads Big cargo boats are gliding along the boatman sitting drenched at his helm the crew pulling away at the tow ropes through the rain The birds remain gloomily confined to their nests but the sons of men fare forth for in spite of the weather the world's work must go on

Two cowherd lads are grazing their cattle just in front of my boat The cows are munching away with great gusto their noses plunged into the lush grass their tails incessantly busy flicking off the flies The raindrops and the sticks of the cowherd boys fall on their backs with the same unreasonable persistency and they bear both with equally uncritical resignation steadily going on with their munch munch munch Such mild affectionate mournful eyes have these cows why I wonder should providence have thought fit to impose all the burden of man's work on the submissive shoulders of these great gentle beasts?

The river is rising duly What I could see yesterday only from the upper deck I can now see from my cabin windows Every morning I wake to find my field of vision growing larger So long only the tree tops near those distant villages used to appear like dark green clouds Today the whole of the wood is visible

Land and water are gradually approaching each other like two bashful lovers The limit of their shyness has nearly been reached—their arms will soon be round each other's necks I shall enjoy my trip along this brimful river at the height of rains I am edgewise to give the order cast off

(85)

Shehdah

4th July 18

A little bit of sunlight is showing this morning There was a break in the rain yesterday but the clouds are banked so heavily along the edge of the sky there is not much hope of the break It looks as if a heavy carpet of cloud had been rolled up and put away on one end and any moment a fussy breeze

\* Cow calf hats of straw or split bamboo.



happen along and spread it over the whole place again, covering up all traces of blue sky and golden sunshine

What a store of water must have been hid up in the sky this year The river has already risen over the low *chur*\* lands, threatening to overwhelm all the standing crops The wretched *ryots*, in despair, are cutting and bringing away in boats sheaves of half ripe rice As they pass my boat I hear them bewailing their fate It is easy to understand how heartrending it must be for cultivators to have to cut down their rice on the very eve of its ripening, the only hope left them being that some of the ears may possibly have hardened into grain

There must be some element of pity in the dispensations of providence, else how did we get our share of it? But it is so difficult to see where it comes in The lamentations of these hundreds of thousands of unoffending creatures do not seem to get anywhere The rain pours on as it lists, the river goes on rising, and no amount of petitioning seems to have the effect of bringing relief from any quarter One has perforce to seek consolation by saying that all this is beyond the understanding of man But then it is so vitally necessary that man should understand that there are such things as pity and justice in the world

However, this is only sulking Reason tells us that creation never can be perfectly happy So long as it is incomplete it must do with imperfection and sorrow It can only be perfect when it ceases to be creation, and is God Do our prayers dare go so far? The more we think over it, the sadder we come back to the starting point—why this creation at all? If we cannot make up our mind to object to the thing itself, it is futile complaining about its companion, sorrow

So the Buddhists lay the axe at the root and demand that creation itself shall be got rid of The Christians glorify sorrow, believing that God became man to take his burden of sorrow upon Himself As for me, I simply feel what is, is good It is a great piece of luck that I am here and this wonderful world is here, and I would not have it otherwise

Buddha says If you would preserve what is, you would perpetuate sorrow

\* Old sandbanks consolidated by the deposit of a layer of cultivable soil

I, the least of men, say in reply If to keep what is good and dear I must bear sorrow, bear it I will Hunger, grief and despair may now and then overcome us, but since we continue to love life in spite of these it is not seemly that we should repine

(86)

On the Ichamati River,  
7th July 1893

It was fine weather the whole of yesterday, and all the four quarters were free from cloud, and lighted up by the sun, after many a long day Nature was smilingly drying her hair in the light breeze, after her bath gaily sporting her newly washed, spring coloured *sari* But when we cast off in the afternoon, heavy clouds had again risen above the horizon

All the low *chur* lands are flooded. Our boat made a swishing sound as it was towed through the long grasses, of the height of a man, and the heads of the wild casuarina bushes which overtopped the water After a while we got the wind in our favour and I ordered the sail to be hoisted, and then we proudly coursed along midstream, towards the river mouth, raising gurgling waves on either side

I sat out on the deck I dare not try to describe what a sunset is like upon this overflowing, horizon touching meeting place of the rivers, with its half submerged banks stretched under the deep shade of the low lying cloud, especially where a gap in the blue grey mass, glowing with the most ethereal gleams of the purest gold, made a background for the soft, delicate lines of the tall, feathery trees in the distance, and nature seemed to attain the last touch of perfection on the point of melting away into wonderland

"Shall we keep the boat at the *lutchery* mooring for the night?" asked the Boat man "No," said I "Let us cross the Padma now" The boat went forth into the Padma and was headed for the opposite bank The wind rose The Padma danced The sail bellied out The evening light faded away The clouds at the edge of the sky mounted upwards, and gathered thickly The leaping waves clapped their hands in boisterous glee There was no other boat going across, but only a few fisher *dinghis* sailing homewards along the banks And I felt like the king of

I looked on, prancing along on a foaming,  
mettlesome charger

(87)

Shazadpur  
7th July 1893

I reached Shazadpur last evening after continually winding in and out past little villages, clustering masts of cargo boats moored together near tumble down landing steps market places with corrugated iron roofed sheds and split bamboo walled granaries groves and thickets and tangled undergrowth of bamboo, mango and jackfruit, silk cotton trees, date palms and castor oil plants, jams and all kinds of creepers and grasses flooded fields of rice and jute

Here I shall settle down for some little time The estate residence is a welcome change after so many days in the boat One feels freer, and discovers that space to stretch out in and move about at will is an important ingredient in the happiness of man

The breeze has freshened up this morning, and the sun every now and then shines through the drifting clouds The fruit trees are swaying and rustling in the garden which is merry with the singing of a variety of birds in various modes and melodies

I am alone on the second storey, in a big, bright room open on all sides, looking out on the boats lining the canal and the villages nestling in the groves on the opposite bank, enjoying the sights of the gentle current of activity which passes by

The flow of village life is not too rapid, neither is it stagnant Work and rest go together, hand in hand The ferry crosses to and fro, the passers by with umbrellas up wind their way along the towpath, women are washing rice on split bamboo trays which they dip in the water, the ratts are coming to the market with bundles of jute on their heads Two men are chopping away at a log of wood with regular ringing blows The village carpenter is repairing an upturned dinghy under a big aswatha tree A mongrel dog is prowling aimlessly along the canal bank Some cows are lying there chewing the cud after a huge meal off the luxuriant grass, lazily moving their ears backwards and forwards, flicking off flies with their tails, and occasionally giving an impatient toss

of their heads when the crows perched on their backs take too much of a liberty

The monotonous blows of woodcutter's axe or carpenter's mallet, the splashing of oars, the merry voices of the naked little children at play, the plaintive tune of the ryot's song, the more dominant creaking of the turning oil mill, all these sounds of activity do not seem out of harmony with the murmuring of the leaves and the singing of the birds, the whole combining like moving strains of some grand dream-orchestra rendering a composition of immense, though restrained pathos

I am so filled to the brim with the sunlight and this music that I feel I must stop my letter and rest quiet awhile

(88)

Shazadpur,  
10th July 1893

This kind of song is meant to be sung to oneself The tune, I am persuaded, is not bad, in fact, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that it is good! It took me several days to compose this song, but by bit, humming the words over with the tune during my bath

The bath room has several merits as a place to compose in First of all it is secluded Secondly there is no other work to stand in the way, one's sense of duty need not feel hurt if, after pouring a vessel of water over one's head, a few minutes' interval is spent in humming And, lastly, the great thing is, that in the absence of all danger of being seen, one is perfectly free to make faces You can never reach composition point unless you are making faces, for, song composition, as you know is not an act of reasoning, but a manifestation of the purest frenzy

I hummed the song for quite a length of time this morning, in fact I am continually singing it now-a-days And as I get into an ecstatic state of mind while doing so, I have no doubt it is one of my favourite compositions As I keep on singing it to myself with half closed eyes, the whole world seems to become enveloped in a delicate sunlit, golden mist of tears, through which it appears surrounded by a rain coloured halo, and every-day reality transfigured as though seen through medium of eternal beauty, even pain, sorrow looking glorious

The next thing I see is the store k

with his accounts in which figure items such as half-a pound of butter and six pice worth of mustard oil.

Such is the history of my life here.

(89)

Shazadpur,  
30th Asarh (July) : 1893.

The writing of poetry is getting to be almost, a stolen pleasure for me now-a-days. The next double Aswin-Kartik number of the *Sadhana* stares me reproachfully in the face, with empty hands outstretched, and the editor is after me with reminder on reminder, so I naturally seek refuge in the seclusion of poetry's domain. I plead to myself, everytime, that after all I am playing truant for a day only, but many such days have gone by.

I am puzzled to make out what my vocation really is. At intervals I feel I can write short stories—not badly either—and I enjoy writing them, too. Sometimes a multitude of ideas flit through my mind, not of the kind to express in poetry, but which it seems well to record in the "Diary" or some such shape, for they may be a source of profit or pleasure. On other occasions I am drawn into combat with our countrymen over social questions, for, there being none else to take up the cudgels, that unpleasant duty clearly falls on me. Then again there is the facility I have for stringing words into lyrical verse which makes me want to go on doing so, alone in my corner, leaving the world to look after its own business as best it can.

I am very much in the plight of a young woman in the first exuberance of youth, surrounded by many admirers, and unable to make up her mind to reject any. I cannot find it in my heart to neglect any of the muses, though I know that thus I am only kept busy and distracted and that this is not the way to win the favour of one of them in the end.

Life's literary department is not devoid of scope for the sense of duty, different though it may be from that of the other departments. Here one has to think, not of where lies the greatest good of the world, but of what it is that one can do best. I am not sure that this is not the case in all departments of life.

So far as I can judge, poetry is my strong point. But my desire burns to spread its flames all over both inner and

outer worlds. While I am composing songs I feel it would do no harm to go on composing for ever; and as I play my dramas I get so interested that they seem quite worth devoting one's whole life to. Then in the thick of the fight which rages round Education or Early Marriage, I feel that here indeed is my true vocation. Lastly, if I must shamelessly out with the whole truth, I have to confess also to nursing a hopeless passion for the pictorial muse whom, however, I am too old to woo with the strenuousness she demands of her suitors.

I had better remain content with only poetry, my first love, who of all the rest, has most completely surrendered herself to me

(90)

Idem.

All I have to say to the discussion that is going on about "silent poets" is that though the strength of feeling may be the same in those who are silent as in those who are vocal, that has nothing to do with poetry. Poetry is not a mere matter of feeling or expression, it is the creation of form.

Ideas take on shape by some hidden, subtle skill at work within the poet. This creative power is the origin of poetry. Perceptions, feelings or language, are only its raw material. One may be gifted with feeling, a second with language a third with both, but the other, who has these as well as creative genius, alone is a poet.

With this introduction, it may be easier for me to explain my poem of the Casting of the Net. If the manuscript had been before me it would have been better; still I remember enough of it, though a little vaguely.

Suppose a man, in the morning of his life, standing by the sea, watching the sunrise. The sea may be his own mind, or the outside world, or the expanse of consciousness stretching between these two shores, that is not said definitely. However, as he keeps gazing on the ineffable beauty of that unfathomable sea, he is seized with the desire of casting a net into its mysterious depths, just to see what may be the outcome.

Thereupon the man casts his net, which spreads far and wide to the twist of his throw. And all kinds of wonderful things

does he draw up one after another, gleaming like laughter, glistening like tears, glowing like bashfulness. In his enthusiasm he keeps at work the whole day, till the beautiful mysteries that were hidden within become piled up in a heap on the shore. Thus the day of his life draws to a close. Enough, says he, let me now go and give them to her.

Who is she? It may be his beloved, it may be his country, that again is not made clear. Anyhow, she has never seen these curious things before. She wonders what they are, to what use they may be put of how little value indeed, would they be in the market. What are they, she asks?

The man with the net is repentant. Quite true, he ponders, what are they after all? They merely came up for the casting of my net. I did not bargain for them, nor pay for them, nor was I charged any fee. I do not even know their names or uses.

Crestfallen and ashamed, he gathers

them up and, sitting on the threshold, throws them away one by one into the street. And next day the passers-by take up these wonderful things and carry them away to their homes in different lands.

The writer of the poem may have been thinking of his motherland, or of the readers of his time, and have had in his mind their neglect of the value of his poems, which he, himself doubting as they seem to be, throwing away on the roadside. After the night is past, Posterity may come and take them up and carry them to distant lands. But would that console the hapless fisherman?

However, Posterity is coming, with slow steps through the night, to her assignment with the poet and may reach him at last when the night is over. At least no one need grudge him this pleasing anticipation.

Translated by  
SURI ABRANATH TAGORE

## SHAKTI AND SHAKTA\*

By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE

**S**HAKTI who is in Herself pure blissful Consciousness (Chidrugam) is also the Mother of Nature born of the creative play of Her thought. The Shākta faith or worship of Shakti is I believe in some of its essential features one of the oldest and most widespread religions in the world. Though very ancient, it is yet in its essentials and in the developed form in which we know it today harmonious with some of the teachings of modern philosophy and science, not that this is necessarily a test of its truth. It may be here noted that in the West and in particular in America and England a large number of books are now being published on 'New thought', 'Will Power', 'Vitalism', 'Creative Thought', 'Right Thought', 'Self Unfoldment', 'Secret of Achievement', 'Mental Therapeutics' and the like, the principles of which are essentially those of some forms of Shakti Sādhana both higher and lower.

There are books of disguised magic as how to control others (Vashikaranam) by making them buy what they don't want, how to secure "affection" and so forth which, notwithstanding some hypocrisies, are in some respects on the same level as the Tāntrik Shavara. The ancient and at the same time distinguishing character of the faith is instanced by temple worship (the old Vaidik worship was generally in the home or in the open by the river), the cult of images of Linga and Yoni (neither of which it is said were part of the original Vaidik practice), the worship of Devis and of the Magna Mater (the great Vaidik Devata was the male Indra) and other matters of both doctrine and practice.

Many years ago Edward Sellon with the

\* A lecture delivered before the Howrah Literary Assoc. at on the 22 May 1917

aid of a learned Orientalist of the Madras Civil Service attempted to learn its mysteries but for reasons which I need not mention did not view them from the right standpoint. He however compared the Shāktas with the Greek Telestika or Dynamika, the Mysteries of Dionysus "Fire born in the cave of initiation with the Shakti Pūjā, the Shakti Shodhana with the purification shown in d' Hancarville's "Antique Greek Vases", and after referring to the frequent mention of this ritual in the writings of the Jews and other ancient authors concluded that it was evident that we had still surviving in India in the Shāktā worship a very ancient, if not the most ancient, form of Mysticism in the whole world. Whatever be the value to be given to any particular piece of evidence he was right in his general conclusion. For when we throw our minds back upon the history of this worship we see stretching away into the remote and fading past the figure of the Mighty Mother of Nature, most ancient among the ancients the Ādyā Shakti the dusk Divinity, many-breasted, crowned with towers whose veil is never lifted, Isis, Kālī Cybele, the Cow-mother Goddess Ida, Tripurasundarī, the Ionic Mother, Aphrodite, Astarte in whose groves the Baalim were set, Babylonian Mylitta, Buddhist Tārā, the Mexican Ish Osia the consecrated the free and pure, African Salambo who like Parvatī roamed the Mountains, Roman Juno, the Assyrian Mother Succoth Benoth, Northern Freia, Mūlaprakṛiti, Semele, Māyā Ishtar, Kundālī, Guhya mahabhūratī and all the rest.

And yet there are people who allege that the "Tāntrik" cult is modern. To deny this is not to say that there has been or will be no change or development in it. As man changes so do the forms of his beliefs. An ancient feature of this faith and one belonging to the ancient Mysteries is the distinction which it draws between the initiate whose Shakti is awake (Prabuddha) and the Pashu the unilluminated or 'animal' and as the Gnostics called him, "material" man. The Natural which is the manifestation of the Mother of Nature and the Spiritual or the Mother as She is in and by Herself are one, but the initiate alone truly recognises this unity. He knows himself in all his natural functions as the one Consciousness whether in enjoyment (Bhukti) or Liberation (Mukti). It

is an essential principle of Tāntrik Sādhana that man in general must rise through and by means of Nature and not by an ascetic rejection of Her. A profoundly true principle is here involved whatever has been said of certain applications of it. When Orpheus transformed the old Bacchic cult it was the purified who in the beautiful words of Euripides "went dancing over the hills with the daughters of Bacchus". I cannot however go into this matter in the lecture which is concerned with some general subjects and the ordinary ritual. But the evidence is not limited to mysteries of the Shakti Pūjā. There are features in the ordinary outer worship which are very old and widespread, as are also other parts of the esoteric teaching. In this connection a curious instance of the existence beyond India of Tantrik doctrine and practice is here given. The American Indian Maya Scripture of the Zunis called the Popul Vuh speaks of Hurakan or Lightning that is Kundalīshakti, of the "air tube" or 'White cord' or the Sushumnā Nadi of the two-fold air tube that is Idā and Pingalā and of various bodily centres which are marked by animal glyphs.

Perhaps the Panchatattva Ritual followed by some of the adherents of the Tantras is one of the main causes which have operated in some quarters against acceptance of the authority of these Scriptures and as such responsible for the notion that the worship is modern. On the contrary the usage of wine meat and so forth is itself very old. There are people who talk of these rites as though they were some entirely new and comparatively modern invention of the "Tantras" wholly alien to the spirit and practice of the early times. If the subject be studied it will I think, be found that in this matter those worshippers who practice these rites are the continuators of very ancient practices which had their counterparts in the earlier Vaidikāchara, but were subsequently abandoned possibly under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism. I say "counterpart" for I do not mean to suggest that in every respect the rites were the same. In details and as regards, I think, objects in view they differed. Thus we find in this Panchatattva Ritual a counterpart to the Vaidik usage of wine and animal food. So in the Vaidik ritual as regards wine we have the par

taking of Soma, meat was offered in Māṅgala-  
chakā Śuddha, fish in the Ashtakā-  
śuddha and Pretashuddha; and Mathurā as  
a recognised site will be found in the Vāma-  
devya Vrata and Mahāvratā of universally  
recognised Vaidic texts apart from the  
alleged Sautthāyakhanda of the Atharva-  
veda to which the Kālikāpanishad and other  
Tantrik Upanishads are said to belong. So  
again, as that distinguished scholar Professor  
Ramesh Chandra Tripathi has pointed out  
in his Vichitrāprasaṅga, the Mudrā of the  
Panchatattva corresponds with the Puroḍāsha  
cake of the Soma and other Yāgas. The  
present rule of abstinence from wine and in  
some cases meat is due, I believe, to  
Buddhism. It is these so-called "Tātriks"  
who follow (in and for their ritual only) the  
earlier practice. It is true that the Samhitā  
of Ushanihā says "Wine is not to be drunk,  
given or taken (Madyamapeyam adeyam  
aprahyaṃ) but the yet greater Manu states,  
"There is no wrong in the eating of meat  
or the drinking of wine (na māṅgalyatāshane  
doshō na madye)", though he adds, as many  
now do, that abstinence therefrom is  
productive of great fruit (nivṛttistu mahā-  
phala). The Tātrik practice does not  
allow extraritual or "useless" drinking  
(vriṭhāpāna).

Further it is a common error to confound  
two distinct things, namely belief and practice  
and the written records of it. These latter  
may be comparatively recent, whilst that of  
which they speak may be most ancient.  
When I speak of the ancient past of this  
faith I am not referring merely to the  
writings which exist today which are called  
Tantras. These are composed generally in  
a simple Sanskrit by men whose object it  
was to be understood rather than to show  
skill in literary ornament. This simplicity is  
a sign of age. But at the same time it is  
Laukika and not Arsha Sanskrit. Moreover  
there are statements in them which (unless  
interpolations) fix the limits of their age. I  
am not speaking of the writings themselves  
but of what they say or more strictly of  
portions of what they say. The faith that  
they embody or at least its earlier forms  
may have existed for many ages before it  
was reduced to writing amongst the Kulās  
or family folk who received it as handed  
down by tradition (Pāramparīya) just as  
did the Vaidik Gotras. That such beliefs

and practices like all other things have  
had their development in course of time  
is also a likely hypothesis.

A vast number of Tantras have dis-  
appeared probably for ever. Of those which  
survive a large number are unknown. Most  
of those which are available are of a frag-  
mentary character. Even if these did appear  
later than some other Śāstras, this would  
not, on Indian principles, affect their  
authority. According to such principles the  
authority of a Scripture is not determined  
by its date; and this is sense. Why, it is  
asked, should something said 1000 years  
ago be on that account only truer than what  
was said 100 years ago? It is held that  
 whilst the teaching of the Āgama is ever  
existent, particular Tantras are constantly  
being revealed and withdrawn. There is  
no objection against a Tantra merely  
because it was revealed today. When it is  
said that Shiva spoke the Tantras or Brahmā  
wrote the celebrated Vaishnava poem called  
the Brahmāsambhita it is not meant that  
Shiva and Brahmā materialised and took a  
reed and wrote on birch bark or leaf but that  
the Divine Consciousness to which men gave  
these and other names inspired a particular  
man to teach or to write a particular doctrine  
or work touching the eternally existing  
truth. This again does not mean that  
there was any one whispering in his ear but  
that these things arose in his consciousness.  
What is done in this world is done through  
man. There is a profounder wisdom than  
is generally acknowledged in the saying  
"God helps those who help themselves."  
Inspiration too never ceases. But how, it  
may be asked, are we to know that what is  
said is right and true? The answer is "by  
its fruits." The authority of a Śāstra is  
determined by the question whether Siddhi  
is gained through its provisions or not. It  
is not enough that "Shiva uvācha" is writ in  
it. The test is that of Ayurveda. A medi-  
cine is a true one if it cures. The Indian  
test for everything is experience. It is from  
Samādhi that the ultimate proof of Advaita-  
vāda is sought. How is the existence of  
Kalpas known? It is said they have been  
remembered as by the Buddha who is  
recorded as having called to mind 91 past  
Kalpas. There are arguments in favour of  
rebirth but that which is tendered as real  
proof is both the facts of ordinary daily

experience which can it is said, be explained only on the hypothesis of pre-existence as also actual recollection by self-developed individuals of their previous lives. Age however is not wholly without its uses because one of the things to which men look to see in a Shāstra is whether it has been accepted or quoted in works of recognised authority. Such a test of authenticity can of course only be afforded after the lapse of considerable time. But it does not follow that a statement is in fact without value because owing to its having been made recently it is not possible to subject it to such a test. This is the way in which this question of age and authority is looked at on Indian principles.

A wide survey of what is called orthodox 'Hinduism' today (whatever be its origins) will disclose the following results—Vedānta in the sense of Upanishad as its *common doctrinal basis* though variously interpreted, and a great number of differing disciplines or *modes of practice* by which the Vedānta doctrines are realised in actual fact. We must carefully distinguish these two. Thus the Vedānta says 'So ham' which is the Tantrik Haṅsa. "Hakara is one wing Sakara is the other. When stripped of both wings She Tarā is Kāmakaḷā." The Āchāras set forth the means by which 'So ham' is to be translated into actual fact for the particular Sādhaka. Sādhana comes from the root 'Sadh' which means effort or striving or accomplishment. Effort for and towards what? The answer is liberation from every form in the hierarchy of forms which exist as such because consciousness has so limited itself as to obscure the Reality which it is and which 'So ham' or 'Shivoham' affirm. And why should man liberate himself from material forms? Because it is said, that way only lasting happiness comes though a passing yet fruitful bliss may be had here by those who identify themselves with the Active Brahman (Shakti). It is the actual experience of this declaration of 'So ham' which in its fundamental aspect is Veda—knowledge (Vid) or actual Spiritual Experience for in the monistic sense to truly know anything is to be that thing. This Veda or experience is not to be had by sitting down thinking vaguely on the Great Ether and doing nothing. Man must transform himself that is act in order to know.

Therefore the watch word of the Tantras is Kriyā or action.

The next question is what Kriyā should be adopted towards this end of Jnana.

Tanyate vistarjate jñānam anena iti Tantram. According to this derivation of the word Tantra from the root 'Tan' 'to spread' it is defined as that Shāstra by which knowledge (Jñāna) is spread. Mark the word Jñāna. The end of the practical methods which these Shāstras employ is to spread Vedantic Jñāna. It is here we find that variety which is so puzzling to those who have not gone to the root of the religious life of India. The end is substantially one. The means to that end necessarily vary according to knowledge capacity, and temperament. But here again we may analyse the means into two main divisions namely Vaidik and Tantrik, to which may be added a third or the mixed (Mishra). The one body of Hinduism reveals as it were a double framework represented by the Vaidik and Tantrik Āchāras which have in certain instances been mingled.

The word 'Tantra' by itself simply means "treatise" and not necessarily a religious scripture. When it has the latter significance it may mean the scripture of several divisions of worshippers who vary in doctrine and practice. Thus there are Tantras of Shaivas, Vaishnavas and Shaktas and of various subdivisions of these. So amongst the Shaivas there are the Vishishtadvaita Shaivas of the Shaiva Siddhanta, the Advaita Shaivas of the Kashmir School, Pāshupatas and a multitude of other sects which have their Tantras. If 'Tantrik' be used as meaning an adherent of the Tantra Shāstra then the word in any particular case is without definite meaning. A man to whom this application is given may be a worshipper of any of the Five Devatās and of a variety of the various Sampradayas worshipping that Devatā with their varying doctrine and practice. The term is a confusing one though common practice compels its use. So far as I know those who are named Tantriks do not themselves generally use this term but call themselves Shaktas Shaivas and the like, of whatever Sampradaya they happen to be.

Again Tantra is the name of only one class of Scripture followed by 'Tantriks'. There are others namely, Nigamas, Āgamas, Yāmālās Dāmaras, Uddishas Kakshaputas

and so forth. None of these names are used to describe the adherents of these Shāstras except so far as I am aware Āgama in the use of the term Āgamavādin, and Āgamanta in the descriptive name Āgamānta Śhaiva. I give later a list of some of these Scriptures as contained in the various Āgamas. If we summarise them shortly under the term Tantra Shāstra or preferably Āgama then we have four main classes of Indian Scripture, namely Veda (Samhitā Brāhmaṇa, Upanishad) Āgama or Tantra Shāstra Purāṇa, Smṛiti. Of these Shāstras the authority of the Āgama or Tantra Shāstra has been denied in modern times. This view may be shown to be erroneous by reference to Shāstras of admitted authority. It is spoken of as the Fifth Veda. Kulluka Bhattacharya the celebrated commentator on Manu says 'Shruti is twofold Vaidik and Tantrik' (Vaidika tāntrikā chaiva dvividha shrutih kṛtā). This refers to the Mantra portion of the Āgamas. In the Great Vaishṇava Shāstra the Shrimad Bhāgavata Bhagavān says 'My worship is of three kinds—Vaidik Tantrik and Mixed (Mishra) and that in Kaliyuga Keshava is to be worshipped according to the injunctions of Tantra'. The Devibhāgavata speaks of Tantra Shāstra as a Vedāṅga. It is cited as authority in the Ashtavṅgshatī Tatva of Raghunānanda who prescribes for the worship of Durgā as before him had done Shridatta, Harinātha Vidyādhara and many others. Some of these and other references are given in Mahāmahopādhyaya Jādveshvara Tarkaratna Tantrir Prāchīnatva in the Sāhitya Samhitā of Aswin 1317. The Tārāpradīpa and other Tantrik works say that in the Kaliyuga the Tāntrika and not the Vaidika Dharma is to be followed. This objection about the late character and therefore unauthoritativeness of the Tantra Shāstras generally (I do not speak of any particular form of it) has been taken by Indians from their European Gurus.

According to the Shākta Scriptures Veda in its wide sense does not only mean Rig, Yajus Sāma Atharva as now published but comprises these together with the generally unknown and unpublished Uttara kāṇḍa of the Atharva Veda called Saubhāgya with the Upanishads attached to this. Śāyana's Commentary is written on the Pūrva kāṇḍa. These are said (though I have not

yet verified the fact) to be 64 in number. Some of these such as Advaitabhāva Kaula Kālikā, Upanishads and others I am shortly publishing as also the Kaulāchāryya Sādānanda's Commentary on the great Isha Upanishad. Included also in Veda' (according to the same view) are the Nigamas, Āgamas Yāmala and Tantras. From these all other Shāstras which explain the Artha of Veda such as Purāṇa and Smṛiti also Itiāsa and so forth are derived. All these Shāstras constitute what is called a 'Many millioned' (Shatakoti) Samhitā which are developed the one from the other as it were an unfolding series. In the Tantrik Sangraha by the Sarvavidyāsiddha Sarvānandanātha the latter cites authority (Nārāyaṇi Tantra) to show that from Nigama came Āgama. Here I pause to note that the Sammohana says that Kerala Sampradāya is Dakṣhina and follows Veda (Vedamargastha) whilst Gauda (to which Sarvānandanātha belonged) is Vāma and follows Nigama. Hence apparently the pre-eminence given to Nigama. He then says from Āgama came Yāmala, from Yāmala the four Vedas, from Vedas the Purāṇas from Purāṇas Smṛiti and from Smṛiti all other Shāstras. There are he says five Nigamas and 64 Āgamas. Four Yāmala are mentioned which are said to give the Sthūlarupa. As some may be surprised to learn that the four Vedas came from the Yāmala (i.e. were Antargata of the Yāmala) which literally means what is uniting or comprehensive I subjoin the Sanskrit verse from Nārāyaṇi Tantra

Brahmajāmalaśambhūtam sāmaveda  
 Rudrajāmalaśamyātaḥ r̥gveda  
 Vishnujāmalaśambhūtaḥ yajurvedaḥ  
 Shaktijāmalaśambhūtaḥ atharva  
 paramam mahāt

Some Tantras are called by opposing sects Vedaviruddhāni (opposed to Veda) which of course those who accept them deny just as the Commentary of the Nityāśoda śikhāraṇa speaks of the Jancharāṭraṇa as Vedabhraṣṭa. That some sects were originally Avaidika there is no doubt but in process of time various amalgamations of scriptural authority belief and practice took place.



Whether we accept or not this theory according to which the Āgamas and kindred Shāstras are given not merely equal authority with the four Vihara Vedas but in a sense priority (that is of derivation) we have to accept the facts. What are these?

As I have said on examination the one body of Hinduism reveals as it were a double framework. I am now looking at the matter from an outside point of view which is not that of the Shakta worshipper. We find on the one hand the four Vedas with their Samhitās, Brāhmanas, and Upanishads and on the other what has been called the 'Fifth Veda' that is Nigama Āgama and kindred Shāstras and certain especially 'Tantrik' Upanishads attached to the Saubhagya Kanda of the Atharvaveda. There are Vaidik and Tantrik Kalpa Sūtras and Sūktas such as the Tantrika Devi and Matsya Sūktas. As a counterpart of the Brahmasūtras we have the Shakti Sūtras of \*Agastya. Then there is both Vaidik and 'Tantrik' ritual such as the ten Vaidik Sangskaras and the Tantrik Sangskaras such as Abhisheka, Vaidik and Tantrik initiation (Upanāyana and Dīkshā), Vaidik and Tantrik Gāyatrī, the Vaidik Om, the Tantrik Byas such as Hring, Vaidika Guru and Deshika Guru and so forth. This dualism may be found carried into other matters as well such as medicine, law writing. So whilst the Vaidik Ayurveda employed vegetable drugs the 'Tantriks' used metallic substances. A counterpart of the Vaidik Dharmapātnī was the Shaiva wife that is she who is given by desire (kāma). I have already pointed out the counterparts of the Panchatattva in the Vedas. Some allege a special form of Tantrik script at any rate in Gauda Desha and so forth.

What is the meaning of all this? It is not at present possible to give a certain answer. The subject has been so neglected and is so little known. Before tendering any conclusions with any certainty of their correctness we must examine the Tantrik Texts which time has spared. It will be readily perceived however that if there be such a double frame as I suggest it indicates

that there were originally two sources of religion one of which (possibly in some respects the older) incorporated parts of and in time largely superseded the other. And this is what the Tantriks impliedly allege in their views as to the relation of the four Vedas and Āgamas. If they are not both of authority why should such reverence be given to the Deshika Gurus and to Tantrik Dīkshā?

Probably there were many Avaidika cults not without a deep and ancient wisdom of their own that is cults outside the Vaidik religion (Vedabāhya) which in the course of time adopted certain Vaidik rites such as Homa. The Vaidikas in their own turn taking up some of the Avaidika practices it may be that some Brāhmanas joined these so called Anārya Sampradāyas just as we find to-day Brāhmanas officiating for low castes and being called by their name. At length the Shāstras of the two cults were given at least equal authority. The Vaidik practices then largely disappeared surviving chiefly both in the Smārta rites of to-day and as embedded in the ritual of the Āgamas. These are speculations to which I do not definitely commit myself. They are merely suggestions which may be worth consideration when search is made for the origin of the Āgamas. If they be correct, then in this as in other cases the beliefs and practices of the soil have been upheld until to-day against the incoming cults of those Aryas who followed the Vaidik rites and who in their turn influenced the various religious communities without the Vaidik fold.

The Smartas of to-day represent what is generally called the Shrauta side though in these rites there are mingled many Puranic ingredients. The Arya Samaja is another present-day representative of the old Vaidika Āchāra mingled as it seems to me with a modernism, which is puritan and otherwise. The other or Tantrik side is represented by the general body of present-day Hinduism and in particular by the various sectarian divisions of Shaivas, Shaktas, Vaishnavas and so forth which go to its making.

(To be concluded)

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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## CHAPTER V

**P**ROSADPUR in the District of Jessore is an obscure village, the only river or rather rivulet near being the Chitra which is about two miles distant from the place. On the banks of the rivulet, which flows sluggishly on, there are clusters of date palms and palmyras and various other trees among which can be heard the chirping of birds at all hours of day. The place has a desolate aspect for within two miles of it there are no houses except a few shops belonging to a bazar on the border of Prosadpur. Within a few hundred yards of the brook there is a large ancient building which once belonged to an indigo factor, who lived and transacted his business here. The house, which had passed into more hands than one since it ceased to be used as a factory, has lately been bought by a gentleman, who has spent a considerable sum of money in repairing and furnishing it.

It is a two storied building with a broad courtyard now laid out in gardens. The veranda and the staircase are decorated with flower pots. On the upper story over the floor of the largest and most spacious room facing the veranda is spread a valuable carpet covered with a clean sheet, and the walls of it are hung with large mirrors and beautiful pictures some of which undoubtedly show the vitiated taste of the present owner of the house. In this room opposite each other are seated two persons—one a beautiful young woman, and the other an elderly man with a thick grizzly beard and moustache. A glance at the man would be enough to let any one know that he is a Mohammedan. Being a musician he has been employed by the owner of the house to give lessons in music to the young lady. A fiddle, which lies between them, the music master presently takes up, and putting it into tune by giving the pegs a

few twists as he scrapes the bow over the strings to see if it is all right, he begins to play a sweet air, accompanying his voice on it, and signing to the young lady to follow. While the music is going on, the sweet silvery voice of the woman clearly distinguishable from the loud deep voice of the music master, in the adjoining room, which opens into this, a handsome young man is reading a novel, casting occasional glances through the open door at the young lady.

The reader perhaps need not be told that the young man is Gobindalal, and the young woman Rohini.

While the singing is going on a stranger enters the room and sits down unbidden. We know this man. He is Nishakar.

## CHAPTER VI

Rohini had a nice comfortable room up stairs and she had every comfort that Gobindalal's money could buy. The servants over whom she exercised full control had their quarters below. In this solitary and out of the way place Gobindalal had as few visitors as he could wish to have. If any traders called, though such calls were few and far between, the servants would let their master know, and he would walk downstairs and see them on the ground floor where he had a room reserved for occasional use.

Having discovered Gobindalal's whereabouts Nishakar, with whom the reader is acquainted, approached the house, and standing at the entrance cried, "Who is here?"

Gobindalal had two servants—Sona and Rupa. Hearing a man at the entrance they quickly appeared before him. Nishakar's features which were pretty imposing and the costly clothes he had taken care to wear, made them pause a little wondering and exchanging looks with each other, for they had never known a gentleman of his appearance cross the threshold.

"Who do you want, sir," they both inquired at once.

"I want to see your master," said Nishakar.

"What name, sir?" asked Sona.

"You need mention no name," he said.

"Only tell your master that there is a gentleman at the door, who desires an interview with him."

The master had expressly told his servants that he did not wish to see any gentleman, so they were not very willing to carry the message. Sona was rather afraid and knew not what answer to make; but Rupa was brave and said, "I am afraid, sir, master will not receive you unless you have an appointment."

"That's none of your concern, my friend. Will you go and tell your master that there is a gentleman downstairs wanting to see him?"

Rupa was silent.

"Well, if you will not," said Nishakar, "I think I will go upstairs and introduce myself."

"Oh, don't, sir, pray. That will lose us our places," said both the servants appealingly, rather alarmed.

"Here is a rupee," said Nishakar. "I will give it to either of you who will bear the message to his master."

Sona certainly felt the temptation; but before he could make up his mind to accept the reward offered by the gentleman, Rupa, who was more clever and less scrupulous than his companion, was quick to anticipate him. He moved up very quickly and held out his hand to receive the gift. When he had secured the rupee in the folds of his cloth he leisurely walked upstairs to deliver the message to his master.

When Rupa had gone Nishakar put another rupee into Sona's hand and said, "Mind you let me know what your master says. I shall be waiting outside in the garden."

When Rupa went upstairs the master was engaged, and he had had to wait before he could deliver the message. As Nishakar walked up and down the garden, a beautiful young woman was standing at a window above, watching him.

Rohini, for it was she who was at the window, wondered in her mind where the gentleman was from, and what he could want with Gobindalal. It did not seem to her that he belonged to Haridragram, for, if he did, she ought to have seen him

before. But he was certainly a very handsome man, she thought. His gait—how easy and graceful. His complexion, she must confess, was not very fair—not so fair as Gobindalal's; yet his eyes—were they not quite killing? Why should she not talk to him? What harm was there if she really meant to remain faithful to Gobindalal?

As she was occupied with these thoughts, Nishakar, as he walked up and down, happened to look up, and his eyes met Rohini's. Whether the exchange of looks had conveyed to each other any secret message we are unable to say, but Rohini thought he was a man to know, and she must know him.

Just at this time, finding the master was disengaged Rupa approached him and said, "There is a gentleman downstairs asking to see master."

"Where is he from?" asked the master.

"Please, sir, I do not know."

"So you have come to tell me there is a gentleman downstairs without knowing where he is from?"

Rupa did not wish his master to think him a fool, and he had the presence of mind to say, "I asked him, sir, but he would not tell me."

"Tell him then I cannot see him," said the master.

A little before the message was delivered, Rohini, having occasion to go to the window, had accidentally seen Nishakar walking in the garden.

It was late; and neither of the servants turning up Nishakar was impatient and re-entered the house. There was no one downstairs. He would not wait any longer, and he mounted the stairs to introduce himself. He had just reached the door of the room when Rupa said, "Here is the gentleman, master." Nishakar quietly stepped into the room and sat down uninvited.

The music stopped. Gobindalal was greatly vexed; but seeing that the visitor was a gentleman, he suppressed his feelings and said, "Who do you want, sir?"

"My business is with yourself," said Nishakar.

"With me? Your name, please?"

"Rashbehari De."

"Where do you come from?"

"Baranagar."

"Sir, if you had the patience to wait instead of intruding into my room, you

would have heard from my servants that I saw no one unless by appointment "

"I must beg your pardon for the intrusion. But allow me to tell you that my business with you is of such importance that it would have been hard to put me off with an answer like that. And now I am here I am not going to leave the house until I have let you know what my business is, and have got an answer from you "

"I think I don't want to know, but if you be very brief, as brief as you can, I may allow you to mention your business "

"My business may be mentioned in two words," said Nishakar.

"Well?" said Gobindalal, wondering what it could possibly be.

At this time Danesh Khan—for that was the name of the music master—was giving the bow a rub on a piece of resinous gum preparatory to playing a fresh tune on the violin.

"Your wife Bhramar Dasī, wishes to lease her property, and—"

He had just begun when the music master interrupted him as he said, addressing himself to Gobindalal: "This is word number one, let him remember, sir, for he said he would mention his business in two words."

"—And I am the party who wishes to be the lease holder."

"This is number two," again broke in the music master, putting up the fore and the middle finger of his right hand together. "He ought to stop there."

"I beg your pardon, Khan sahib, are you counting pigs?" said Nishakar smiling derisively.

He had touched him at the most delicate point. The music master fired up at once. "Sir," said he, "please send away this illbred fellow who dares offer this insult to a Musulman."

Gobindalal made no answer for it seemed his thoughts were elsewhere at the time.

"I had been to Haridigram," said Nishakar, taking up the subject again. "Your wife wishes to lease the property. She let me know that if I could find out your whereabouts I should tell you that she wished to have your consent in the matter. The object of my visit is to communicate to you your wife's desire to grant me the lease which," she says, "can not be done without your sanction."

Gobindalal was silent still. He looked rather sad and abstracted. Once more Nishakar put the matter clearly before him, and concluded by saying that his wife wanted from him a written permission without which she could not grant him the lease. Gobindalal easily swallowed what Nishakar told him, though the reader knows that his words had no foundation in truth. So after a while he very gently said, "The property is my wife's, not mine. It was given her by will by my uncle, and she might dispose of it as she likes. A written permission from me is of no significance, for I have nothing to do with it. That's the whole thing in a nutshell. Now you know what the fact is. I hope you will allow me to say goodbye."

Nishakar said no more. He thanked him and rose and came downstairs.

Gobindalal felt very low in spirits, and bade Danesh Khan give him a sprightly song. The man chose one he thought would be liked but Gobindalal could find little or no pleasure in it. He next thought he would fiddle a little. He tried a certain melodious air the one he had been practising lately, but this evening he played very clumsily though it might be said that he already had a passable hand on the violin. He said to Danesh Khan that he did not feel very well, and told him to go home. He afterwards took up again the novel he had been reading but he could not give attention to it. So he threw aside the book and called Sona. "I want to sleep a while," he said to him. "Don't wake me before I awake."

The sun was about to go down, and he went and shut himself up in his room.

Gobindalal went not to sleep. He sat on the bed and wept silently. What made him weep we do not know, but probably it was the thought of his wife whom he had left for nearly two years and to whom he had been very cruel. Probably it was the reflection of his past and present sinful life which made him feel very miserable.

## CHAPTER VII

When Nishakar came and sat in the big room where the music was going on, Rohini withdrew to the one next. Drawing the screen over the doorway which separated the rooms she stood behind to listen to the conversation that followed.

Standing aside, and lifting one side of the screen very slightly so that she could

view the gentleman that came, she overheard everything that was said. The gentleman had gone to Haridragram, she heard him say. Rupa had been standing by the door, listening. When the gentleman rose to leave, Rohini signed to Rupa from behind the screen to come to her.

He went to her, and she took him aside and said, speaking very softly, "I want you to do something. If you can perform it so that your master will know nothing of it I will give you five rupees."

Rupa was right glad. He thought he was in luck. "Let me but know your order, madam," he said, "and I will carry it out. I will take such care that master will not get any scent of it."

"Very well," said Rohini. "Walk down stairs after the gentleman. He comes from our village, and I want to ask him news of home. Make him sit where there is little chance of your master looking in if he have occasion to go downstairs. If he will not like to wait, urge him. Tell him I want to see him very much and shall take the earliest opportunity to run down to him. Take care, go."

"Fear nothing, madam," said Rupa, and he followed the gentleman very quickly.

"Will you just kindly step into that room, sir?" said Rupa, approaching the gentleman, as on coming downstairs he stopped short on his way to the door. "I have something private to communicate to you."

Nishakar, out of curiosity, following the servant into the room indicated, the latter placed a chair for him to sit down. When he was seated he communicated to him the message he bore.

Nishakar was delighted at what he heard, for it seemed to suggest to him some means he might adopt to punish Rohini and bring Gobindalal to his senses.

"It is such a risky business," he said. "I dare not hide in your master's house."

"He never comes into this room, sir," said Rupa.

"I grant what you say. But what if your master should happen to miss her, and going about the house to look for her find me closeted with your mistress?"

Rupa was silent. "Here in this solitary place," continued Nishakar, "where within two miles round not a single soul is to be seen where can I run to save my life if your master should attempt to murder

me? Tell your mistress that I am sorry I cannot comply with her request. Her uncle has asked me to say something very important to her, but I dare not see her in this house."

Rupa was not one to let the matter drop there and lose the offer of five rupees which was certainly a great deal more than he could ever in his life hope to earn in one day. So he said, "Perhaps you have no objection to see her somewhere outside this house?"

"Not at all," said Nishakar. "I was just thinking of that. On the bank of the rivulet there is a large banyan tree. I passed by it on my way hither. Do you know this tree?"

"Yes, sir."

"I shall be waiting near this tree. It is near dark. If your mistress can come between seven and eight she will be sure to find me there. Go and tell this to your mistress. I will wait just to hear what she says to it."

Rupa left at once to communicate the gentleman's words to his mistress. In a little time he returned with the news that she had accepted the time and the place and would see him without fail.

Full of glee Nishakar rose to leave while Rupa went upstairs.

## CHAPTER VIII

When Rupa was out of the way Nishakar, finding Sona downstairs, called him and said, "How long have you been here?"

"Almost ever since master bought this house, sir," said Sona.

"What do you get a month?" asked Nishakar.

"Three rupees, exclusive of board and lodging."

"You are a very useful servant. You ought to get better wages, I am sure."

Sona was flattered. "You are very kind, sir," he said, "but it is very hard to get an employment here in this part of the country."

"If you go with me to Calcutta I can get you far better wages. I think you can get seven or eight rupees a month or even more."

"Would you kindly take me with you, sir?"

"Oh, I don't mind taking you with me, but yours is a very kind master. Can you make up your mind to leave his service?"

Indeed our master is very kind but we don't at all like our mistress. She delights in finding fault with us and often scolds and abuses us for nothing.

Oh I can see that very well. But can you make up your mind to go with me?

To speak the truth sir I have no mind to stay here not at all. If you will be so kind as to take me with you I can not be enough thankful.

Well I shall be glad to take you with me. But before you quit your master's service I would wish you to do something—something that will be for your master's good. You have eaten his salt and you ought to do it as a duty you owe to him.

What is it you wish me to do sir? I will gladly do it if it will do master good.

It will undoubtedly though of course it will go hard with your mistress. But she must have her desert. She has done much harm already and must be prevented from doing more.

Certainly she must. But what is it you wish me to do sir?

Your mistress sent a little while ago to tell me that she wished to see me this evening between seven and eight near the banian tree. You know this tree?

Oh yes sir. It is on the bank of the rivulet.

Yes I agreed to her proposal and told her that I would wait there to see her. Now you are to keep watch on your mistress. When you see that she has left the house and is on the way to the brook go and tell your master. But not a word of it to Rupa. Caution is the word.

Never fear sir. I will be sure to manage it as cleverly as you could wish it.

Nishakar chuckled. He left the house quickly and was gone.

It was dark already and the stars glittered in the sky. Nishakar soon reached the banks of the Chitra. He sat down on a stump to wait which he saw by chance near the banian tree. Beneath the starry vault of the heavens above the rivulet flowed quietly on the waters sparkling in places where they were not darkened by the shadows of the overgrowing trees. There was nothing to break the dismal stillness of the place except the cries of jackals and the hooting of owls which he could hear close to him. Far off he could see some boatmen singing. He cast his eyes toward Gobindalal's house which

looked gray with the light that gleamed through the open windows. He sat watching the light and could not but feel some pity for Rohini who in the midst of her fancied security was happy in the life she was leading. Yet why he thought should she not reap the consequence of her sin? She had blighted the happiness of Gobindalal's wife. She had reduced her to the verge of death. He had sworn to his friend to punish her as she deserved. But who was he? He thought again to punish her? Every one was accountable to God for his own actions. God who would judge him would judge her. Yet who knew it was not He who had brought him here for her punishment? It seemed to him it was all His will and he was the mere instrument.

As he ran over these thoughts in his mind time flew imperceptibly till it had passed on to nine o'clock when happening to look about him he noticed a figure approaching the place where he was seated. Like a ghost it came where he sat and halted.

Who are you? asked Nishakar springing to his feet.

Who are you first? asked Rohini for it was no other than she.

I am Rashbehari said Nishakar giving her the fictitious name he had given to Gobindalal.

I am Rohini she said throwing back her veil.

You are late Rohini he said smiling. Oh I had to watch for an opportunity you know or I would have come earlier she apologised.

I was beginning to fear you had forgotten me.

Forget you she said. Impossible. When I looked upon you for the first time my heart leaped towards you.

She had just spoken these words when all on a sudden she was firmly grasped by the neck from behind.

Who is it? she cried in great alarm. You will know presently said a gruff voice which belonged to the hand that gripped her.

Rohini knew it was Gobindalal. She felt like a doomed woman. In her heart quake and terror she gasped. I am innocent I did not come out here with a bad motive as the gentleman here can tell you.

Nishakar was not there. On Gobinda

lal's appearance he had slunk away unobserved among the trees on the banks and vanished into the darkness.

"There is no one here," said Gobindalal

with a coolness which foreboded evil. "Come home with me."

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## OUR INDUSTRIALISM\*

BY G. C. SEN, M.A., B.L. DIPLOMA, LEEF'S UNIVERSITY, TECHNICAL CHEMIST.

WE have met here this evening to celebrate the first anniversary of our Club. The club is only one year old and it is still the construction period we are passing through. The progress made during this time has been summarised in the Secretary's report. It is still a baby, but the baby can stand now. What a pleasure it is for the parents to see their baby stand! Those that have become parents will fully realise it. The baby must be fed so that it may thrive. The baby must be fed well so that it may thrive well. The baby must be given healthy food so that it may become healthy and strong. No food is better for the baby than the natural food given by God in the mother's breast. The mother must be healthy to provide the baby with healthy milk. We have to provide this baby institution with healthy food if we want it to grow and flourish. We must be healthy ourselves. We must have a higher ideal before us, and must have our aims fixed. High ideal and high aspirations must be the food for our baby. Hopefulness and patriotism must be our guiding stars. Co-operation, sympathy and intellectual efficiency must be our stepping stones.

If we can not pursue an ideal our work here will end in eating, drinking, smoking and playing. But that is not the object of our club; our object is different. The name we have given to it is fully suggestive. Our object is to work for industrial progress by concerted action and co-operation. To ordinary thinkers

our programme may seem to be ambitious.

*But the good thing never dies?* It is not the quantity that exercises influence, but the quality that does. Millions of brewers of wood and drawers of water would bow down to one single individual endowed with superior intellect. I wish that our club may be membered by men who can think and who by concrete example can put inspiration into those that are in despair. I wish this may be a place where many will look to for guidance. A congregation of representatives of so many different lines of thought is a force if the units of the congregation have intrinsic merit and energy in them.

Industry is not moneymaking. It is something higher than this. It is utilisation of the gift of God for the benefit of mankind. Moneymaking is an incidence of industry and not the industry itself. It is the intellect that gives the key with which "industry" is unfolded and it is the moneymakers that use this key for their own benefit. Intellect manifests a universal sympathy, selfless in its operations. Moneymaking apart from this "industrial intellectualism" is lifeless. It is stagnant in character and we become merely imitators. It is this "industrial intellectualism" we have to keep in view as our ideal, if we really want to be a force. Study and observation, knowledge based on experience are essential for the attainment of this "industrial intellectualism."

The conception of the law of limited liability enterprise is a boon to the world. It is mainly responsible for present industrial progress the world has come to. It has broken down the tyranny of

\* Paper read by Mr. G. C. Sen, Personal Assistant to the Director General of Commercial Intelligence, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Calcutta Industrial Club.

proprietary ownership and concentration of power in individual hands. Before the advent of industrial era the world was under a feudal tyranny. With the invention of machinery there sprang up a class of industrial adventurers. They soon accumulated wealth and consequently power also. The population became hypnotised and sought liberty from feudal tyranny under the shadow of these supposed benevolent benefactors. They soon became disillusioned. The sole object of these industrial adventurers was to enrich themselves even at the sacrifice of child lives. Child labour became rampant. Machinery broke down feudal tyranny, but gave rise to industrial slavery. The population found to their great dismay that benevolent despotism of the feudal lords was better than this industrial tyranny of the new class. The free air of the rural tract was better than the foul air of the overcrowded and insanitary factory sheds. The situation called for reform. Machinery came to live but reformation came in. As time went on the idea of limited liability enterprise was conceived. The apparent meaning of this idea is to make possible enterprise on a large scale and to limit the liability to the interests involved in the enterprise. The liability on account of the enterprise would not extend to personal liability. This gave facility to the growth of industries and taught people to work for industries by co-operation and concerted action. Beyond this apparent meaning of limited liability interest there is a moral aspect attached to it which is unfortunately not realised to the extent it deserves. Legally it secures benefit to those who participate in the capitalisation but not to the actual labourers. The workmen are not reckoned as contributing causes in the matter of distribution of profit and they are debarred from participating in the ultimate gain. This is tyranny of money. The grabbing propensity of human nature has stopped development of the moral aspect of this beneficent measure. The result is discontent, rise of trade unionism and labour strike. The ideal should be that every contributing factor in a Joint Stock enterprise no matter whether the contribution be in the shape of capitalisation or work should be allowed to be benefited by the ultimate gain. The world is coming to this fullest development of Joint Stock

conception but we here have not been able to make a beginning. What does it show? Does it not show that we are not keeping in touch with world's progress? Does it not show that our idea has not extended beyond proprietary ownership and we cannot co-operate? We may earn money to enrich our own pockets but that will not lead to industrial development in the highest sense of the term. The real purpose of industry cannot be the making of individual men rich regardless of social consequences but the development of the resources of the country for the happy and rational life of its people.

The process of industrial evolution through which the western countries have passed is an object lesson before us. The industrial development in the West as we see now has passed through many vicissitudes. If the grabbing propensity of the selfish money-makers were allowed to proceed unchecked the history would have been different. It would be a history of bloodshed. Thank God the wild career of these tyrants was checked by state interference. Our course has been made much easier by the lessons of experience established in the west. We have now only to know how much of the Western industrialism we can accept and assimilate. How much of this is consonant with the moral fabric of our social life and spiritual distinction of our people. We must remember that England had to pay dearly for this wild craving for money-making. We must not make similar mistake. I do not wish to see our beautiful land full of chimneys vomiting black smoke into the pure atmosphere of our rural tract, the humble agricultural population drawn from their village homes to be crowded towns, in place of beautiful hamlets trimmed with evergreens and luxuriant vegetation slums created with immoral surroundings. The whole system will thus be permeated with one single ambition of making money at the sacrifice of every thing that is good in humanity. The homogeneity of village life will be lost, resulting in a disintegration of the whole fabric of society. Women will leave their hearth and home which they have inherited from their forefathers and come to towns inspired with the same ambition of making money. The whole thing will be a chaos, degradation, infamy and unutterable vice. This is a black picture—the rush of a wild



boar let loose I saw a typical case while I was in Manchester. Both father and mother went out to work. They had a baby—two years old. They left this baby to the care of their neighbours who administered a few drops of whiskey to silence the baby till its mother returned from work. Can you conceive anything more horrible than this? This is the result of industrialism regardless of consequences to society and rational life of the people. We do not wish to see this in our country. At the same time we do not wish to remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water leaving the resources of our country to be exploited by others. We have to pursue golden medium. Our industrialism should be as I said before characterised by sympathy and a sense of obligation to our fellow men. Every contributing factor in an industrial enterprise should be benefited by the ultimate gain. There should be an equitable distribution of profit. The population will remain in their places in the villages producing raw materials. The prices of raw materials should be regulated in such a way as to leave them a fair margin of profit. They will be happy and will not leave their homes.

We hear so much of industrial competition. The whole industrial world is engaged in a deadly competition. Nobody knows where it will lead to. In every country utmost effort is being made to attain the highest state of efficiency by carrying specialisation in the process of manufacture to its maximum. The world is at incessant industrial and commercial warfare. Those that will excel in specialisation will survive the weak will succumb unless protected by a high wall of tariff state bounty, &c. But these artificial aids cannot be permanent. We here have not yet entered into the career of specialisation and cannot compete in an open fight. Our safety lies elsewhere. It lies in the natural selection of industries. By this I mean that we have to select such industries as will give us an initial natural advantage over others viz. the advantage of raw material. We are blind and thoughtless. Jute, Hide, Oil Seeds, Starch yielding products escape our vision. We select industries for which the raw material is to be found in Timbuctoo or Honolulu or if existent in our country not investigated or available in commercial quantities. We

are visionary and run after wild goose. We are an imaginative race and philosophic in temperament. We are led away by imagination before practical politics begin to count. Do you know that there are jute mills in China, Japan and in the furthest corner of Russia? Do we not know that jute does not grow anywhere in the world except in our country, it is our natural monopoly? Can we cite another instance of a product which is one country's exclusive monopoly? Do we not know that our country is the largest hide exporting country in the world? Do we not know that our country is very rich in a variety of tanning materials? Is it not a fact that our country is the largest exporter of a variety of oilbearing products? These jute hide oilseeds starch materials are our natural assets. Where they go, how they go, why they go? Do we know it? Leaving jute hide oilseeds &c., to take care of themselves we make it our deep concern to manufacture fine dhooties for our Babus bringing fine yarn from Timbuctoo, machinery from Honolulu. What a perversity of decision. The result is failure, waste of money and waste of energy. Here again the higher meaning of industry comes in. Industry should not be taken up for the sake of doing some industry with a view to make money somehow, but the motive should be higher—the motive of developing the natural resources for the benefit of the country.

The more I study this question the more I wonder how another industry can be taken up in Bengal in preference to tanning industry. Bengal is the largest exporter of raw hides and a single piece of tanned leather is not exported from Bengal. A few German firms had the complete grip of the whole trade. They formed a ring which was impenetrable and obscure. By cunning manoeuvres they succeeded in keeping out Indian enterprise in this direction and in keeping the hide collectors the actual backbone of the trade and the middlemen satisfied with the barest remuneration. These people are as poor as ever but the exporters who have the least to contribute to the actual production are possessors of the largest palaces in the most fashionable streets of Berlin. I would not multiply instances but the story is sad and deplorable.

It is a folly to think that a country can be self-contained in the matter of meeting

the multirarious requirements of the modern civilised life. Each country will have a share and eventually there will be a readjustment of the industrial system in each country and the readjustment will be based on the natural advantages possessed by each country. If we forget this we shall make mistake after mistake.

One point more and I will finish. Very few of our men know the trade of their own country. Very few have knowledge of the raw materials of the country and their possibilities. Very few care to study the trade returns—the volume of trade done, both export and import, the kind of commodities going out and the kind of commodities coming in. They are completely out of touch with these. Those that

belong to a particular line of trade probably know the local affairs affecting their own trade, but very few study intelligently their own trade with reference to trade obtaining in other countries. If they make a little money they are satisfied. The so-called educated classes would sooner study a volume on the American War of Independence and sooner keep a volume of the history of the French Revolution or study the question on the granting of Self Government to the Philippines rather than study what is going on in their home. We are quite ignorant of our own affairs.

Gentlemen, these are questions we ought to study and study closely. If we, educated men, forget these, who will do these?

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWLS EVANS

Author of 'Five Years,' 'The Cinema Girl' &c

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER XIII

#### LOVE SPEAKS

"I SHOULD have known the place. You're costing me a lot of money, I'm sure, I'm sure."

It was three days after Gladys had gone to old Clymers. She had virtually turned the place inside out, she had cleaned out the dingy sitting room down stairs, she had opened the windows and had them cleaned by the cheeky boy, Charlie Collier, she had insisted on more plates and necessities being bought. For she had a shrewd idea that the old gentleman was not quite so poverty stricken as he made out. She turned out his room and her own the one that had been handed over to her, and it made her cry, the simple, sad pathos of it, for it had been left just as it was when 'she,' the old man's daughter, had occupied it. There were the strange, old fashioned dresses of

twenty years ago, the little ornaments, the girlish belongings, all left in the room which doubtless had once been to the girl the home of all her treasures.

"You can have it because you're like her like her," old Clymer had said the night Gladys had arrived.

And now the rooms were sweet and clean and the old man had his meals regularly. He was in his muddling way quite a good cook, and for one he always insisted on buying the best food. He was with delicacy persuaded by Gladys to wash himself a little cleaner, his clothes were brushed, and he was generally smartened up.

On her first Sunday Gladys announced her intention of going to church, when, to her astonishment, he said he would come too.

"I've not been to church since she died twenty years ago," he said, 'but may be it won't hurt me to go now.'

He hobbled along to church with Gladys, and before she went upstairs that night he just touched her head lightly with his

hand as he stood by her chair, and some how it seemed to Gladys as if he were wishing her a blessing

"I'm an old man, a hard old man, my girl," he said, and the croaking old voice trembled a little "Eighty seven next birthday I am But the world's seemed a little easier since you came"

Gladys learnt by degrees that the old man was not so hard as he alleged himself to be Cheeky little Charlie Collier told her more than one tale of old Claymer's kindness to poor people in the neighbourhood how he had helped Charlie's mother during bad times, and how all the beggars and cadgers in the district knew that old Amos Claymer was always good for a penny when they lingered near his shop He was as hard as nails too, the boy said, and in the neighbourhood it was generally believed that he would sit at his shop door without an overcoat till he was a hundred

But Gladys couldn't bear to see him sitting there in his chair waiting for custom while the wind blew round his thin old body 'Eighty seven' It seemed incredible to her that a man of his years could sit there almost unprotected against the wind and wet, and she absolutely forced him to buy an overcoat and wear it And once this breaking down of his rather stubborn will was accomplished, Gladys began to have more of her own way with him, he seemed even to lean upon her a little and to ask her advice, and when after a little she suggested that he should have help in the shop, he agreed, and a young assistant was engaged, and the old gentleman was actually persuaded to leave his exposed chair and sit inside the shop

The assistant had strict orders not to leave the articles exposed outside the shop unattended for any length of time, for unattended shops have temptations for light fingered people, so when Gladys and old Claymer were having their meals, if the young man required any instructions as to the price of an article for which there might be a query, he was to call 'Shop!' and old Claymer would hurry out and try to effect and conclude the sale

But Gladys noticed that the old man's hearing was failing him For eighty-seven he was a marvel but age must tell some where So often when she heard the cry 'Shop!' she went out herself and brought back the article to him for instructions 'Shop!' came the cry one morning and

Gladys hurried out, to be met by the assistant half way

"There's a plane here marked ninepence," he said "Customer says he'll give sixpence, but that's all he can possibly afford"

"Eightpence, eightpence, I won't take less than eightpence," said old Claymer when the idea was submitted to him

Gladys went out herself to see the customer She had often found that she could make a sale where the assistant could not, for, as the Irish say, she had a way with her, and many a wavering customer fell before the magic of those pretty eyes and that gentle smile

"I'm very sorry" she said, going out, 'but we can't take less than eightpence for this You see it's a very good plane, and very cheap at that We really couldn't take less—"

And then the plane nearly fell from her hand as the man tall, broad shouldered and in working clothes, turned round and their eyes met There was the face she had never forgotten, with its rugged outline square chin and the peculiar bar of eyebrow Before her stood Harry Raymes

In that moment too he knew her, he recognised the face of the girl with whom he knew he had fallen in love at first sight

They looked at each other as if spell bound, palsied to silence, and then he said stutteringly, fumbling in his pocket

"Oh—er—yes—yes I'll take it, please"

She handed the shilling which he offered to the assistant who went inside to get the change from the till

"We—we met once before, I think," stammered Harry

"Yes—yes—I—I think we did," murmured Gladys

That was all The plane was wrapped up, Harry departed, raising his coarse cloth cap, and Gladys went back to the little sitting room at the back of the shop

"Why, bless me, what's the matter, girl?" said old Claymer "You look as if you'd had a fright You're quite white Anything upset you?"

"No, no, nothing, nothing, thank you, Mr Claymer"

But there were tears that day when Gladys was by herself, tears that night before she slept tears for—well, she hardly knew for what reason She had seen the face which she had thought she would never see again, and now that the unexpected, the almost incredible, had happened

hand as he stood by her chair, and somehow it seemed to Gladys as if he were wishing her a blessing.

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That was all. The plane was wrapped up, Harry departed, raising his coarse cloth cap, and Gladys went back to the little sitting-room at the back of the shop.

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"No, no, nothing, nothing, thank you, Mr. Claymer."

But there were tears that day when Gladys was by herself, tears that night before she slept, tears for—well, she hardly knew for what reason. She had seen the face which she had thought she would never see again, and now that the unexpected, the almost incredible, had happen-

ed, the fact seemed to bring her no joy, no happiness. It was all so strange, so mysterious. There he was in a working man's clothes, he looked poor. And she, well she was really poor. Oh, what would be the end of it all? What good was in their meeting again?

And so Gladys went about her work the next day, the usual day's appointment and business, distraite, unhappy.

Ah, but in the afternoon the sun shone again, for as she walked out to do some odds and ends of shopping, there, not many yards from the shop sauntering along as if with no particular object in view, was the man who had bought the plane the day before.

"May I walk with you a little way?" he said. There's something—rather—a good deal I wish to say to you. I've been waiting here for I don't know how long to see if you would come out. I hardly dared to go in to ask for you. You remember me, don't you? I said that you recognised me."

"Yes, I remember you. And you—you remembered me too?"

"I could never forget you. You've never been out of my mind, out of my—"

He stopped and to herself Gladys supplied that word "heart"—at least, with a glow of happiness she liked to have that that was the word he meant to have said.

There was a gloomy, untended little garden square close by, where miserable, dingy trees and coarse grass struggled for an existence against the London air, just a little strip of a place it was, with asphalt paths and two hard benches. Here, as if by instinct, it being a lonely, quiet place, the two turned their steps, and walking up and down the little pathway, the young couple, so strangely met again, talked shyly of themselves.

"I've been looking for you everywhere—at least as best I could," said Harry. "I found you'd given up everything—house, money, estate, and had disappeared. Why, why, did you do that—why?"

"I—I didn't think I was entitled to it if there was a real relation living," said Gladys, falteringly. She could not tell him the more provoking reason why she had left, that his father had insulted her as he had done.

"Oh, but that was foolish, that was wrong of you!" said Harry. "My father

showed me a letter from your solicitor saying that you would give up everything, but you ought not to have done that, no one—no one else had any right to it. Now tell me what you've been doing, where you've been all the time? I've thought often of you."

Shyness was gradually evaporating, and Gladys told, with reservations, how she had been earning her living.

"And you, you?" she said. "Oh, don't be sorry for me. I've found good friends, I've managed to live. But we both seem to belong to the working classes now."

"Yes," answered Harry, rather shortly, "I quarrelled with my father, and I, too, have been earning a living of sorts. I'm doing odd jobs at some building works not far away, carpentering and what not—anything that may be going. But a regular job is what I am after."

Gladys saw that he was keeping something back. She wondered why he had quarrelled with his father, but of course, if he did not choose to tell her she could not ask him.

"I wonder whether we shall meet again?" said Harry when Gladys at last declared that she must be going. "I've one fairly decent suit left for Sundays. Do you think next Sunday I might perhaps see you? I thought perhaps if you went out—at least—that is—"

Harry stopped—he felt as if he could have kicked himself—it was like asking a cook to meet her young man. Oh, well, hang it all, what did it matter? He was just a working man, and she was a working girl. So he plucked up his courage and tried again.

"What I mean is this. May I meet you next Sunday afternoon?" he said.

"Yes, if you like," said Gladys, happy that he had spoken so frankly. "I sometimes go out at about three o'clock."

And long before that walk on Sunday was finished—just an ordinary, prosaic walk along deserted London streets—each knew that fate had intervened had brought them together again, and each—well, each wondered what the result would be. When would he tell her that he—Gladys felt herself growing hot as she asked her own heart that unfinished question. And he was thinking—"What would she say if I asked her?" What mattered it if the day was blowy and cold? In their hearts was the sunshine of love, as yet unacknowledged,

untold biding its time to burst forth in its beautiful splendour

And so love winged its way Harry with the cleverness of all true lovers learnt that Gladys often went out after the shop was closed to make her purchases Casual meetings grew into appointments there came another Sunday and another and then on the fourth he spoke

It was in an unromantic street in the unromantic neighbourhood of the Elephant and Castle but the street was empty also it was conveniently dim The two had been to church together and Harry slipped his arm through Gladys and she felt a little thrill run through her for it was the first time he had allowed himself to be so intimate her breath came and went quickly She knew—as what woman does not?—that he was going to say something well something that she longed to hear By instinct they both stopped

I can't put everything into words I can't say all that I mean said Harry in a low strong vibrating voice I'm a poor hand at saying much dear (it came with a rush the word dear) but I love you I worship you with all my heart and soul Could you love me just a little—just a little? For you're the only woman in the whole of the world for me Could you could you try—just a little?

Gladys turned her head and looked him in the face fully as a woman in love should and without a trace of nervousness or shyness she answered

Yes more than a little for I love you very much

My darling! My own! My queen The words came low but distinct and their lips met

What mattered lost money lost estates and possessions? What mattered whether he were just a casual working man earning just a pittance and she just a working girl who might by politeness be termed a housekeeper? What mattered the whole world? They were in love love had spoken and love had answered from heart to heart

## CHAPTER XIV HARD TIME

And you gave up everything for me?  
Gladys looked up in a sort of wonderment at Harry as they sat in the little room behind the second hand shop

It was just a week since their marriage Yes they had been married in the little old church round the corner Old Mr Claymer had given Gladys away Meg in spite of being a married woman was bridesmaid and Ted was best man

Harry had written to Guardene telling him that he had found the girl he loved that he was steering straight for the port of happiness and asking him to come to the wedding and see that two people even if they were poor could be happy

But Guardene had not answered He was probably abroad on one of his frequent trips So little Ted to whom Harry had taken a great fancy on account of his pluck and manliness under misfortune was asked to be best man

And it was a happy little party in humble circumstances just those five people who sat round the table in the little room at the back of the second hand shop—it was early closing day chosen on purpose so that they could have a little wedding feast which old Mr Claymer insisted on providing in peace And when the old gentleman who had gone to the luxury of a bottle of champagne for the occasion rose and rather shakily proposed the health of the bride and bridegroom Gladys and Harry looked at each other and knew that they wouldn't change places with the highest born in the land

Harry had secured the permanent berth that he was after that is to say he had been taken on to the regular staff at thirty shillings a week and on this sum they were to live—and to be happy, of course Old Claymer who seemed to be growing a little feeble his great years as is often the case seeming to come suddenly upon him nearly cried when Gladys suggested that she ought to be thinking of leaving him that she must be with her husband He said that Harry could come and live in the house that if she was so independent—here the old man nearly got cross—her husband could pay for his own and her food and possibly she might condescend to think that her services in the house and shop were worth free lodgings for the two of them

Of course darling said Harry when Gladys put it to him The old man has set his heart on keeping you and it would be rather unkind to leave him in the lurch as he was so decent to you So we'll set up our tent here for the present

And now here they were at the end of their first week's journey in marriage. They were as comfortable as could be expected, perhaps more so than the average labourer earning thirty shillings a week, for they had no rent to pay.

They had just finished the arrangement of the weekly budget, the portioning out of the shillings and pence so much for food, so much for little incidental expenses, and so much to go into the savings bank, and then suddenly Harry—old Claymer had long gone to bed—with an irritated gesture pushed the paper and pencil away.

"Eighteen pence a week!" he cried indignantly. "Eighteenpence a week! That's about all there'll be to put on one side for your dress, as far as I can see. Pah!" he laughed bitterly, "how are you going to get clothes out of that you who ought to be dressed as—well, just as you ought to be dressed? It makes me sick when I think of it, it makes me angry. And to think that it was through my father that you insisted on giving up everything! Oh, if it wasn't that—oh, that people would say that I was after your money for myself, I should insist on your fighting it out with my father, in the law courts if necessary—but it's too late for that now."

"No," answered Gladys firmly, "I left the house and said I would not return, and I won't. I'll never take any steps to get that money back again, I gave it up freely and of my own accord. If there was a doubt, if it wasn't absolutely certain that everything was mine, I wouldn't keep it for a second, I couldn't keep what I didn't think belonged to me. And besides, your father's suggestion—"

Gladys suddenly stopped. She hadn't meant to say that, it had slipped out. She bit her lips sorry that she had gone so far, and Harry broke in quickly.

"I know, I know, dear. I've known all along," he said. "I knew of the suggestion my father had made to you, and that was why I—why I quarrelled with him. I said it was infamous—and so it was—to try and blackmail a girl into marriage, and then I walked out, and I've never seen him since."

"You—you, you did that for me, Harry! And you never told me that before! You gave up everything for the sake of a girl you had only seen once?"

"A girl whom I had only seen once, but with whom I had fallen in love at first

sight. From the very first moment I saw you your face was always with me. I couldn't bear to think of your being treated in that way."

"And you gave up everything for me!"

Gladys repeated the words as she looked again at her husband, and then she went over to him, put her arms round him and kissed him gently.

"And to think that after all you refused me when I with my money was thrown at your head! And I wouldn't even hear the sound of your name, hated even to think of you—no, that's a fib! But, after all, we've come together, and we're married, married, married! Just fancy that! Why, surely that's as good as riches isn't it?"

And so between the two married lovers there was perfect understanding, and to see the working man and his young wife living happily on their tiny income it would never have been thought that once they had lived in real luxury and would never have dreamt of cleaning their own boots, of mending socks, or pitching clothes. But they were happy, and that was all that mattered. Out of the weekly earnings they gave themselves an occasional treat to the theatre, and one night as Gladys and Harry came home from seeing a popular play from the gallery, the young wife astonished her husband by saying emphatically as they sat down to supper:

"Harry boy, I'm going to write a play and make a fortune. I believe I could do it."

"Queen of Sheba, my lovely one," said Harry, smiling and lighting his pipe, "you know I admire you above precious stones, but—forgive your adoring slave asking you—have you ever written anything in your life?"

"Oh yes lots of things! And some of them I've had printed too. I used to write when I was with dear old uncle. Yes, and sometimes I got paid for it too. But I was lazy, I think, and I didn't keep it up, though uncle always said I had brains."

"Well, now you come to speak of it I have perceived at times just a tiny glimmering of intelligence. Perhaps by and by it will mature."

"You're a pig, and you shan't have any seats for my nice new play, and you shan't share in the money either, so there. Now, come along, master! See that the gas is out all right, and we'll go to bye bye. Poor

old Mr. Claymer! Harry, I'm afraid he's not to be much longer with us. He looked very, very old when I saw him sitting by the fire to-day, poor old fellow."

"Well, we'll look after him as long as he's alive. Has he any relations I wonder?"

"Not a solitary soul, I believe, and not a friend, though he's got lots of acquaintances round here, and they all like him, in spite of his funny ways, all the same. I don't think he's got a real friend. Come along now!"

It was indeed as Gladys had said. Old Mr. Claymer was undoubtedly breaking up. He was getting so feeble so very hazy on his legs, though his brain seemed as keen as ever, and one day just a flicker of the old, assumed anger flamed up when Gladys came in from her shopping.

He was seated at the table writing and it seemed as if he had not expected her back so soon for he hastily blotted his document and put it in his pocket, and then snapped out:

"I thought you said you weren't coming back for an hour? You've only been gone half an hour. What do you want poking in here for?"

"Disagreeables now!" said Gladys, smiling. "Who was it said 'Let not your angry passions rise'?"

Old Claymer was always amenable to a little joke, and he grinned as he reached for his hat and coat.

"I'm going out, I'm going out," he said. "I shan't be long."

"Well, mind you're careful, that's all. I don't like you to go very far by yourself."

"All right, all right! I'm not a baby!"

The old man left with half a chuckle, and when he came back in half an hour's time—Gladys had begun to get anxious—arrived in a cab. That to him was a very unaccustomed luxury, for he would never spend an extra penny on himself if he could help it. He was not morn where the house was concerned, though he said he had to be careful, but his personal wants were never extravagant, in fact they were not even properly attended to at times.

Charlie Collier, who was growing quite a young man, helped the old man from the cab into the parlour.

"I don't think he'll last much longer, mum," whispered Charlie to Gladys. "His breathing seems so bad."

And Charlie was quite right. Old Claymer did not last much longer.

He dropped into the cushioned chair by the side of the fireplace and smiled up his thanks at Charlie and Gladys noted what a pleasant smile it was.

"That's right, my boy, that's right!" he said faintly putting out his hand. "Always be kind to the old, always be kind—that's a good boy."

"Now, how do you feel?" said Gladys, undoing his comforter and coat. "Do you feel warm enough? Won't you have your chair a little closer to the fire?"

The breathing was a little steadier now, but the old, very old looking face was a strange, transparent white. The head nodded a little to and fro. It seemed as if vitality was being drained away, and Gladys, alarmed, beckoned to Charlie and told him to go for the doctor. "There now, let me tuck the shawl round you and give you this footstool," said Gladys.

Gladys knelt to lift the old man's feet on to the stool and to tuck the shawl round him and then as she looked up she saw his old hand wavering and shaking, as if he were trying to reach something. At last he succeeded, and she saw what he had wanted to do, he had wanted to place his hand on her head. It seemed to please him for it to be there, so she just remained in her kneeling position and she heard the old voice which she had grown to love—for she saw through his rough husk—suddenly grow as strong as it used to be when she first knew it.

"You've been a good girl," said old Claymer. "You've been my daughter over again to me. God bless you, my dear, God bless you. And don't forget Cramer."

The voice broke away and died off, the hand slipped. Gladys rose to her feet. She saw in a minute what had happened. Old Mr. Claymer was dead.

It was just the death of sheer old age, peaceful and happy. No pain, the doctor said, just simply life flickering away.

"He must have died happily," said the doctor. "Look at his smile! Strange how happy the dead often look. The old man couldn't have had a better death."

It was a blow to Gladys, the loss of this old man, for he had been so kind to her. But she realised that death must have come some time, and it had come now in a peaceful guise.



So she and Harry made the necessary arrangements for his funeral.

They searched his desk to see if there was any memorandum any trace of relations or friends but there was none—just simply a few receipted bills and business papers nothing else. All was in order there was no money owing apparently. There was a little bag containing gold and a folded paper which explained that this money was for the expenses of his funeral and to pay any outstanding debts of rent rates or taxes which might be due but there were no other debts the thin old handwriting said.

And so they buried him with the natural sorrow that all must feel at the loss of one who was known and loved when living but tempered with gratitude that his end was peace. And many were the humble little tributes of flowers from the poor folk round to whom old Claymer had been kinder than many ever knew.

All the neighbours had a kind word to say for him. Harry said Gladys that evening in the little room where the oil coat and hat still hanging on the peg behind the door seemed strangely forlorn.

Yes. He was a nice old boy in spite of his funny ways. But now sweetheart I've been thinking. We've taken the poor old fellow to his last bed—may God rest his soul—but we still have a duty to perform to his memory at any rate. What is to become of what he has left behind him? Do you know anything of his wishes as to his shop? I suppose there's a living to be made here?

I don't think he made very much out of it, just about enough to keep himself and pay the boys and the assistants wages and pay me and the rent. I've been thinking about it too. Harry. We can't stop on here I suppose?

I don't know what to do. We might stop here and then some distant relative or another might come along and we might find ourselves in trouble and we accused of trespass or something. I think we'll go and see the Poor Man's Lawyer—but I shall insist on paying something. I don't want things for nothing.

The Poor Man's Lawyer is an admirable institution in the South of London. Three times a week perhaps oftener kindly hearted legal men attend at a certain mission room to give free legal advice to those who are in need of it and

can't afford a solicitor's fee for those who can afford a trifle but not full fees their assistance is also at call.

And it was to one of these kind hearted men that Harry explained the position of Gladys and himself with regard to old Mr. Claymer's shop.

Un' said the lawyer, it's a very funny position isn't it? The landlord of course can claim possession of his property if he likes. I don't suppose there's much good will to the business and the stock isn't worth a fortune. I daresay you're sure there are no relatives?

None that we can trace.

Well then I'll tell you what I should do. I should stop on there and I keep the shop open. Keep a strict account of everything and if any relatives turn up or a will is found you'll be able to give an account of your stewardship.

And so it was settled. Harry and Gladys stayed on at the shop. Charlie being promoted at a small rise of salary to manager the former assistant having obtained a berth elsewhere. And another small boy was instituted into the outside work.

Harry boy said Gladys after a month. I can see no good in keeping the shop on. It's really not paying its way, and to make up the rent we shall have to draw on our savings—not much only a few shillings but still they'll have to go. And every day the profit grows smaller.

You—you don't say that Gladys! Harry's face suddenly turned pale. Can't we hang on here anyhow? No it's all right sweetheart. I'm not ill but I'm worried. I'm anxious. It's not for myself that I care it's for you. I've been thinking about you all day. I've—I've got the sack. It upset me at first but then I thought well the shop will help. We shan't starve as so many others are doing.

Starve! Sack! Harry dear what do you mean?

It's true dear. I've got the sack. Trade's in an awful state—oh you must have seen the poverty round here creeping on by degrees. I'm just simply an unskilled labourer. I go first. There'll be hundreds of others out directly and with the winter coming on—well I don't know what we shall do.

Oh we're not going to worry Harry dear. We shall be all right. Perhaps trade in the shop will get better. I shall leave

Charlie to look after it altogether, and then I shall get some work, you see if I don't. Then perhaps we can give the shop up altogether and take the key to the Poor Man's Lawyer as soon as we get something to do. Oh, we shall both soon get work, I'm sure. You see, just at present we're running the shop for nothing, and being out of pocket over it, too. Yes, we'll give it up. Oh, we shall be all right, old boy!"

But all the same a sick fear filled Gladys's heart that night. She had, indeed, seen the signs of poverty creeping on with quick, hurried feet, she knew what distress there was, she knew how scarce work was, but she had not spoken of it to Harry; she had tried not to think of what might come, and now the blow had fallen. Harry was out of work.

Out of work! These to some may not seem such dread words, but to the poor they sound like the knell of doom. Out of work in the winter!

Soon there was but little coal in the cellar, soon there was none at all. Soon food began to grow scarce. Harry and Gladys pawned the few things they had to pawn, and Harry gritted his teeth and swore to himself, as he saw Gladys growing thinner and whiter, as he saw her shiver with the cold, while the takings in the shop grew less until they dwindled to nothing.

Then came the day when there wasn't a penny in the little cash box or in their pockets, and they had had nothing to eat for more than twelve hours. Harry looked round the little parlour savagely.

"I'm going to sell some of these things, Gladys," he said. "Nobody will come for them now. Let's have a dealer in and see what he'll give us for them."

"Harry, Harry," said Gladys gently, taking him by the arm, "they're not ours, you know, they're not ours."

"I don't care, I don't care! I'm not going to see my wife starve."

"But you wouldn't steal, Harry, would you?"

"Yes, I would, sooner than see you want! No, no, darling, I didn't mean that," he went on, as he saw Gladys turn away with a sad look on her face. "But it's hard to see you want. Wait, wait a minute! There's Guardene! I'll send to him. He must surely be back in England by now. He's never answered a letter

I'll send him a wire and he can telegraph me some money. But the sixpence! Where am I to get sixpence from? There isn't a sixpence in the whole of the street. Ah, ah, Gladys, what is it, what is it?"

Gladys reeled and nearly fell, and Harry laid her gently on the shabby old sofa.

"It was nothing, dear, nothing," she said faintly. "Only just a little momentary weakness, that was all."

But it was more than that, it was weakness caused by want of food, by anxiety just the weakness of hunger.

"Wait, wait there, darling! I'll get some money somehow, I swear! I will. By the God that made me, I'm not going to see you starve!"

Desperate, maddened, out of his mind almost, Harry rushed out into the shop, snatched up the first few second hand tools which were in his reach, and hurried with them to the nearest pawnbroker's.

"Full up," said the pawnbroker shortly. "I haven't got room in the shop for another pledge."

"Even the pawnbroker won't help me!" said Harry to himself.

And he offered the tools at the shop of a dealer in old iron, who just laughed at him, and told him that he couldn't afford to buy anything now, trade was so bad.

"Like to leave 'em, I'll give you two pence," said the man, "and you can have 'em back any time you want 'em."

"Two pence! Two pence! Harry laughed as he stood outside with the two coppers in his hand. Two pence! And his wife was starving! She couldn't eat dry bread, she wanted soup, something nourishing, something hot.

And as he laughed again, a man, prosperous looking, well-dressed, smoking a cigar, looked him up and down. An honest, worthy man, this, an ex-shop-keeper who had saved money and retired, and to whom the words "out of work" spelt nothing. This happened to be the nearest way to his destination, and his attention was attracted to this pale-faced, wild-eyed man who was laughing and muttering to himself.

"Two pence! Ever seen two pence before?" said Harry—his reason was almost taken from him, his teeth showed in horrid grin. "Two pence! That's what I've got to buy things with for my wife, and she's starving, starving, do y—"

stand ? Twopence is all we have in the world Funny isn't it ? Twopence !

The prosperous man retreated a step or two frightened and looked round for a policeman

Twopence ! Harry stepped up to him again You look the sort of man who would have money about you I suppose you wouldn't lend me a few shillings would you or give them to me ?

Now then now then what's all this about ? Move on !

A policeman had strolled up and given Harry a little push and this roused the maddened man's anger to irresponsible rage and blind wrath

You—don't you touch me ! Don't you dare !

By this time the usual crowd had collected and the policeman was getting anxious, his inspector might be round at any moment.

Now come on come on ! said the officer not unkindly We don't want any scenes

All right, I'm coming

Very well then get on !

The policeman gave Harry another push and at that touch the flame of anger leapt right up to fever heat Harry was in that state of mind when reason and insanity were just decided by a hair's breadth A red light flamed before him it seemed as if all the injustice of the world was heaped on his head and before he knew what he was doing he turned struck out with his fist and the policeman was on the ground

Unjustifiable assault of course but for the moment the man was a fanatic there was no doubt of it Grief anger, anxiety for his wife had driven him out of his mind

But the law takes no cognisance of such temporary insanity, it is hard and just Harry received a month's imprisonment

(To be continued)

## INDIAN RAILWAY SERVICES

### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

THIS paper has been prepared to show that unlike the Indian Civil and certain other services the State Railway Revenue Establishment has no restrictions against pure Indians The Secretary of State and the Government of India have laid down from as early a time as the year 1870 (the State Railways having been started from about the year 1869) that all appointments on the State Railways are open to Indians and every encouragement should be given and every effort made to give the largest possible employment to Indians on the Railways These declarations have fully maintained the spirit of the Parliamentary Acts of 1833 and 1853 and of the Royal Proclamation of 1868 But under the artificial barriers systematically laid by the monopolists, Indians who in population number 93.91 per cent and in English literacy 82 per cent of the whole

at present hold only 10 and 6 per cent of the appointments in the superior grades of the State Railways carrying salaries of Rs 200 and above and of Rs 500 and above respectively while Europeans and Anglo Indians who form only 0.09 of the whole population and 18 per cent of the literate in English hold 90 and 94 per cent of those appointments respectively

This paper has been prepared for the information of the general public and the Indian members of the Legislative Councils who have been advised by the Royal Commission to watch and see that their recommendations in regard to these services are carried out The paper also appeals to the Government of India and the Railway Board to lay down with the assistance of Indian representatives such rules and regulations as will give due effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission

The recommendations of the Royal Commission in regard to the State Railway Revenue Establishment fully uphold the former orders and rulings of Government and insure that until such time as suitable arrangements are made for the recruitment of the whole Railway service entirely in India, 50 per cent of the appointments made in India shall be given to pure Indians including Burmans. This is an advance on the existing rulings and orders of Government on the subject and it is our business to see that effect is given to this recommendation and that the artificial barriers which have so long stood in the way of Indians are effectually removed.

As far as possible the references to the existing rulings and orders of Government have been fully given, as they are likely to be forgotten owing to the lapse of time since they were issued. It is very desirable to have these rulings and orders known in India as widely as possible, as very few Indians seem to know what opportunities are open to them and how they can secure them.

The recommendations of the Public Services Commission with regard to the various branches of the Indian Railway Services are contained in the different chapters of the Report of the majority of the Commissioners and in Annexures VI, XVIII, and XIX. With them should be read the remarks and recommendations at pages 373-86 and 394-488 by Sir M. B. Chaudhary, C.S.I., and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. Annexure VI refers to the Audit and Accounts which comes under the Indian Finance Department, Annexure XVIII refers to the Engineering Establishment of the P. W. Department including the Railway Engineering, and Annexure XIX refers to the State Railway Revenue Establishment including the management, the Traffic, the Locomotive, the Carriage and Wagon, and the Stores Departments. The first two departments coming in annexures VI and XVIII embrace branches of the services which deal with railway work as well as work in other branches of Government Administration, while the four departments dealt with in Annexure XIX are entirely for railway Administration and it is proposed therefore to deal in this paper with this annexure mainly.

In the introductory paragraph to annexure XIX the Commissioners have remark-

ed that State railways worked by Companies are administered by their Boards of Directors and did not come within the scope of the Commissioner's enquiry. The Commissioners were no doubt the best judges of the scope of their enquiry, but the Commissioners have themselves noted that the administration of the Companies is 'subject to the Controlling Authority of Government'. The State railways, which these Companies work as agents of the Government are the absolute property of the Government and all appointments made by the Companies are subject to confirmation by the Government. Under these circumstances whether the appointments of staff for the State Railways worked by Companies were within the scope of the Commissioners' enquiry or not, those appointments should certainly be made and governed by the same principles and general rules as may for the time being be in force on State railways administered by the direct agency of Government especially with regard to the unrestricted employment of Asiatic Indians. The State railways worked by the companies form 72.16 per cent of the total mileage of the Indian State railways. In the interests of Indians it is absolutely necessary that the appointments under the companies should be made on the same principles as may for the time being be in force on the state worked railways. The Railway Board should, we submit, insist upon the companies' following the Government principles before according their confirmation to any appointment which may be made by the companies in contravention of the Government rulings. This is absolutely necessary as long as these companies continue under their present contracts.

In reply to the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha's question in the Viceroy's Council at Delhi on 28th February 1917, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan referred to a recent advertisement by the G. I. P. Company inviting applications from Indian gentlemen for appointments in the superior grades of their Traffic department, and to the proposals which the East Indian Railway Company had submitted to the Railway Board for the training of Indians to qualify them for appointment as officers in the Locomotive Department. These were given as instances of the attitude of the companies to the question and

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The recommendations of the Public Services Commission with regard to the various branches of the Indian Railway Services are contained in the different chapters of the Report of the majority of the Commissioners and in Annexures VI, VIII and IX. With them should be read the remarks and recommendations at pages 373-86 and 394-488 by Sir M. B. Chabral K. C. S. I. and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. Annexure VI refers to the Audit and Accounts which comes under the Indian Finance Department. Annexure VIII refers to the Engineering Establishment of the P. W. Department including the Railway Engineering and Annexure IX refers to the State Railway Revenue Establishment including the management of the Traffic, the Locomotive, the Carriage and Wagon and the Stores Departments. The first two departments coming in Annexures VI and VIII embrace branches of the services which deal with railway work as well as work in other branches of Government Administration while the four departments dealt with in Annexure IX are entirely for railway Administration and it is proposed therefore to deal in this paper with this annexure mainly.

In the introductory paragraph to Annexure IX the Commissioners have remark-

ed that State railways worked by Companies are administered by their Boards of Directors and did not come within the scope of the Commissioner's enquiry. The Commissioners were no doubt the best judges of the scope of their enquiry but the Commissioners have themselves noted that the administration of the Companies is subject to the Controlling Authority of Government. The State railways which these Companies work as agents of the Government are the absolute property of the Government and all appointments made by the Companies are subject to confirmation by the Government. Under these circumstances whether the appointments of staff for the State Railways worked by Companies were within the scope of the Commissioner's enquiry or not those appointments should certainly be made and governed by the same principles and general rules as may for the time being be in force on State railways administered by the direct agency of Government especially with regard to the unrestricted employment of Asiatic Indians. The State railways worked by the companies form 72.16 per cent of the total mileage of the Indian State railways. In the interests of Indians it is absolutely necessary that the appointments under the companies should be made on the same principles as may for the time being be in force on the state worked railways. The Railway Board should we submit insist upon the companies following the Government principles before according their confirmation to any appointment which may be made by the companies in contravention of the Government rulings. This is absolutely necessary as long as these companies continue under their present contracts.

In reply to the Honble Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha's question in the Viceroy's Council at Delhi on 28th February 1917 the Honble Sir Robert Gillan referred to a recent advertisement by the G. I. P. company inviting applications from Indian gentlemen for appointments in the superior grades of their Traffic department and to the proposals which the East Indian Railway Company had submitted to the Railway Board for the training of Indians to qualify them for appointment as officers in the Locomotive Department. These were given as instances of the attitude of the companies to the question and

the Government felt that the companies would co-operate in giving effect to the Government policy to increase the number of Indians in the higher branches of the railway service. This shows that the Government of India realize the importance of bringing the companies round to their own policy in this matter. But the matter should not be left to the choice of the companies, who may now, in order to secure an extension of the term of their contracts, make such concessions to Indians. It should be definitely laid down that the Government principle for employing Indians should equally apply to all State railways, whether worked by Government or through the agency of companies. This question is of great magnitude and of vital importance to Indians, as there are on the eleven company worked railways about 1116 appointments in the superior grades carrying a total monthly pay of about Rs 8,71,095 according to the Classified List and Distribution Return of Railway Establishment for the half year ending 30th June 1912. The individual pay of these appointments varied from Rs 150 to Rs 3,500 per month, while there may be an equal or larger number of appointments in the subordinate grades, the pay of which varied on the Government worked State Railways from Rs 60 to Rs 700 per month. These appointments for the company worked lines are not shown in the publication mentioned above. Having dealt with this important subject, we would now proceed to deal with the recommendations of the commission relating to the appointments in the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways.

These recommendations are summarised as follows in paragraph 17, annexure, XIX, page 344 of Volume I of the Report —

(i) The European element in the Traffic Department to the extent needed should be provided by Royal Engineer officers and all other officers should be recruited in India. Officers should be appointed in England only if no suitable candidate is forthcoming in India.

(ii) Selected subordinates in the Locomotive and Carriage & Wagon Departments should be given as comprehensive a training as possible with a view to their promotion to the superior staff.

(iii) Statutory natives of India should be admitted as apprentice pupils to the shops and Running Sheds of the State Railways.

(iv) Officers should be appointed in England to the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments only if no suitable candidate is forthcoming in India.

(v) Indians should be appointed in at least 50 per cent of the vacancies in the Superior Revenue establishments for which recruitment is made in India.

(vi) Appointments to the Traffic department in India should normally be made by direct recruitment from among candidates with a prescribed educational qualification.

(vii) An officer of the State railways should be appointed to serve on the India Office selection committee for the Traffic department.

(viii) In making appointments in England to the Traffic department preference should be given to candidates with experience of Railway traffic work.

(ix) In making appointments in England to the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments preference should be given to candidates who have passed the A.M. Inst. C.E. Examination or an equivalent test. Appointments should be made with the advice of a selection committee.

(x) A minimum educational qualification should be prescribed for admission to the stores department preference being given to candidates with a knowledge of mechanics.

(xi) Appointments in India should be made with the advice of a selection committee.

(xii) The pay of traffic superintendents should be increased.

(xiii) New entrants to the Stores department should not be entitled to exchange compensation allowance.

(xiv) Officers appointed in India to the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon departments should enter in a lower grade than officers appointed in England.

(xv) Officers appointed in India should be subject to the Indian Service leave rules.

(xvi) The rate of interest payable on deposits and bonuses in the Railway provident fund should be increased to 4 per cent, and the Government bonus should be fixed at 100 per cent on officers contributions.

These recommendations are in regard to the five departments, viz, Management, Traffic, Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and Stores. The Locomotive and the Carriage and Wagon Departments are technical, requiring a good knowledge of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, while the Management, Traffic and Stores Departments need a good general education before the training in practical work of the Departments is given.

The former rulings and orders contained in Government of India P.W.D. Nos 1450—55 E.R. dated 27th November 1878 and Nos 128—44 R.E. dated 10th November 1879. The former stated that

the Secretary of State has frequently impressed on the Government of India the expediency of employing the Natives of India in posts of importance to a larger extent than it has hitherto been found practicable to do and the Government of India has had the subject under serious consideration.

In the latter Resolution the Government of India laid down that

*"It should be clearly understood that all posts in the Revenue Establishment of State Railways are open to Natives of India, and as men in every respect qualified for the superior grades are found, the Government of India will be glad to receive from Local Administrations recommendations for their employment in suitable positions." (The italics are ours).*

From these orders it is evident that all appointments on State Railways are open to Indians. The proportion of "at least fifty per cent." given in clause V of the recommendations of the Commission does in no way restrict the employment of Indians. It is intended to ensure that fifty per cent. of the new appointments made in India are at once given to Indians and Burmans of unmixed Asiatic descent" (See paragraph 33, page 23 of the Report), as the Commissioners have expressly stated in paragraph 35 page 26 of the Report that they have fixed the minimum proportion as a temporary palliative where Indians are clearly not being employed in sufficient numbers and the Commissioners wished "nothing which will prevent qualified Indians where available from being appointed in any number on their merits."

#### MANAGEMENT BRANCH.

The Commissioners have remarked that "no question arises as to the management branch of the Railway Department, as this contains only a few administrative posts which are filled by the most capable officers already in the Department" (paragraph 31 page 22 of the Report). It is true that the Agents, Deputy Agents and Assistant Agents are usually selected from the officers already in the lower Departments of the State Railway Revenue Establishment. But the point to be considered by Government and always to be borne in mind is that at least one of the officers of the management Branch on each Railway should be an Indian to look after the needs and interests of Indian passengers, Indian merchants and Indian Railway Servants, which an Indian alone properly understands and can adequately appreciate, as the majority of Europeans and Anglo-Indians know little or nothing about the social life and customs of the people, or of the business ways of Indian trade. This is very important and Government do recognise it by having Indians in the subordinate grades of this Branch, but this is not enough and Government

should certainly appoint one or more Indians to the more responsible posts in the superior grades of this Branch.

#### TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT.

In the Traffic Department all appointments were formerly made entirely in India, but from the year 1907 the normal practice has been to recruit for about 3ths of the vacancies in England and for about 2ths in India. The Commissioners recognised that owing to considerations of policy it was necessary to maintain a nucleus of officers imported from Europe which they thought could be supplied by appointment in India of Royal Engineer Officers. The rest of the staff, the Commissioners have recommended, should gradually be recruited in India from among statutory natives of India, and the Commissioners have advised that this object be kept constantly in view and that in no case should application be made for the appointment of an officer in England if a suitably qualified candidate is available in India.

While we have no objection to the employment of Royal Engineer Officers on State Railways, we hold that the mention of "considerations of policy" betrays a want of confidence in Asiatic Indians which the Commissioners were led to accept in the pre-war days. Now all those suspicions have been falsified by the blood which such Indians have fully shed on the battlefields of France and elsewhere, for the sake of the British Empire, and the "altered angle of vision" does not require such considerations of policy in making appointments to the Traffic Department of State Railways.

The orders issued by the Government of India in 1879 for the employment of Indians in the Superior grades of the Traffic Department had only this effect that after a period of 33 years from the date of that order, there were in 1912 only 12 Indians out of the 99 posts on the three Government-worked State Railways and there was not even one Indian in appointments of Rs. 1100-2000 per month. On the Company-worked State Railways, the proportion of Indians was still lower; only 5 out of the 238 posts were held by Indians, a miserably poor show 60 years after the opening of the railway in India.

Unless Indians themselves assert,



rights and put forward their claims in a persistent manner, they are not likely to gain much by the present recommendations of the Royal Commission. These recommendations, as a matter of fact, do not go beyond what was ruled in their favour in 1878. As the orders of 1878-1879 have remained unfulfilled so long, the advocates of Indian interests should see that in future the orders are properly carried out by the appointment of suitable Indians on the selection committees recommended by the Royal Commission.

*Procedure to be followed in selecting recruits for the Traffic Department*—At present the appointments in India are made in four different ways viz—

- (a) by direct appointment of outside candidates,
- (b) by appointment of Royal Engineer officers,
- (c) by promotion of Subordinates
- (d) by transfer from Company worked railways.

The Commissioners have recommended that for the future vacancies should normally be filled by direct recruitment. Promotions from the subordinate staff could only be made exceptionally and officers should not be transferred from other Indian railways except to fill higher appointments for which no suitably qualified departmental officer is available.

These recommendations are quite fair and should be adopted. The transfer of Traffic officers from the Company worked lines will seldom if ever be necessary, as the officers on the Government list will generally be quite as efficient, if not better than those on the lists of the Companies.

For direct recruits in India the Commissioners have prescribed the following as a minimum educational qualification:

- (a) Candidates should either possess the degree of an Indian University or
- (b) have passed an examination of a corresponding standard prescribed by Government for the European Schools.
- (c) Passed students from the Provincial service class of the Rurkee Engineering College should also be eligible for appointment.

There is no objection to qualification (a) or (c), but (b), as noted by Sir M. B. Chaudhary and by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in their minutes at pages 381-82 and 416 of the Report, is a lower qualification in favour of Europeans and Anglo Indians which is not at all fair to Asiatic Indians. The clause (b) should therefore be omitted and an equal standard of qualifications insisted upon for all Indians

as well as Anglo Indians or Europeans, applying for Traffic appointments in India, as suggested by the Indian members of the Royal Commission.

In England, the Commissioners have noted, the practice is to select candidates on the advice of a Selection Committee, and the rules enjoin that candidates should either have had at least two years' experience of Traffic work on a British or Colonial railway or possess a University degree or diploma, or a recognised technical diploma or certificate. In so far as it may still be necessary to make appointments in Europe, the present method of recruitment, the Commissioners have recommended, should continue, and the only recommendations the Commissioners have made in this connection are—

First that an officer of the State Railways being either an officer on the active list or an officer on the retired list within five years of his retirement should be elected to serve on the Committee of Selection; and

Secondly that in choosing candidates for appointment preference should be given to men with experience of railway traffic work.

The qualifications required of candidates to be engaged in England, do not appear to be as high as those required of Indian candidates to be engaged in India. Experience of English railway working is very useful indeed but unless it is combined with a University degree or diploma, there is no justification for allowing a higher grade to candidates engaged in England than to candidates engaged in India, as noted in paragraph 13 page 341 of the Report.

#### LOCOMOTIVE AND CARRIAGE AND WAGON DEPARTMENTS

The Commissioners were informed

that appointments in India to the superior establishments of these two Departments would rarely be possible because under conditions the requisite training for direct appointment is obtainable only in England and members of the subordinate staff are ordinarily specialists in a particular branch of work without the educational and technical qualifications which would enable them to undertake the higher duties of the departments.

"These conditions," remarked the Commissioners, "should not be allowed indefinitely to continue" (The italics are ours).

The best of the subordinate officers should be given as comprehensive an experience as possible of the various operations of the department, with a view to their promotion in due course to the superior staff. Arrangements should also be provided by which statutory natives of India with suitable educational qualifications would be able to serve as

apprentice pupils in the shops and Running Sheds of the State Railways, and so to reach the standard of professional training prescribed for direct recruitment. The rule should also be laid down, as for the Traffic Department, that application should not be made to the Secretary of State for the appointment of an officer in England until it has been ascertained that no qualified candidate is forthcoming in India" (Paragraph 5, pages 338-39 of the Report)

The technical appointments of the Locomotive and the Carriage and Wagon Departments of railways fall under the third group of Indian services, according to the division made by the Royal Commission in paragraph 32, pages 22-23 of their Report. In these services the Commissioners thought that

*"A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country the staff needed to meet all normal requirements" (The italics ours)*

They mention specially the large railway workshops in India to supply the needs of the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon branches. As all these workshops have technical schools and drawing classes attached to them, all that is necessary is

1 To throw them open to Indians, as most of them are at present reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians

2 To widen and enlarge the courses of instruction, so as to provide for the superior grades as well as for the subordinate appointments of the technical branches of the railway service.

The Railway and Railway-aided schools in India are shown in Appendix 29, pages 556-57 of the Railway Board's Administration Report, Volume II, for 1915-16, but evidently particulars of the drawing classes and technical schools connected with the Loco. and Carriage and Wagon departments which are almost entirely reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, are not at all shown there. These institutions are maintained entirely at the cost of railway-revenue, which is public-money. There is, therefore, no justification for using them exclusively for a particular class of persons to the exclusion of other classes of the public.

For such appointments as may yet be made in England, the commissioners' recommendations are contained in paragraph 9, pages 399-340 of the report. The present procedure in making these appointments is described as follows:—

Appointments are made by the Secretary of State on the advice of the Consulting Engineer to the India Office. Candidates for the Locomotive depart-

ment must have had a good general and technical education, followed by at least three years' training in the shops of a railway company and six months' training in the Running Sheds and firing. Candidates for the Carriage and Wagon Department must have served as pupils or apprentices in the Carriage and Wagon or Locomotive shops of a Railway Company or in the Carriage works of a large rolling-stock builder, and in either case must have had in addition at least a year's experience as outside assistant on a British railway. The only changes in this procedure, the commissioners have recommended, are

1 That preference should be given to candidates who have passed the examination for the Associate membership of the Institute of Civil Engineers or an equivalent test, and

2 Secondly, that appointments should be made on the advice of a Selection Committee consisting of a representative of the India Office, the Government Director of Indian Railways, and the Consulting Engineer to the India Office."

To these recommendations no objection can be raised. It is of course understood that appointments ought to be made in England only so long as proper arrangements are not made for the necessary training of officers in India. It is hoped that the Government of India will appoint a committee consisting of railway officers and representative Indians to formulate proposals for the training and engagement of apprentices for the technical branches of the railway service. We need hardly repeat that the conditions as to educational test, rates of pay and system of training should be on a uniform basis applicable to all apprentices whether Indians or Anglo-Indians or Europeans.

Until such time, however, as suitable arrangements are not completed for the training in India of officers for the Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and other technical Departments, the Government should subsidize selected Indian students desiring to proceed to Europe, with suitable scholarships to enable them to qualify themselves for such appointments on the Indian State railways under the conditions given by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in paragraph 63 of his minute at page 417 of Volume I of the Report.

#### STORES DEPARTMENT.

At present recruitment to the stores establishment is made by selection from among candidates of "good education and suitable social position." The Commissioners were agreed that this method should continue but it should be laid down, as for the Traffic department, that the candidates must possess one of the three

qualifications already mentioned under the Traffic Department. Our objections in this case are two fold, first, the expression "suitable social position" is very vague. When a candidate possesses the necessary educational qualifications there should be no further question of social position, as there is no common standard of social position. What Indians regard a high social standard is not admitted as such some times by Europeans. Under these circumstances it is best to accept the educational qualifications and general character of each individual. Our second objection to this is the same as in the case of the Traffic Department viz., that the standard of education recommended for Anglo Indians is lower than that required of Indians and must be changed as we have proposed in the case of the traffic department.

*The Commissioners were of opinion that*

What a Store keeping officer requires is not so much an advanced training in Engineering as experience of the most suitable method for the purchase and maintenance of stores and for bringing stores transact on to account. Such experience as well as a knowledge of the uses to which stores are put can best be acquired in the department itself and can readily be assimilated by any one possessing a good general education.

We fully agree with these views and are quite at one with the commissioners that "there is no reason why it should not work satisfactorily, provided that only such candidates are selected for appointment as come up to the required educational standard." The commissioners however, have recognised that "other things being equal, it would be of advantage to an officer to have from the outset some knowledge of mechanics," and they have suggested that "as between candidates of equal educational qualifications preference should be given to those who had received a training in this subject."

This, we think, is superfluous. There will be very few candidates if ever possessing the three fold qualifications namely—

- i Good general education up to the degree of a University,
- ii Knowledge of book keeping and stores accounts,
- iii Mechanical training

To our knowledge there was only one instance where a mechanical officer held the charge of a Stores Department in India. Ordinarily the three fold qualifications appertain to two different depart-

ments, viz —Audit and Accounts, and the Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon

## GENERAL

**ORGANISATION** In point of organisation the various services fall into two main groups, viz,

- (1) Imperial and Provincial or their equivalents and
- (2) Single homogeneous units

The arrangement by which the railway management, Traffic, Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and Stores departments are constituted as single homogeneous units without the distinction of Imperial and Provincial Branches has the Commission's approval (paragraph 24). As regards the Engineering branch of the railway department, the commission recommends amalgamation of the present imperial and provincial sections with a single service. "In this way they add, "we should achieve an organisation of the services based on the work which they are required to do and not on the race of, or the salaries drawn by their members or any such artificial distinction" (paragraph 26).

The distinction made in the position of officers promoted from a lower into a higher service, the commissioners thought, "was not only indefensible in principle but mischievous in practice," and have recommended generally that promoted officers be given in future the same opportunities as officers who have been directly recruited. Both should be shown on the same list and take seniority amongst themselves from the date of entry on the list. Promoted officers should also be eligible on their merits for appointment to any post in their service. Except in the case of the Indian Civil service the commissioners also propose "that all promoted officers be made full members of the service into which they are promoted" (Para 27).

To safeguard the interests of Indians specially, the Commissioners have recommended the constitution of a committee for the selection of recruits to all the four different departments of the Railway Revenue Establishment. The appointments by direct recruitment in India are to be made with the advice of a selection committee to be nominated by the Government of India. This Committee is to consist of three officials and two non officials and will include two Indians. The

constitution of the committee is to be changed from time to time in order to deal with the claims of the various areas served by the railways, and the commissioners regarded it as important that all vacancies in the Revenue Establishment which require to be filled either in India or in England should be widely advertised (paragraph 11, p 340). The Commissioners in the concluding sentence of paragraph 36 page 27 of their Report state that "in the long run the surest security for the employment of a due number of Indians lies in publicity and in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils."

However well intentioned these directions may be, no system of nomination will give general satisfaction. The fairest system to which no reasonable objection can be raised, is open competition, which ought certainly to be adopted for selecting candidates for the Traffic and Stores Departments. As regards the recruitment of officers for the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments, the matter will be dealt with separately as it has many details which need full consideration.

#### • CONDITIONS OF SALARY

The scale of salaries for the officers of the State railway Revenue Establishment, proposed by the Royal Commission in paragraph 13 pages 341—42 of the Report, is much the same as is in force at present, viz, Rs 200 to Rs 3,000, per month. This scale, as will presently be shown, is very high and extravagant. The only recommendation the majority of the Commissioners have made is that for increasing the pay of Traffic Superintendent from Rs 2,000 to Rs 2,250 per month, the salary of the Agents or Managers being already as high as Rs 2,500 and Rs 3,000 per month.

Originally the scale of Salaries for State railway Revenue Establishment was Rs 250 to Rs 1,200 per month, it was slightly altered in 1874, the maximum pay for the highest official the manager of a State Railway remained at Rs 1,600 per month up to 1902 except for the manager of the N W Railway whose pay was raised to Rs 2,500 in 1889. In 1908 upon the recommendation of the special Commissioner Mr Thomas Robertson, CVO,

the pay of the manager N W Railway was raised to Rs 3,000, and that of the manager O & R Railway to Rs 2,500. That recommendation was made chiefly upon the ground that the companies working the Indian State Railways on behalf of Government were paying higher rates of salaries to their higher officials. But it may be noted that the companies paid those salaries not out of their own money but out of the Government money placed in their hands. That was virtually no ground for raising the salaries of the higher officials to such high figures, considering the rates of salaries in force on the continental Railways in Europe which are given later.

The salaries of high officials of Government in all Departments in India are very high in proportion to the average income of the people who contribute towards the cost of the administration. They take up a large portion of the revenue of the country so that sufficient funds are not left for the real needs of the people, such as education, sanitation, etc. Taking the railway service, we find the pay of the highest official (Agent or Manager) of a Government worked State railway is Rs 3,000 and on some of the company worked State railways, Rs 3,500 per month, while the lowest pay of an Indian adult employee is as low as Rs 7 per month giving a proportion of 500 to 1. This is extraordinarily high in comparison with the proportion of maximum to minimum pay for corresponding posts on European Railways. Take for instance the figures of the countries given below —

	Maximum per month Rs	Minimum per month Rs	Proportion of maximum to minimum
1 Dan sh State Rys	1083 kr=900	87½ kr=73	12 to 1
2 Swedish State Rys	1666 =1387	75 =63	22 to 1
3 Norwegian State Rys	533 =400	66 =55	8 to 1
4 German State Rys	1000mks =750	92 mks=69	11 to 1
5 Swiss State Rys	1200frks=781	117 fr=73	11 to 1
6 Belgian State Rys	700 fr=469	90 =56	8 to 1
7 French State Rys	1083 =989	75 =47	21 to 1

It will be observed that while the proportion in India is 500 to 1 the highest proportion among the above countries is 22 to 1 in Sweden and the lowest

lined, who are only 18% of the total population literate in English, hold the following percentages of appointments in the three divisions in the total services of India and on the Government worked state railways —

	Rs 200 and above	14 500 and above	Rs 800 and above
All Departments	59 per cent	81 per cent	91 per cent
State Railways	92	94	91

These percentages clearly show that Europeans and Anglo Indians have a sort of monopoly of Government appointments, while the proportion of their population is insignificant. In the highest grades the Indians are totally absent. In the lower grades of officers we have but few Indians here and there.

This point is vividly brought out in paragraphs 20—24 (pages 379—382) of his separate minute by the Hon ble Sir M. B. Chitrabai, and the following extracts are quoted below to make the matter clear —

"If the three communities are taken separately the percentage of Europeans, Anglo Indians and Asiatic Indians (excluding the Indian and Provincial Civil Services) stand at—

48.7	10.8	31.5	in the Rs 200 and above posts
80.0	9.7	10.7	500
87.0	5.9	1.4	800

The very meagre percentage of the Asiatic Indians in the higher service ought not to be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians together under the plausible excuse of the definition of Statutory natives of India in the act.

And owing to his colour and his European education on the Anglo Indian finds it easier to get a disproportionate representation in the public services of the country. One has only to glance at the figures in the higher service in such Departments as the Salt and Excise, Bengal Pilots, Burma Land Records, Customs, Factory and Poilers, Forests, Indian Finance, Medical (and Government of India Medical), Sanitary, Military Finance, Northern India and Salt Revenue, State Railways, Survey of India, and Telegraph to see how, as against the pure Asiatic Indians, the Anglo-Indians have practically monopolised these Departments.

So far as Railway Staff is concerned this is true not only of the higher appointments in the superior grades but throughout the services both in the Subordinate grades and in the superior grades. The following figures are from a summary prepared from the classified List and Distribution Return of the Indian Railway Revenue Establishment for the half year ended 31st December 1911 —

Particulars	Scale of monthly pay Rs	Europeans & Anglo Indians		Indians	
		No.	Amount per month Rs	No.	Amount per month Rs
Superior officers on State Railways worked by the State	100 3 00	153	3 53 708	47	25 425
Superior officers on principal railways worked by companies	100 3 500	1018	8 59 803	29	12 292
Total Superior officers		1503	3 50 12 12 711	73	35 717
Upper Subordinates on State Railways worked by the State	60 7 00	420	1 35 302 164	40	950
Upper Subordinates worked by companies					
Total officers and Upper Subordinates as given above		1968	13 17 812 237	70	697

Not given in the classified List

#### AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS BRANCH

The Audit and Accounts Department of Indian State Railways forms part of the Indian Finance Department which is under the direct control of the Government of India. At the head of the department is the Comptroller and Auditor General. Of the nine Accountants General, one is in charge of the Railway Accounts section. Its superior staff numbers 172 officers below whom are 34 officers designated Chief Superintendents and Chief Accountants receiving salaries ranging from Rs 450 to Rs 750 per month. For the future the Department is to be recruited for entirely in India. The Commissioners have recommended that 3 out of every 5 vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment should be thrown open to candidates nominated without distinction of race. But what would prevent a larger number of Anglo Indians being nominated? The remaining 1/5th of the vacancies are to be filled by direct appointment without examination of candidates possessing an educational qualification at least equivalent to the Bachelor's degree. Such appointments should be made by the Government of

India on the advice of a selection committee consisting of 5 members two of whom shall be Indians

The rates of salary are to be reduced for future entrants from

Rs 300-50-1250-50 2-1500 to  
Rs 300-50 2-500-50-1050 With  
Rs 200 during the period of probation

No change is proposed in the pay of administrative grades beyond the conversion of the graded salaries now payable to Accountants General into an incremental scale of Rs 2000-125-2750

For officers in Class I a scale of Rs 1200-60-1500 and for officers in class II (the present class III) a scale of Rs 300-50 2-500-50-1050 a month with a probationary rate of Rs 200 a month should, the commissioners remarked be adequate under the altered condition of recruitment to attract candidates of the M A class to the department For Indian Civil Servants under training they have recommended a scale of Rs 1500-60-1800 a month These proposals would effect a saving of Rs 3 11 319 a year

#### ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

The Engineering Department of State Railways gets its officers from the P W Department The recommendations of the majority of the commissioners in regard to this Department are contained in annexure VIII of the Report Their principal recommendations are—

1 That recruitment is to be made partly in England and partly in India So long as the cadre remains at its present strength the number of vacancies allotted to the four Indian Colleges (Roorkee, Bombay, Madras and Poona) will be increased from 9½ to 13 annually and to 16 annually when the arrangement by which 10 per cent of the vacancies filled in England are reserved for Indians is abolished

On this Mr Justice Abdur Rahim remarks that if this suggestion for the abolition of the 10 per cent be meant to discourage Indians from expecting appointment in England I wish entirely to dissociate myself from it On the other hand there should be no hesitation in appointing as many Indians as are found to be well qualified

We fully agree with these views

2 That the present Imperial and Provincial services should be amalgamated into one service and the rates of salary of officers recruited in England and in India be as shown below —

- (1) Assistant Engineers from
  - 1 England Rs. 340-40-700-50-750
  - 2 India Rs. 300-50 2-500-50-700
- (2) Executive Engineers promoted from
  - 1 —Rs. 800-50-1250
  - 2 —Rs. 600-50-1050

- (3) Superintendent Engineers from both
  - Rs 1500-100-2000
- (4) Chief Engineers from both
  - Rs 2500-50-2750

To these recommendations Mr Justice Abdur Rahim attaches the following dissent —

245—Salary The scale of salaries which I propose for the Assistant Engineers appointed in India is Rs 300-50 2-500 and for the Assistant Engineers appointed in England I propose a scale of Rs 330-40-700 For the Executive Engineers there should be one scale of pay for all namely Rs 750-50-1250 I do not agree in the proposals of the majority which have the result of increasing the pay of the Superintending and the Chief Engineers by nearly Rs 83000 a year (Page 474 of the Report)

The present scale of pay for Superintending Engineers is Rs 1200 2000 and of the Chief Engineers Rs 2500 2750 per month

3 The qualifications of officers recruited in England have been recommended to be one of the University Degrees or an equivalent diploma or distinction in Engineering (not merely the A M I C E) with at least 12 months practical experience of engineering work and in the case of candidates for railway department, practical experience on a British Railway to receive special weight

In the case of recruits to be selected in India the maximum age is to be fixed at 27 years

#### SUBORDINATE GRADES OF STATE RAILWAY ESTABLISHMENT

In dealing with the matter relating to the superior grades of railway services we have shown how Indians have been kept down in those grades Now it is proposed to deal with the subordinate grades and office clerkships

There are certain ranks of subordinates to which Indians are not admitted at all Take for instance the posts of Inspectors employed in the Traffic Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments Work shop Foremen Assistant Foremen Charge men, etc Of course there is no rule against the employment of Asiatic Indians to these posts but the Anglo-Indians in whose gift these posts are, will not train Indians for such posts As will be shown later orders were received from His Majesty's Secretary of State for Indians as early as the year 1870 for the training of Asiatic Indians for all such posts but effect has not yet been given to those orders so far as the training of Asiatic Indians is concerned, although 47 years have elapsed since then

In the classified List and Distribution Return of Railway Establishment published every half year by the Indian Railway Board we find not even one Asiatic Indian in these posts in the whole of India.

Educated Indians are employed only in the lower posts in the Railway offices and at stations. A few of the office hands by the dint of their character and good luck win some of the upper posts but a very large majority of them are kept down in the lower ranks. Any attempt on their part to rise in position is met with rebukes so that they may not aspire to any higher posts. In the seventies and eighties Asiatic Indians had fair chances in the office clerkships but through the activities of the Anglo Indian associations it has been practically arranged with the Heads of Railway Administrations to employ Anglo Indians mostly in the higher posts in offices as well as in the out door posts of subordinate establishment of all Departments. No rule to this effect appears to have been laid down but such is the general practice on almost all the railways in India whether they are worked by the Government or by the Companies.

In railway workshops Asiatic Indians are employed as workmen who can rise no higher than the post of a Mistry. Educated Indians are given no encouragement to join as apprentice mechanics those who apply for such apprenticeships are offered such low terms that they find it better to join as office clerks.

At one time there was a rule which laid down that Asiatic Indians were to get not more than two thirds of the pay allowed to Europeans for the same class of work. This rule used to apply to high appointments like those of High Court Judges but in their case it has practically become obsolete. In the case however of Subordinate railway services it appears still to be in force for we find the following rule appearing as Note (2) to para 213 of the State Railway Open Line Code Volume 2 1908 edition —

The maximum salaries for Native Drivers, Shunters and Guards are fixed at two-thirds of those for European. Europeans are not Europeans and can only therefore be allowed the rates of pay laid down for natives.

This code applies directly to lines worked by the Government Administration and similar rules may be found in force on the State Railways worked by Companies.

It is hoped the Government of India will now withdraw this obsolete ruling in the case of the lower subordinates of the Railway Establishment in view of the following views expressed by the Royal Commission in paragraph 55 of the Report signed by the majority of the Commissioners —

The advantages of equal pay for all officers who do the same work are obvious. Under such a system there can be no suspicion that Europeans are favoured at the expense of Indians. At the same time the danger of racial friction in the services is reduced to a minimum.

The Commissioners however, have recommended certain distinctions in salaries between Indians appointed in India and Europeans appointed in England on the ground of higher cost of training in Europe. That ground is certainly inapplicable to Europeans and Anglo Indians appointed in India to the subordinate grades. Whatever grounds may have existed in the past for the distinction between Asiatic Indians and Anglo Indians as shown above there is no justification now for treating the former differently.

The treatment of Asiatic Indians whether on out-door work or in offices in all Departments of Railway viz. Management Traffic Locomotive Carriage and Wagon Stores Engineering Audit and Accounts etc. on all railways whether worked by Government or by Companies is that accorded to an inferior race. Formerly this prejudice did not exist in the form in which it is now openly seen. From the former orders received from the Secretary of State for India it is evident that the Government meant to do full justice to Indians in the Railway services. Indians were formerly taken at least in the clerical lines without any restriction of the sort which has been openly started since the Imperialistic movement has been set on foot in India and a mark of distrust placed upon Indians. A marked distinction is made between Indians and Europeans or Anglo Indians to the detriment of the former. Indians are persistently put down as inferior although in many cases they possess superior merits so that Indians may not aspire or have an opportunity to rise to the superior grades. Indians of all grades on the Indian railways complain of the preferential treatment accorded to Europeans and Anglo Indians and the result is

growing discontent and unrest Anglo Indians are given higher salaries at the start and are allowed rapid promotions while Indians are started on lower pay and are systematically kept down through out their service, or are not allowed to enter certain posts Anglo Indians or Europeans possessing no superior educational qualifications are often put over Indians of greater merit longer service and superior educational qualifications they are given rapid promotions from class to class and from grade to grade so that the senior Indians become subordinates of those who were at one time their (Indians) own assistants This is very galling indeed No Englishman would put up with such treatment Indians feel it quite as much as Englishmen would if they were similarly treated in their own country Indians are thereby made to feel they have the misfortune of belonging to a subject race

Some of the Departments of Government for instance the Indian Telegraph and the salt and customs publicly advertise exclusively for Anglo Indian candidates whenever they have to fill vacancies in their subordinate grades A similar policy appears to have been secretly adopted on the State Railways whereby Asiatic Indians are kept in the lowest positions whereas higher posts even in the subordinate grades and in the clerical branches are given to Europeans or Anglo Indians

The Railway Board will it is hoped now withdraw the rulings quoted above from the Open Line Code and issue strict orders for equal opportunities and equal treatment to all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India allowing admission of educated Indians as apprentices in Railway workshops on the same terms and conditions as apply or may hereafter apply to European or Anglo-Indian apprentices and that Asiatic Indians may be taken in all classes of subordinate grades on Indian Railways unrestrictedly as in the superior grades

Mr T Ryan officiating Secretary to the Indian Railway Board, in paragraph 80 954 of the evidence before the Royal Commission in answer to a question by Sir Valentine Chirol said besides a business concern the railways 'were also a necessary factor in maintaining the security of the country both from a military point of view and from the point of view of inter-

nal security and that had to be taken into consideration in dealing with the recruitment of the staff He thought however, that a staff which could be relied on for the safe working of the railways should be adequate also from the military point of view In fact the question of more immediate importance was the safety of the public and this necessitated a very large reliance for the present upon European officers

The Indian public in general, and the Indian Railway employes in particular, should thank Sir V Chirol for getting this secret piece of information out from the Railway Board Secretary This explains why Indians are not trusted as they should be on their own Railways and accounts for the extraordinary concessions and privileges and the disproportionately large number of appointments which are allowed to Europeans and Anglo Indians nay even to Indian Christians on the Indian State Railways under secret directions Will some Hon ble member of the Viceroy's council put a question to ascertain whether this policy of not trusting Indians is being still followed by the Government? It need hardly be said that there is no ground to justify this distrust so far as the conduct of the Indian staff of State Railways is concerned These men have in the past worked and are still loyally working for the Government In fact most of the work in all the departments of the railways whether indoor or outdoor is done by Indians while Europeans and Anglo Indians are employed on easy light work of what they are pleased to call supervision and signing of documents wholly worked out and prepared by Indians who are unjustly kept down in the lower positions during the whole term of their service It is notorious that many of the Anglo Indians are unfit for any hard or tedious work By this we do not deny the fact that many among them are highly capable but such are the exception rather than the rule They are however given the soft work good pay rapid promotions and numerous other privileges which are openly denied to Indians

The rates of pay allowed at present to Anglo Indian apprentices in Locomotive and Carriage Shops are sufficiently high for the subordinate grades while the rates laid down for Indians are so low that young men of higher educational acquire-



ments are not attracted. They are there by practically debarred from entering the railway workshops, while one of the European witnesses, who gave evidence before the commission, said that the work was not suited to Indians, that they did not like mechanical work and complained that the work was dirty, that the men they had to work with were lower than themselves and that the pay was not enough (see paragraphs 81,260, 81,269 and 81,272 in vol. xix.) The last point alone conveys the real truth.

Against the above opinion of a European Locomotive Superintendent of State Railways we have the opinion of Mr. T. W. Tutwiler, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works which he gave lately before the Indian Industries Commission. In his opinion, Indian Workmen are "very intelligent and quick to learn", "more amenable to discipline than the foreigner." One of the reasons he urged for the employment of Indians in preference to foreigners is that they are better able to impart instruction to workmen as they know the language and the ways of the workmen and another reason is that they would cost much less. From his experience he could say that where Indians were substituted for Europeans, the work had not suffered either in quality or quantity.

Similar opinion was expressed in 1908 by Mr. A. T. Houldcraft, late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway.

The present writer from his personal observations in large mechanical works both in India and in Europe extending over a period of more than 20 years, is of opinion that Indian mechanics are second to none in skill and perseverance, and in fine work they are far more patient and artistic than any found in Modern Europe.

It may be noted that the evidence recorded by the Royal Commission on the Railway Department, was taken from European or Anglo Indian officials only although written statements were submitted by three Asiatic Indians vide items 1, 9, and 10 of appendix viii, page 110 of volume xix of the Report, none of them was called before the Commission to give oral evidence. Even their written statements have not been embodied in the evidence. The whole of the evidence recorded in that volume is therefore one-sided and

casts vague and unfounded reflections against Indians which Indians were allowed no opportunity to refute.

#### TRAINING OF OFFICERS AND SUBORDINATES FOR THE TECHNICAL DEPARTMENTS OF STATE RAILWAYS

As already stated the recommendations of the Royal Commission are that

A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country (and a) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements.

Upon this the Hon'ble Sir Mahadev B. Chhabhai in paragraph 19 of his separate minute (page 379 of the Report) has remarked

This recommendation has my full concurrence, and I only wish that the recommendations as regards these services be given effect in practice with the same sympathetic spirit in which they have been conceived. The far entering point as regards these services in the third group is that perhaps an indefinite length of time may be taken in Indianising them and that as they become India recruited Asiatic Indians would not be selected for them in due proportion and they may become like the present recruited in India services in which as pointed out later the proportion of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo Indians is only 23.82 and 63 per cent. in posts with salaries of Rs. 200 and above Rs. 500 and above and Rs. 500 and above respectively.

These fears are very well founded, for has not the European and Anglo Indian combination completely kept Asiatic Indians, during the last 47 years, out of the appointments of Foremen mechanics which were ordered by the Secretary of State for India in 1870 to be made entirely in India from among Asiatic Indians and Europeans or Anglo Indians?

The recommendations of the Royal Commission are for the superior officials, and apply with greater force to the subordinate staff as well. As regards the latter, a similar direction was received from the Secretary of State for India in 1870 and was circulated to the Local Governments and Administrations in Government of India P. W. D. Circular No. 35 dated 29th June 1870 (See Supplement to the Gazette of India dated 23rd July 1870), in which the Government of India strongly impressed on the superior officers of the Public Works Department, the great advantage "of endeavouring, as far as possible, to train the natives of the country in all those branches of handicraft that are necessary to the construction and maintenance of railways." It was pointed

out that every large work of the magnitude of a railway or canal, and every shop in connection with such, forms a training school for artisans, and from these, there is no doubt, that some suited for the position of foremen could be obtained. To ensure this result it was expressly enjoined that 'it will probably be necessary to attach a school to each large shop, which likely men should be encouraged to attend, and those that give promise of rising to the responsible position of foremen should be helped, and their practical knowledge supplemented with theoretical training and some instruction in drawing.' "The success of the experiment," added the Government of India "will of course depend mainly on the tact and judgment and energy of the men at the head of the Shops, but His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt the successful issue of the experiment, if the object is put before these supervisors as one to which the Government of India attaches much importance and if the Local Governments interest themselves in securing its accomplishment."

These orders were issued in the year 1870, i.e., 47 years ago, but what do we find as a result of those orders? Not a single Asiatic Indian has up to this time found a place in the list of Foremen Mechanics throughout the Indian Railways Technical Schools with Drawing Classes and Night Schools for general education of apprentices have been established in connection with the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of all the principal railways in India since those orders were issued but almost all of them have been reserved exclusively for European or Anglo Indian lads.

From his personal knowledge the present writer gives an account of these schools on the Rajputana Malwa State Railway which was worked by Government up to the end of 1884. He joined this Railway in 1880, when the schools of the above description were open in connection with its workshops at Ajmer. Probably there was no intention in those days to exclude Asiatic Indians but as Indian workmen employed in the shops were, and are still, mostly illiterate in English they could not join those schools and classes. No attempt was, however, made to give any education to Indian boys employed in the workshops, in fact they were treated

as work people, not at all as apprentices. The technical school with Drawing Class and the Night School in connection with the Locomotive Workshops, to which European and Anglo Indian apprentices of the Carriage and Wagon Shops were also admitted, have eventually become exclusive institutions for Europeans and Anglo Indians only.

About the year 1897 when the present writer was in the Head Office of the Carriage and Wagon Department at Ajmer, he persuaded the late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent to open a Drawing class and a Night School for Indian apprentices at Jonesganj on a small scale. After several years the Locomotive Superintendent also opened a small school for Indian boys of his shops with lower rates of pay for Indian apprentices viz., half of those which had been fixed for the Jonesganj class by the late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent. After useful work for 19 years, the Jonesganj Drawing Class and Night School were closed in 1916. It gave instruction to 20-40 boys annually during its existence, and turned out some good mechanics, but it is a matter of regret that it has been closed.

Probably other railways in India have recently started for Indian apprentices such schools of a lower grade than those for Europeans and Anglo Indians. In such schools sons of illiterate workmen already employed in the Workshops are admitted, educated Indians are practically kept out by the low rates of wages offered. While Anglo Indian apprentices are on some of the railways allowed Rs 20-25 per month to begin with rising by annual increment to 50 per month in the fifth or final year of apprenticeship. Indians are allowed only 4 annas per day, about Rs 6 8 0 per month, in the first year, rising to 10 annas per day or about Rs 16 per month in the fifth year. And the training given to Indians is of a lower grade, so that they cannot expect to rise beyond the post of a Mistry or Carriage Examiner. Of course there are a few exceptions where sympathetic officers in charge of Railway workshops have taken educated Indians as apprentices in Workshops and trained them with satisfactory results. One of the apprentices who was a graduate of the Allahabad University was trained in the Carriage and Wagon Workshop at Ajmer, rose to the rank of an Assistant Electrical Foreman

on Rs 275 per month. Since his premature death another Indian has taken his place. Another graduate of the Allahabad University has been trained in the Workshop Laboratory in connection with the Steel Foundry and is creditably working as an Analytical Chemist. Both these graduates were started at about Rs 114 per day rising to Rs 312 per day in the fifth year of their apprenticeship. If educated Indians be admitted on similar terms there will be many willing to join and the wishes of His Majesty's Government expressed in 1870 will be fully realised in a few years.

The question now before the Railway Board and the Government of India is how to give practical effect to the recommendations of the Loyal Commission. As the noble wishes and instructions issued by the Government of India since 1870 have been somehow nullified it is doubly necessary to lay down the rules and orders in such a manner that there should be no loop hole for evading them in future. The rules and orders now necessary are required not only for the subordinate grades but also for the superior grades of the Locomotive and the Carriage and Wagon Departments including the Electrical and Signal Departments of all State Railways whether worked by the agency of Companies or by the direct agency of Government.

The following proposals are submitted for their consideration—

(1) The technical schools at present established in connection with the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of State Railways worked by Government and by companies should be thrown open to Indians as they are at present reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and the courses of instruction widened and raised so as to provide classes both for the superior and the subordinate grades of these Departments.

(2) Uniform rules may be laid down for the admission of apprentices Indians as well as Anglo-Indians and Europeans together with uniform scales of pay to be allowed to such apprentices during the period of training.

Both these questions should be considered by a committee of Railway officers with an equal number of representative Indians. The arrangements as remarked by the Loyal Commission can be made without much expenditure and should be made

immediately so as to secure in due time an adequate number of officers from India to meet the normal requirements of the technical Departments (Paragraphs 32 and 35, pages 23 and 27 of the Report).

No educational qualification is given by the Commissioners for apprentice pupils to be taken in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Workshops and Painting Sheds for professional training up to the standard prescribed for direct recruitment. This standard is given in the case of recruits selected in England as follows—

1. Candidates for Loco Department must have had a good general and technical education followed by at least three years' training in the shops of a railway and six months' training in the Running Sheds and fitting.

Candidates for the Carriage and Wagon Department must have served as pupils or apprentices in the Carriage and Wagon or Locomotive Shops of a railway or in the Carriage Works of a large rolling stock builder and in either case must have had in addition at least a year's experience as out-fitter assistant on a railway.

The Government of India will have to lay down the requisite qualifications which it need hardly be repeated should be of one uniform standard for all apprentices whether pure Asiatic Indians or Anglo-Indians or Europeans. As the training of apprentices will take more than 3½ years it is desirable that the apprentices should begin as early as possible after they have acquired the necessary general and technical education.

The present writer consulted in June 1911 the late Mr Robertson of the firm of the Government Consulting Engineers in London Messrs Lendel and Robertson 1314 Dartmouth Street London who was good enough to say that the proper training for a Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon officer's line takes about seven years say from the age of 17 to 24 i.e., 8 years for the theoretical course in an institution like the Manchester School of Technology and four years for practical training in a workshop.

The famous firm of Messrs Vickers Limited takes paid apprentices for training in their works at Barrow in Furness between the ages of 16 and 18 years selected by half-yearly examinations held in January and July of each year in the following subjects—

A theoretical—Theory and Design of Fractures, Mensuration of Plane Figures (including properties of triangles) and capacities of Tanks and Vessels. The contract methods.

Algebra—Fundamental Rules, Simple equations and Problems producing same  
Geometry—(Plane)—Properties of Triangles, Rectilinear Figures, Simple Graphs  
Geometry—(Solid)—Principles of Elementary Projection with Simple Sections and Side Elevations

All apprentices are advised to enrol themselves at the beginning of their apprenticeship as students in one of the local Evening Schools, or, if properly qualified, in the Technical School, and to take one of the full courses of instruction set out in the prospectus issued by the Local Educational Authority. Provided that satisfactory evidence is given of regular attendance throughout the session, such apprentices may, as vacancies arise, compete for entry into the Drawing office.

The firm allows apprentices permission to attend a Technical College and count the time spent at the college (in no case exceeding two years), towards the completion of their apprenticeship, which takes 5 years from the date of commencement.

The firm undertakes to give such apprentices employment during college vacation at rates of pay corresponding to the year of service, counting the years as continuous, and allows prizes and scholarships to encourage the apprentices.

If India were to adopt a similar course it would be proper to prescribe the matriculation test for admission of apprentice pupils for the superior grades of the technical Departments, and the middle school test for the subordinate grades.

The political bodies of India have been requesting the Secretary of State for India to secure the admission of Indian students to the Workshops of those companies in England which supply stores for Indian requirements. But they seem never to have thought of the score of the central workshops, besides the numerous district workshops, existing in our own country, belonging to our own State Railways, where technical training can be given to Indian students, only if the Government of India be asked to make the necessary arrangements

with the authorities of the Government and the companies entrusted with the working of the State property. The principal central workshops are established at the following places in the different provinces of India—

- |    |                                    |
|----|------------------------------------|
|    | BENGAL.                            |
| 1  | Lillooah (Calcutta) } E I Railway  |
| 2  | Jamalpur } E I Railway             |
| 3  | Kanchrapara } E I Railway          |
|    | BOMBAY.                            |
| 4  | Parel } B B & C I & G I P Rys      |
| 5  | Hubli } M & S M Railway            |
|    | MADRAS.                            |
| 6  | Perambur } M & S M Railway         |
| 7  | Negapatam } S I Railway            |
|    | UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH. |
| 8  | Lucknow } O & R Railway            |
| 9  | Gorakhpur } B & N W Railway        |
| 10 | Izatonagar } R & K Railway         |
| 11 | Jhansi } G I P Railway             |
|    | PANJAB.                            |
| 12 | Lahore } N W Railway               |
|    | RAJPUTANA AND AJMER.               |
| 13 | Ajmer } B B & C I Railway          |
| 14 | Jodhpur } J B Railway              |
|    | CENTRAL PROVINCES.                 |
| 15 | Kharagpur } B N Railway            |
| 16 | Secunderabad } G S Railway         |
|    | KATHIAWAR.                         |
| 17 | Bhavnagar } A B Railway            |
|    | ISSAM.                             |
| 18 | Pahartali } A B Railway            |
|    | BURMA.                             |
| 19 | Insein } Burmah Railways           |

These workshops may find a training ground for mechanics and Mechanical and Electrical Engineers not only for the Indian railways but also for many other classes of industrial works for India. The attention of our Government and the leaders of the public is specially drawn to the facilities available in our own country, the control of which rests entirely with the Government of India. To make India self supporting, the railway workshops, where training in up to date machinery, should be supplied with the best and latest equipment.

CHANDRIKA PRASADA,

Jonesganj, Ajmer  
30th June, 1917

## THE EDITOR

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHILE my wife was alive I did not pay much attention to Probha. As a matter of fact I thought a great deal more about Probha's mother than I did of the child herself.

At that time, my dealing with her was superficial, limited to a little petting, listening to her lisping chatter, and occasionally watching her laugh and play. As long as it was agreeable to me I used to fondle her but as soon as it threatened to become unpleasant, I would surrender her to her mother with the greatest readiness.

At last, on the untimely death of my wife, the child dropped from her mother's arms into mine, and I took her to my heart.

But it is difficult to say whether I considered it more my duty to bring up the motherless child with redoubled care, than the daughter thought it her duty to take care of her wifeless father with an excess of attention. At any rate it is a fact that, from the age of six, she began to assume the role of housekeeper. It was quite clear that this little girl constituted herself the sole guardian of her father.

I smiled inwardly but surrendered myself completely to her hands. I soon saw that the more inefficient and helpless I was, the better pleased she became. I found that even if I took down my own clothes from the peg or went to get my own umbrella, she put on such an air of offended dignity that it was clear that she thought I had usurped her right. Never before had she possessed such a perfect doll as she now had in her father, and so she took the keenest pleasure in feeding him, dressing him, and even putting him to bed. Only when I was teaching her the elements of Arithmetic, or the First Reader, had I the opportunity of summoning up my parental authority.

Every now and then the thought troubled me as to where I should be able to get enough money to provide her with a dowry for a suitable bridegroom.

I was giving her a good education, but what would happen if she fell into the hands of an ignorant fool?

I made up my mind to earn money. I was too old to get employment in a Government office, and I had not the influence to get work in a private one. After a good deal of thought, I decided that I would write books.

If you make holes in a bamboo tube, it will no longer hold either oil or water, in fact its power of receptivity is lost, but if you blow through it, then, without any expenditure, it will produce musical sounds. I felt quite sure that the man, who is not useful, can be ornamental, and he who is not productive in other fields can at least produce literature. Encouraged by this thought, I wrote a farce. People said it was good, and it was even acted on the stage.

Once having taste of fame, I found myself unable to stop pursuing it further. Days and days together I went on writing farces with an agony of determination.

Probha would come with her smile, and remind me gently, "Father, it is time for you to take your bath."

And I would growl at her, "Go away, go away, can't you see that I am busy now? Don't vex me."

The poor child would leave me unnoticed, with a face dark like a lamp, whose light has been suddenly blown out.

I drove the maid servants away, and beat the man servants, and when beggars came and sang at my door I would get up and run after them with a stick. My room being by the side of the street passersby would stop and ask me to tell them the way, but I would request them to take the road to Jericho. No one took it into serious consideration, that I was engaged in writing a screaming farce.

Yet I never got money in the measure that I got fun and fame. But that did not trouble me, although in the meantime all the potential bridegrooms were grow-

ing up for other brides whose parents did not write farces

But just then an excellent opportunity came my way. The landlord of a certain village Jahirgram started a newspaper and sent a request that I would become its editor. I agreed to take the post.

For the first few days I wrote with such fire and zest that people used to point at me when I went out into the street, and I began to feel around my forehead the presence of a halo of a brilliance of the first magnitude.

Next to Jahirgram was the village of Ahirgram. Between the landlords of these two villages there was a constant rivalry and feud. There had been a time when they came to blows not infrequently. But now since the magistrate had bound them both over to keep the peace I took the place of the hired ruffians who used to act for one of the rivals. Every one said that I lived up to the dignity of my position.

My writings were so strong and fiery that Ahirgram could no longer hold up its head. I blackened with my ink the whole of their ancient clan and family.

All this time I had the comfortable feeling of being pleased with myself. I even became fat. My face beamed with the exhilaration of a successful man of genius. I admired my own delightful ingenuity of insinuation when at some execrating satire of mine directed against the ancestors of Ahirgram the whole of Jahirgram would burst its sides with laughter like an over-ripe melon. I enjoyed myself thoroughly.

But at last Ahirgram started a newspaper. What it published was starkly naked without a shred of literary urbanity. The language it used was of such adulterated colloquialism that every letter seemed to scream in one's face. The consequence was that the inhabitants of both villages clearly understood its meaning.

But I was hampered in my style by my sense of decency, my subtlety of sarcasm very often made only a feeble impression upon the power of understanding of both my friends and my enemies.

The result was that even when I decidedly won in this war of infamy my readers were not aware of my victory. At last in desperation I wrote a sermon on the necessity of good taste in literature—but found that I had made a fatal mistake. For things that are solemn offer

more surface for ridicule than things that are truly ridiculous. And therefore my effort at the moral betterment of my fellow beings had the opposite effect to what I had intended.

My employer ceased to show me such attention as he had done. The honour to which I had grown accustomed dwindled and its quality became poor. When I went out into the street people did not go out of their way to carry the memory of a word with me. It even got to the point of frivolous familiarity in their behavior towards me—such as slipping my shoulders with a laugh and giving me nicknames.

In the meantime my admirers had quite forgotten the farces which had made me famous. I felt as if I was a burnt out match which had become charred to its very end.

My mind became so depressed that no matter how I racked my brains I was unable to write one line. I seemed to have lost all zest for life.

Probhahad now grown afraid of me. She would not venture to come to me unless summoned. She had come to understand that a commonplace doll is a far better companion than a genius of a father who writes comic pieces.

One day I saw that the Ahirgram newspaper leaving my employer alone for once had directed its attack on me. Some very ugly imputations had been used against myself. One by one all my friends and acquaintances came and read to me the spiciest bits laughing heartily. Some of them said that however one might disagree with the subject matter it could not be denied that it was cleverly written. In the course of the day at least twenty people came and said the same thing with slight variations to break its monotony.

In front of my house there is a small garden. I was walking there in the evening with a mind distracted with pain. When the birds had returned to their nests and instantly surrendered themselves to the peace of the evening I understood quite clearly that amongst the birds at any rate there were no writers of journalism nor did they hold discussions on good taste.

I was thinking only of one thing namely what answer I could make. The disadvantage of politeness is that it is not intelligible to all classes of people. So I had decided that my answer must be given in the same strain as the attack. I was

not going to allow myself to acknowledge defeat

Just as I had come to this conclusion a well known voice came softly through the darkness of the evening, and immediately afterwards I felt a soft warm touch in the palm of my hand. I was so distracted and absentminded that even though that voice and touch were familiar to me, I did not realise that I knew them.

But the next moment when they had left me, the voice sounded in my ear, and the memory of the touch became living. My child had slowly come near to me once more and had whispered in my ear, "Father," but not getting any answer she had lifted my right hand and with it had gently stroked her forehead, and then silently gone back into the house.

For a long time Probha had not called me like that, nor caressed me with such freedom. Therefore it was that to-day at the touch of her love my heart suddenly began to yearn for her.

Going back to the house a little later I saw that Probha was lying on her bed. Her eyes were half-closed and she seemed to be in pain. She lay like a flower which

has dropped on the dust at the end of the day.

Putting my hand on her forehead I found that she was feverish, her breath was hot, and her pulse was throbbing.

I realised that the poor child, feeling the first symptoms of fever, had come with her thirsty heart to get her father's love and caresses while he was trying to think of some stinging reply to send to the news paper.

I sat beside her. The child, without speaking a word, took my hand between her two fever heated palms and laid it upon her forehead, lying quite still.

All the numbers of the Jahirgram paper which I had in the house, I burnt to ashes. I wrote no answer to the attack. Never had I felt such joy as I did when I thus acknowledged defeat.

I had taken the child to my arms when her mother had died, and now, having cremated this rival of her mother, again I took her to my heart.

*Translated by*

W. W. PEARSON, WITH THE HELP AND  
REVISION OF THE AUTHOR

## CHILD-STUDY IN INDIA

**W**HILE discussing the stages of growth of a child from infancy to maturity with the Teachers of the Brahma Balika Shikshalaya, preparatory to the determination of methods of teaching suited to children of various ages, I felt the need of facts and figures about the growth and development of our children. I sought in vain for light on the subject from various quarters. Beyond a few stray data collected at irregular intervals and scattered over fewer publications on medical jurisprudence and ethnographic survey, there is practically speaking very little information available. Even these data are of no use to the present problem as they mostly relate to adults and not to children. I remember to have read the result of a survey made by Dr. Ramaswamy Iyenger of Mysore of the eye sight of

college students in 1902. He visited almost all the big towns of India having a number of colleges and examined the students thereof. His report made a serious revelation about defective eyesight in general and the prevalence of myopia in particular, among our students. I am told some investigation as to the eyesight of school children has been made in the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab, with what results I am unfortunately not aware of. One of the objects of the Bengal Social Service League is the medical inspection of school children, it would be well to know what progress has been made by the League in this direction. If I am not wrongly informed there are a few carrying on some research on these lines individually. It is high time for a united effort to be made with a definite object in

view, so that the work may be carried on regularly and to which the canons of scientific research can be fully applied

Students of child psychology know well what tremendous attempts have been and are being made in the United Kingdom and the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Japan, through child study societies and Universities to determine the laws of growth and development of normal children to single out the deficient ones to separate the idiotic and the neurasthenic, with a view to providing for the proper upbringing of each class thereby saving from going to sheer waste much available resources and human material to the real conservation of national assets in men and money. Has India such a plethora of children that she can afford to lose any number year after year by death and deterioration in mind and body? Such loss India has to suffer so long as a determined effort be not made to collect all possible facts—physical and mental including moral—about children by the application of practical tests that can stand the searchlight of scientific doubt. These facts are then to be formulated in such a way that they may be of use to all those engaged in the solution of all problems scientific or practical relating to child life in this country. I am here tempted to cite an instance of very practical value. A son of mine then about 12 years old began to grow alarmingly dull about the end of 1915. He was all along known to be a bright boy and could do much work in connection with his education by himself. Suddenly his face lost its glow and he grew short of hearing. It at once struck me that something was wrong with his nose and throat. I suspected the growth of adenoids. He was sent to an expert surgeon whose careful examination confirmed my suspicion. A month's treatment cured him of the obstruction and he again grew as bright as ever. Now it must be within the experience of many parents and teachers that intelligent boys suddenly develop signs of stupidity resulting in dull looks, bad memory and tardy response. Unfortunate children, how many had been taken to task, rebuked, abused and even caned for a fault over the creation and continuance as well as the removal of which they had absolutely no control! Our much boasted common sense, not trained in the

science of child life, failed to localise the defect much less to put its finger on the real plague spot but did not all the same fail to make life miserable to the poor children. One instance will I am sure, suffice to call up many in the minds of many fathers and teachers. We owe it to our children to make their lives happy—their legitimate right—and not heap miseries upon their budding lives that are preventable.

This brings me to the various points of view from which child life should be studied. People take to this study for many reasons. Many sciences stand in need of facts and figures relating to children to substantiate their claims as science. How was speech originated? What was the course of its development? These are questions which interest the philologist and he can solve them better by a study of the development of speech in the child. How did primitive man unashamed of his nakedness revelling in his tattooings and crowns of peacock's feathers—come to be the civilised man of the present times? In a search for facts the anthropologist not only visits the aboriginal inhabitants of many countries now hiding themselves in mountain fastnesses but studies the child also, since the child does as the evolutionist say repeat in his growth the history of the race. We may or may not feel interested in the progress of these sciences. But there are aspects of child life which have a very important bearing upon practical questions. Those who have the welfare of the children themselves dear to their heart must welcome all attempts at getting to the root of child life. Social reform, in the true sense of the expression, has much to do with children. Only the other day the Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation revealed in his report on the vital statistics of the city, the appalling rate of infantile mortality. It would not be wide of the mark to say that about 400 infants in every thousand cease to breathe within a year of drawing their first breath. The rapid advance of industrialism in this country and the spread of the smoking habit no less require the keeping of a sharp look out on child life as affected by these factors. The subject is no less important to doctors who have begun to discover the fact that children require a treatment quite separate from what adults stand in need of since



their diseases differ both in kind and degree from those of adults. Medical science now boasts of an extensive literature on diseases of children showing the importance of the subject. We have now got expert medical practitioners divided not into physicians and surgeons generally, but into surgeons, physicians, obstetricians, experts in eye-diseases, ear affections, lung troubles, intestinal disorders and children's diseases. The teacher who realises his calling has even more than the doctor the need of thorough knowledge of child life. If he possesses but fair acquaintance with the subject he may be instrumental in saving much child life from being a permanent burden upon and a halter round the neck of society. Next to parents or guardians with whom children live teachers alone can claim to have most of the opportunities afforded them to make or mar the nation of to-morrow. Nay it may safely be asserted that in these days of hard struggle for existence fathers or guardians have but little time left them after the day's work to look after their children or wards. The duty of taking note of ill health or steady growth, formation of good habit or bad habit of school children mainly devolves upon teachers. And in the absence of any definite knowledge on the laws of growth and development mental and physical of children the teachers are in the proverbial position of the blind leading the blind. Then again since education does not aim so much at imparting instruction in various subjects as at assisting in the healthy development of the mind, a true knowledge of the normal course of mental development of children with the instincts that blossom, ripen and pass into higher phases after enlarging the mind and widening the vision is the very *sine qua non* of a teacher's qualifications. All critics of the present-day education given in our schools and colleges do not fail to hit hard one feature of it more properly the absence of it. They deplore that no arrangement is made in our educational institutions to impart moral and religious instruction. Some attempt is here and there being made to remove this defect. The danger that may soon face us will perhaps take the shape of swinging the pendulum too much to the other extreme. This problem too cannot be solved so long as we do

not very definitely know how when and in what environments the moral and the religious sense take their birth, progress and blossom into a happy spiritual life or for want of timely and sufficient nourishment fade away and rinkle into a hardy thorn that pricks all around. The moral and religious instructor has no less need of the saving grace of child psychology if he is to fulfil his mission to the full satisfaction of his conscience and fears to stand guilty in the eyes of God and man. One aspect I have not touched above. Doctors will I am sure bear me out that the normal temperature of many Indian children is not 98.4 the figure given in books on physiology and that the dose of medicine given ordinarily to an European does not suit an Indian of the same age. A few days ago some statistics were collected about the height and weight of some children of different ages. On a rough comparison with such figures relating to British children it is found that many of the children fall below even the average height and weight of their British cousins.

Enough has I hope been said above to emphasise the need of a thorough study of child life in this country if we earnestly mean to ensure the bodily health as well as the mental and moral progress of our children. These may be and are misfit schools and even misfit homes but no child born can be called misfit. He has a legitimate right to be so brought up as to be able in due time to earn his bread, to share in the culture of the race and to advance the cause of humanity. Such a course may become possible if care be taken to study each child so as to know his powers and possibilities and formulate his scheme of education accordingly. The welfare of our children may only truly be secured if we can devise proper methods of training normal children on the one hand and special methods for the defective according to the nature of their particular deficiencies on the other. As noted above there are also periods of dullness and stupidity for even normal children when they require to be kindly handled more as persons suffering from some disease and not to be harshly treated as guilty of some serious offence. The need of the moment is then some arrangement for a regular examination of children of all ages and if possible of every child from infancy to maturity. If facilities can

be afforded for such a research we may easily know how the course of national health is progressing at present, backward or forward. If every school child, at least once a year, can be put to the most important mental and physical tests, as applied in England and America, we shall come to know in what particular direction individual attention has to be paid in his case in order to safeguard his health and ensure the development of his mental and moral faculties—using the term in its ordinary sense, since faculty psychology has long been dead. Roger Ascham in 1570, while laughing at the care bestowed by Englishmen upon their horses instead

of children, says in his *Schole Master* "God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberality as it should, for He suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate children, and therefore in the ende they find more pleasure in their horse than comforte in their children." Our lot is harder still. While we have no horses, to draw comfort from, we have to stare blankly into space when we see our children drooping in health, mental vigour and moral fibre before our very nose. Have we then nothing to do?

KRI-APRASAD BASAK.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### BENGALI

**NURJAHAN**—by *Brajendra Nath Banerji*, Calcutta:—B S 1323 (1915 16)—Twelve annas pp 86

A neat little volume on the biography of the celebrated Nurjahan Begum, the Queen of the Emperor Nur ud-din Jahangir. The book is intended for the general public and is written in very simple yet elegant Bengali. The volume supplies all information about Nurjahan Begum which can be gleaned from the historical works of the reign of Jahangir. The compass of the book has made it impossible for the author to dilate on the problems connected with the life of Nurjahan e.g. (1) the cause of the interval between Sher Afgan's death and her marriage with Jahangir, (2) the struggle with Mahabbat Khan and the deliverance of Jahangir. The first problem is rather difficult and we are not yet in a position to determine why Jahangir, when past his first youth, committed a heinous crime for the middle aged flame of his earlier youth. Then again we do not know why Jahangir kept Nurjahan in seclusion with Ruyyah Begum for four years before he married her. These problems may give birth to voluminous dissertations but it would be entirely imaginary and would have very little basis. On the whole the book is nicely written very tastefully though sparsely illustrated and deserves general recognition.

R. D. Banerji

### HINDI

**DALJIT SINGH** by *Mr. Krishna Lal Varma* and published by the Proprietor, Prammala Karvalaya, Gehana (Kohistak) Punjab Crown 8vo pp 143 Price as 9

This is a very interesting drama and we may say

at the outset that it will do excellently well on the stage. Though it has not got many poems in it, it consists of just the stuff which makes a drama popular on the stage. The words put into the mouths of the actors have been very dexterously chosen. The plot is supremely interesting and at the same time there is much of instruction in it. It is laid in the Marhatta period and the transactions of some heroes portrayed therein are magnifying and encouraging. However the tragical end given to the drama is not seemly—a comical end to it would not at all have been unsuited to the trend of the remaining part of the book. There are some printing errors in the book. The introduction of the book which is rather detailed will also repay perusal. The author expresses his indebtedness to the writers for the materials in the book.

**MANIBHADRA**, by *Mr. Udaylal Karhlival* and published by the Jaugranika Ratnakar Office Hrabagh Gurgaon, Bombay Crown 8vo pp 123 Price as 10

The plot of this novel is laid at the time when the Jain influence was supreme in India. It is a translation from the Guzerati. It is mainly a religious novel, the hero of the novel having fallen under the beneficent influence of Shree Mahabir, but the element of love is not wanting in it. The language is very nice and the book will be found very instructive and pretty interesting as well. The plot being laid in ancient times there is some want of novelty in the book if a reader cannot find any novelty in the picture of ancient times so graphically portrayed in the book.

**VAIDIKTH KARNAI KI VIDHI** by *Mr. Chandra mani Vishalankar, Professor, Gurukul, Kangri Distt. Byrrr Demj* 8vo pp 96 Price—as 10



A Modern Sculpt

ings that exercised an influence on the Japanese mind were those of the *Virgin and Child*

#### RECENT HISTORY

The huge social convulsion which followed the restoration submerged for a time the pictorial art of Japan. Every thing was tabooed by the people which had not the stamp of western origin. On the other hand anything western was worshipped and lauded up to the skies just as in Bengal there was a period when young Bengalis looked upon beef eating and drinking whisky as the shortest cut to civilisation.

It was an evil day for Japanese art. Nobody took any notice of even the productions of master Japanese painters. The artists had to struggle hard for bare existence. As an instance in point it is recorded that Kano Hōgai (d. 1888) one of the greatest painters of modern Japan gratefully accepted the services of a foreign connoisseur at the monthly allowance of 20 Yen or Rupees 31 and 4 annas!



Ukyo ye Pa nting  
By Ka netsudo

Fortunately for Japan a reaction soon set in and the suicidal movement of favouring western painting at the expense of Japanese was checked. The Vienna World's Fair at which Japanese pictures were favourably received served as an eye opener to the Japanese Government and the exhibitors alike. A happy result—though not immediate for for six or seven years more the Government persisted in the foolish policy of engaging at high salaries for its pioneer Fine Art School second or third rate foreign artists—was the establishment of a Fine Art School on purely native lines and the appointment of a number of master painters as art counsellors to the Imperial household. But the school did not work smoothly for in 1898 the Government and the late Mr Okakura well known in Indian art circles then Director of the academy disagreed as to the method of conducting the school with the result that he (Mr Okakura)



Watching an Eclipse of the Moon  
(A Modern Painting)  
By Madame S. (Yemura)



Onoye Matsutake, A Famous Actor of  
the Tokugawa Period  
From a Ukiyo-ye by Sharaku

### SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

Broadly speaking Japanese painting may be classified into three main divisions: Classic School, Popular School and Chinese School. As regards styles there is no well defined line separating one from the other. The Kano, Tosa, Kose, Maruyama, Shijo and other styles of the Classic School remain to day more in the shape of old masterpieces than in that of living exponents. But it is the Classic School which leads next comes the Popular School. The Japanese name for it is *Ukiyo-ye* or 'pictures of the transient world'. They are realistic representations of things around us, of farms, fields and dwellings, of the street and the wayfarer; of men, beasts and birds,—in fact in those pictures are mirrored the varied and pulsing life of the world we live in. But as the peculiar temperament of the oriental has ever discarded the things of the soil on which we are born, brought up and nurtured and have yearned for the beyond which lives in our imagination, *Ukiyo-ye* paintings were looked upon by the Japanese as nothing short of vulgar in times gone by. But to day the outlook on life in Japan has changed and *Ukiyo-ye* pictures have acquired a good deal of appreciation and influence. The demand for them is very great, so great indeed, that even the once proud classic painters are now offering their service to supply this demand. As a consequence the distinction between the classic and the popular school is gradually narrowing down and in time may entirely be obliterated. With the

with a few other artists, left the school and founded the famous Nippon Fine Arts Academy, which has now been closed after years of vigorous existence.



Wild Geese—By Maruyama Okyo

spread of education books, journals and newspapers are multiplying every day and the services of *Ukiyo* ye artists are requisitioned to illustrate them. Among *Ukiyo* ye painters the name of Hokusai stands supreme. His masterpieces are characterized by great freedom of conception and treatment.

Pictures of the Chinese School are stiff, conventional and full of details. They are mostly religious or historical. Clear traces of Indian influence can be detected in the religious pictures. Today the Chinese School has lost the popularity it once enjoyed.

Then there are points of difference in

the Tokio and Kioto schools of painters. Painters of Tokio are progressive, their productions are boldly conceived and vigorously executed. The Kioto painters, on the other hand, live in an old-world conservative atmosphere full of dreams and fantasies and consequently their productions are subtle and graceful but lacking in vigour. By the way, it may be mentioned that this contrast between the metropolises is not confined to art alone but is equally evidenced in all other forms of activities.

#### SOME NOTABLE PAINTERS

Hokusai, Utamaro, Utagawa Toyokuni, Keisai Eisen are some of the famous painters of the *Ukiyo* ye school. Utagawa Kunisada is another who attained fame as an artist of no mean calibre.

He was born in the suburbs of old Yedo in 1736. He was the pupil of Utagawa Toyokuni and inherited the name of his master after his death in 1843. He was not one of those who could dash off a picture at a sitting. On the other hand he took infinite pains to study the customs and manners of those around him, the features and types of localities and classes. The following interesting anecdote will show how assiduous he was in mastering accuracy of conception and execution.

On a certain evening he went out and did not return for some time. At midnight his wife was feeling rather anxious as to the whereabouts of her husband when she heard a noise and who should step into her presence but a robber. The terrified woman was speechless and knew not what to do. Seeing her helpless predicament the intruder removed his mask and entreated the lady not to be afraid. Her surprise can be imagined when she saw that the robber was no other than her own husband. Greatly taken aback by the strange action of her husband she wholly failed to appreciate the trick and began to weep sorely. Stranger still the art student paid no attention to her sorry condition but at once took paper and pencil and proceeded to work on a drawing. As dawn appeared Kunisada had finished his sketch and the world was charmed with the wonderful depiction in *Ukiyo* ye style of a woman frightened by a robber.

Of him says a Japanese critic:

'The characters of Kunisada represented the age, that is the individual of that time, but a more ideal individual than the actual. Perhaps this is only another way of saying that they were the work of an artist. For the true artist does not imitate nature; he creates after the laws of nature but true to his own ideal of beauty and truth.'

Maruyama Okyo (1733-1795), of whom Japanese historians of national art say—  
'His reputation thundered over the empire



Jōko Kwannon, Godde's of Mercy

By Hoga Kano

for a space of long duration marks a wholesome breaking away of the Japanese artist from the rigid conventionality of the old schools. He reveals extraordinary skill in depicting the movements of animals. In landscape and nature draw-

ing he showed great originality. But in the depiction of human figures he is not quite so successful. He was also very remarkable for his successful depiction of ghost pieces.

Once a man came to Okyo to have a ghost sketch ed on his back for tattooing, and Okyo agreed to do it on condition that the man would never look at it himself. But after the tattooing was finished the man hearing the exclamations and cries of those who saw it grew so curious that he was determined to see it for himself, and so notwithstanding his agreement he got a mirror and had a look at the picture tattooed on his back. So horror-stricken was he with what he saw that he felt haunted and could not rest until he underwent the awful suffering of having the whole thing burnt off by moxa.

### Conclusion

The foreign visitor to the Imperial Museum in Tokio is perplexed to notice the absence of remarkable specimens of Japanese Art. In vain does he try to find an explanation. The fact is that the better specimens are safely stowed away in fire-proof rooms packed in wooden cases and only occasionally brought forth for inspection. In this connection says Mr N. Masaki, President of the Tokio Fine Arts School:

The climate of Japan does not allow examples of fine art to be long exposed without injury. Japanese art of the most precious and delicate quality cannot long endure either sunlight or dampness. With the exception of articles made of bronze or iron our masterpieces have to be kept safely away from light and moisture. Otherwise we should not long have them left to us and old pieces we should not have at all. Consequently the exhibition of fine art on view in the Imperial Museum does not at all represent the treasures in our possession, which are too precious thus to expose to the effects of climate. The climate is especially injurious to our most valuable paintings, which often suffer injury even by a few hours of exposure.

The same writer thus sets forth Japan's attitude toward fine art:

We almost worship a piece of perfect art. It is treated and cared for like a divine image. We regard such things as sacred and holy.

Japan's attitude toward fine art can be seen in how art is preserved and cared for. Look at one of our most priceless tea cups. It is never to be seen sitting on a shelf or lying in an exhibition case. No, it is always found wrapped carefully in a soft cloth of special texture and packed safely in a beautiful box worthy of what it holds. The best pieces of porcelain or china are wrapped in what is called Dutch cotton, and the boxes that contain them are made of paulownia wood, and then the box itself is wrapped in an appropriate cloth. Every precious work of art has, therefore, a five-fold wrapping.

SURFISH CHANDRA BANERJI

## OLD AGE

What is old age ? 'Tis not that we old men  
 Are really old, because our limbs are weak,  
 We do not rust, like some worn out machine  
 That has no life nor do we useless grow  
 As animals that have no mind or soul,  
 With us it is the higher life that counts,  
 Infirmary and length of years no doubt  
 Make our frail body weak, but what of that ?  
 There springs up in our soul a well of life  
 As a perpetual fountain ever flowing  
 For looking back upon the years long past  
 Our heart is fuller still of joy and strength  
 The fight is nearly over, almost won  
 We gain fresh strength from this, for we are cheered  
 By long experience of wondrous help  
 That God has given us in the years now past  
 We gain fresh joy and confidence in God,  
 And feel still greater faith that He, who thus  
 Has been so gracious through these many years  
 Will surely finish His good work begun  
 We have a gallery of thoughts that fill  
 Our thankful souls,—grand pictures full of joy,  
 Sweet recollections of what God has wrought  
 'Tis not with us the evening of our life  
 But morning of a glorious life to come  
 This morning brightness shineth more and more  
 And is the dawning of the perfect day  
 When sin and sorrow shall be known no more  
 Our pilgrimage is past The land in view  
 Grows all more beautiful as years go by,  
 When we were young this seemed a far off land  
 'Tis now so near its beauty can be seen  
 And day by day we wait till He shall come  
 Who is our life then shall its glory shine  
 In His effulgent brightness evermore

England,  
 February, 1917

J. L. ANDREWS

# THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD

## III GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

By ST. Nihal Singh

NO sooner did His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar assumed control of his State, at the end of 1841, than he began to find out what it meant to be a

Personal Ruler. The initiative in all matters important and otherwise, rested with him. All appointments high and low, were in his gift. No officials could be transferred or promoted without his leave. All expenditure no matter how trivial, had to be sanctioned by him.

The Administration of Baroda had been

\* Copyright and Right of Translation reserved by St. Nihal Singh. These articles are abstracted from the Author's forthcoming work on the Life and Record of H. H. Maharaja Sayajirao III Gaekwar.

highly centralized before the minority regime commenced in 1875 but Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao's strong personality gave it a rigidity that it had lacked on account of Maharaja Malhar Rao's weakness. The Raja was not altogether to blame. He had come into power at a



II II Maharaja Malhar Rao Gaekwar  
deposed in 1875

time when everything was disorganised and when all sorts of claims were being made upon the treasury. His colleagues had occupied only minor positions in British India and the personnel of the public services left much to be desired.

Whatever the justification affairs had drifted to such a pass that at the beginning of his rule the Maharaja Sahib found that he was being asked whether certain person might be appointed to clerkship carrying a salary of Rs. 10 whether the tiles might be turned on a hut and whether a tassel worth four annas lost in a procession might be replaced.

Besides being the sole source of initiative His Highness was the protector of his people—their mabap (father mother) as they called him. The popular belief was

that his eye was ever open to insure that the officials did not harass the farmers and artisans.

Whether or not the Maharaja Sahib was thus endowed I do not presume to know but it is certain that His Highness's employees from the heads of departments down needed (and what is more, expected) to be watched by him. Such superintendence had to be minute and exacting. Only eternal vigilance could keep the officials from making blunders and the people from being harmed.

The Maharaja Gaekwar occupied the position of referee between the people and the officials. All complaints came to him and every custom ordained that he must patiently hear all grievances, no matter how trivial they might be, redress them on the spot.

The people also believed that their Maharaja was the dispenser of justice. This meant that any one could petition to review the judgment passed by the highest courts of law in his State.

The Ruler was supposed to possess inexhaustible resources and to bestow princely gifts upon any one who chose to ask for them. So deeply rooted was this idea that in the early years of his rule requests for gifts of all sorts poured in upon His Highness from every direction.

One man asked the Maharaja Sahib to give him Rs. 1,800,000 so that he might perform *ishamedha yagna*—the ancient and costly ceremony of sacrificing a horse. He declared that he had been ordered by God to do this.

A priest wrote that the Almighty commanded His Highness to pay him Rs. 50,000 for repairing the temple over which he presided.

A Parsee living in Sarat petitioned again and again for Rs. 100,000 for his maintenance.

One man wanted Rs. 3,000 for the purpose of building his own grave. He sent a half-anna stamp to His Highness for the reply.

An inpecunious person informed the Maharaja Gaekwar that for four months he had worshipped a certain Goddess who appeared to him at twelve o'clock at night and asked what he wanted. On his replying that he was in need of money the deity directed him to write to the Ruler of Baroda and ask for the amount he required.



An admirer sent a handkerchief to the Maharaja Sahib as a present, and several days later wrote asking His Highness to make a gift in return—which of course, was to be worth many times more than the tiny square of silk that he had offered.

Even more curious than those requests were the methods adopted to insure that appeals would reach the great personage to whom they were addressed. Persons would approach His Highness while he was out for a quiet walk and shout at the top of their voice as he was passing hoping that he would stop and ask them what they wanted. If he was driving petitions would be thrown into his carriage. Men would lie flat across the road refusing to move until he had listened to their grievances. A favourite method of attracting his attention was to stand in a prominent place by the roadside day after day with the idea that eventually he would notice the man and inquire what he wanted.

When His Highness was travelling in his State villagers would form a delegation and would give him no peace until their complaints were considered, refusing to place their petitions in the box especially provided for that purpose. Sometimes one of the crowd would bear on his head an earthen pot containing live coals to indicate that immediate redress was needed.

If a petitioner conceived the notion that any official stood in his way he would send him threatening letters and attack him through an anonymous petition addressed to the Ruler. Some persons would send a covering letter to the official attending upon the Maharaja Gaekwar in which they would call upon God to curse him if he intercepted their message.

The people of Baroda had learned to put a premium upon making a loud outcry ever since the British Agent had entered the Capital. Persons who had a genuine or fancied grievance against His Highness or any of his servants or who bore ill will towards the Administration or who felt that they could conspire to better their position by ingenious back biting forthwith repaired to the Residency to get the ear of the Agent of the British Government.

During the reign of Maharaja Malhar Rao, Colonel Phayre the representative of

the Bombay Government\* showed great solicitude to listen to any complaints that Baroda subjects cared to make while Maharaja Malhar Rao was being tried by a Commission appointed by the Government of India and after he had been deposed bankers, courtiers and cultivators preferred claims against the Maharaja. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao spent much of his time during the minority *regim* investigating these claims but when he failed to satisfy the demands that were made the dissatisfied parties carried their tales to the Agent to the Governor General.

By the time the present Maharaja came into power, the desire of his subjects to lay their complaints before the British Resident had become a perfect mania. The Baroda populace had become firmly convinced that if they wanted to humble any official or even to bring about the downfall of the Maharaja Gaekwar, all they had to do was to trump up charges to fabricate evidence to support them and to bombard the representative of the Government of India with them.

The 18 year old Maharaja's position was anything but a sinecure. He had to keep all the threads of administration in his hands. His work required ceaseless attention—his routine could never be relaxed. Persons who have heard only of the pleasures which autocracy affords can have no conception of its responsibilities.

What wonder that many men born to exercise the powers of unlimited monarchy leave the cares of State to officials and give themselves up to indulgence?

Had the Maharaja Gaekwar wished to shirk responsibility and let the Dewan be the dictator of the State, as he had been during the minority *regime* he could have done so without asking any one's leave. Monarchs have done this through the ages and continue to do so to this day, and not always with dire consequences to their subjects.

\* Baroda is situated in Western India and was in relation with the Government of the Bombay Presidency up to 1874. Mr. (now Dr.) Dadabhai Naoroji who was serving Maharaja Malhar Rao Gaekwar as Prime Minister in that year advised His Highness to make a strong representation for the recall of Colonel Phayre the Agent of the Bombay Government. Colonel Phayre was removed and Colonel Eiley was appointed to act as Agent of the Governor General and Special Commissioner at Baroda. Since then Baroda has been in direct relation with the Government of India whose Agent is now known as the British Resident.

Had His Highness preferred dalliance to administrative responsibility, there would have been a different story to tell. But he chose to be conscientious. From the time he came into power, ill prepared youth though he was, he set out to perform all the duties that devolved upon him as the Maharaja of Baroda. He went about his State examining offices and officials, inspecting works of public utility, scrutinizing rural, subdivisional, and divisional accounts, listening to complaints and grievances, and receiving suggestions for improvements from every source, no matter how humble.

In addition to keeping up with the current work, His Highness vigorously attacked arrears that he had inherited. During the minority *regime*—especially towards its close—many cases had been partially or provisionally settled, and some had been entirely left over for him to decide. They involved delicate and complex questions requiring mature consideration and involving serious consequences. As further delay was dangerous, the Maharaja Sahib settled them as best he could, seeking to give as much finality to his decisions as possible.

Amidst the cares of State, and even during his travels, His Highness found the time to keep up his studies, devoting to them every moment he could snatch from administrative work, and State functions. During the two years following his investiture he retained the services of Mr Elliot, his tutor, to assist him. Later he read by himself, or with professors from the College or other scholars books on political and social economy, history, ethics, and philosophy.

Though the pressure of current work and arrears, and of studies, weighed heavily upon His Highness during the early years of his rule, and though he was ill prepared and inexperienced, yet he could not prevail upon himself to plod in the administrative furrow dug by his predecessors. Whichever way he turned, he saw inefficiency or glaring wrongs. Complaints came from everywhere and about every thing. Only if he could shut his eyes and ears, and silence the still small voice within him could he let the old order continue. There was something in him, however, that would not permit him to follow the policy of *laissez faire*. We see him therefore, from the earliest year of his rule, striving

to improve the governance of Baroda. His Highness could not overhaul the entire machinery of State all at once. He was not capable of undertaking such a task. Alterations had to be effected while the wheels were in motion, and therefore, great caution had to be exercised, lest an ill fitting part may throw the whole State machinery out of gear. One change, however, led to another. Every success inspired confidence. Every failure made him wiser. As years passed by, and he gained experience and confidence and as the people understood and appreciated his aims, the work of reorganization assumed larger proportions. Before he knew it, he found himself committed to the task of replacing the patriarchal administration that he had inherited by a modern system.

To reach that stage, His Highness had to free himself from work of routine character, and to surround himself with competent advisers and assistants. He had to reorganize the existing departments and to create new ones, and to place them all under men of education, character, and experience and to give them adequate and qualified staffs. Public services had to be organized, and attractive salaries and pensions provided. Rules and regulations for the discharge of work and for the conduct of officials had to be drawn up.

Such administrative reforms were of a fundamental nature, and had they not been made, the Maharaja Gaekwar would not have had the leisure nor the machinery to work out and to apply schemes that have made his name famous. It is, therefore, necessary to review these efforts.

As I have indicated, His Highness found as soon as he came into power, that his time and energy were consumed in disposing of petitions and appeals from his subjects and from officials, and references from the heads of the various departments. He therefore set out to arrange affairs so that all trivial matters would be dealt with by qualified officials and only important issues would come to him for consideration and settlement.

A complex machinery had to be set up for this purpose, for the petitions and references made to him varied in character. Some asked for service, pension, or gratuity, others for gifts, rewards, patronage and others.

complaint against officials. Appeals were made by public servants against the orders passed by their superiors while subjects asked for the reversal of decisions of revenue and other officials and courts of judicature.

In devising machinery to dispose of petitions and appeals made by people His Highness had not only to insure efficiency but also to make arrangements that would commend themselves to his subjects. The people were accustomed to taking their grievances to the Maharaja Sahib and getting rough and ready justice on the spot. It would not do therefore to let the impression get abroad that His Highness was inaccessible and would not redress wrongs committed by his officials. Changes had to be carefully thought out and introduced gradually. This was the course pursued by the Maharaja Sahib.

For some time after coming into power His Highness personally heard the petitions. Each document was read to him in full just as it had been presented and orders were immediately dictated in the presence of the applicant.

A few months later when the number of petitions had risen enormously His Highness ordered that précis be made of each petition and submitted to him. Until September 1882 the work of making such précis was performed by the head of the *Khangī* (Household) Department who was known as The Special Officer in Charge of the Palace. The post of Private Secretary was created at that time and the task was entrusted to him.

Soon another change was introduced. The Secretary was delegated to hear the petitions and to refer to His Highness only those that were worthy of his attention. Even in cases where His Highness gave audience to a petitioner the Secretary carefully noted the orders that were passed by the Maharaja in order to avoid future complications.

His Highness took pains to design a special form for keeping complete record of each petition finally disposed of by him or his Secretary and for entering those applications which were sent to one department or another for disposal.

In January and May 1882 two circulars were issued regarding the disposal of the appeals preferred to the Maharaja Sahib for reversing the judgments handed down by the *Varisht* (High) Court. The

first required all petitioners to attach to their appeals copies of the judgments that they desired to have set aside. The second besides emphasizing that point laid down

1 That the decisions of the *Varisht* Court should be generally considered final.

2 That an appeal will be allowed only in cases involving

- (a) a question of law or custom,
- (b) claims of large amounts, and
- (c) questions of importance.

3 That such appeals must be submitted within two months of the date of the judgment.

In order that judicial petitions should receive the attention due them His Highness charged the *Naib Dewan* (Assistant Prime Minister) to inquire into their merits. He was authorized to dispose of appeals within specified limits while the important ones had to be submitted to His Highness together with his memoranda for final orders.

In April 1885 His Highness issued orders definitely laying down the procedure for the disposal of petitions and appeals. The memorandum is too long to quote and is not susceptible of condensation. It authorized the *Naib Dewan* to receive petitions and appeals in the name of His Highness. Others sent direct to the Maharaja Sahib were to be transferred to him. Considerable powers were given to him to deal with them.

Further changes have been made from time to time but the procedure remains much the same. One of the important changes made was to make the Prime Minister responsible for the disposal of certain petitions and appeals and his powers have been raised at various times. Another modification that was made was to create a special body to deal with appeals against the judgments of the High Court to insure the legality of the process of revision and to remove every sign of undue interference with the work of the *Varisht* Court. I shall have more to say on this subject in the article dealing with the administration of justice.

The net result of these changes is that to-day comparatively few petitions, appeals or applications go up to His Highness for orders and those that are submitted to him are accompanied by adequate memoranda in prescribed form prepared by competent officials. The bulk of the work is left to capable persons.

While this system relieves the Ruler of great labour, it insures the careful and impartial consideration of every complaint or request on its own merits. His Highness examines the record at unexpected times, to see that the work is being discharged justly and expeditiously. He also gives special facilities to his subjects to talk to him during the tours he frequently makes in the Districts to preserve the old tradition that acted as a safety valve in states under personal rule.

While these reforms were being effected, His Highness was striving to cut down the number of references made by the various departments which, as I have noted, consumed a great deal of his time and energy.

Many of the proposals sent up to him for orders were so trivial that he did not understand why the heads of departments should not possess the authority to sanction them. He felt, indeed, that some of them ought not to have gone up even to

heads of departments, but should have been disposed of by the *Subahs* (literally Viceroy, heads of the Divisions) or even by the *Lahniatdars* (heads of Sub Divisions). He had no patience with such senseless centralization, and soon after his investiture he increased the powers of various officers so that they would have scope for exercising their initiative.

In this matter, as in the case of petitions and appeals he began to decentralize authority by little and little. He let the officials become accustomed to the exercise of one instalment of power before another was given to them.

Before any large scheme of decentralization could be effected, His Highness considered it necessary to reorganize the departments of State in order to remove congestion, and to appoint men of education and character to hold responsible posts throughout the State.

(To be Concluded)

## THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION AND THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

*We believe that the surest security for the employment of a large number of Indians lies in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils. (Report p. 27)*

THE majority of the Public Services Commissioners preface their plan for reorganising the education department of Government with the following declaration:

The position of the education department in India is peculiar in view of the important part which it is playing, and which it is destined to play in the experiment of blending eastern and western culture into a harmonious whole. This being so grounds of policy suggest that the staff should contain officers who are typical of what is best in both civilisations and that in the initial stages the European element should be substantial. (P. 37)

### SECTION I

What the Commissioners have proposed

Their recommendations are —

(1) *Designation*—The existing names

Indian Educational Service and Provincial Educational Service should be replaced by the designations *Class I* and *Class II*. But these must be considered as 'two services or two classes of one service, and the lower service or class must occupy a position inferior to that of the higher one' (P. 19).

(2) *Europeans*—The proposed *Class I* will consist of 264 'basic posts,' as against 199 the present strength of the I.E.S., and *three fourths* of these posts (numbering 199) are to be recruited in England and reserved for Europeans. The remaining one fourth or 65 posts, when sanctioned by Government are to be recruited in India, in the following way: (a) half the administrative posts by direct recruitment and the other half by promotion from *Class II*. (b) two thirds of the 'collegiate posts' are to be filled by direct recruitment and one third by promo-

tion from Class II [Supposing that out of the 65 posts 39 are reserved for the collegiate side then 13 is the maximum that can be ever aspired to by experienced teachers in colleges therefore taking the service life of an officer as 26 years, in the whole of India *only one Indian professor will be promoted to the higher service after an interval of two years* while 8 Europeans will be appointed directly every year.]

(3) *Indians*—The proposed Class II will consist of 321 posts against 385 as at present. It will be recruited for in India and will consist mainly of Indians. [Thus the combined total number of the present I E S and P E S posts will be retained only 65 posts meant for Indians will be moved up from P E S to I E S or to use the new cant terms from Class II to Class I.]

(4) *Salary*—Indians recruited for Class I in India will commence on Rs 350 a month but an individual of the same race if his letter of appointment is signed *west of Suez* will get an initial pay of Rs 500 (as all European officers will do) and thus the latter will get a *four years start* over the former for doing identically the same work and possessing equal qualifications. [Lord Ronaldshay and Mr Sly of the Civil Service object to the payment of this higher pay to Indians recruited in England saying that such a distinction is appropriate only to the comic opera P 120.]

In Class I the normal salary will rise from Rs 550 (or in the case of Indians Rs 350 only) to Rs 1250 a month in Class II from Rs 250 to Rs 500 only. Class I will also have prize posts carrying salaries from Rs 1250 to Rs 2750 and numbering  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of its cadre while Class II will have *only 15 per cent prize posts* and these will carry salaries rising from 500 to 700 only.

The *Salaries* of the two or rather three classes are shown in the following table

Year of Service	Class I		Class II
	Europeans	Indians	All Indians
1	550	350	200
2	600	400	250
3	650	450	250
4	700	500	250
5	750	550	250
6	800	600	250
7	850	650	250
8	900	700	300

Year of Service	Class I		Class II
	Europeans	Indians	All Indians
9	950	750	330
10	1000	800	300
11	1050	850	370
12	1100	900	370
13	1150	950	410
14	1200	1000	410
15	1250	1050	410
	For 10 p.c. only		
16	1300	1100	450
17	1350	1150	450
18	1400	1200	450
19	1450	1250	500
20	1500	1300	500
		For 10 p.c.	For 15 p.c.
21	1550	1350	580
22	1600	1400	620
23	1650	1450	660
24	1700	1500	700
25	1750	1550	
26		1600	
27		1650	
28		1700	
29		1750	
30			

(5) *Classification*—In the administrative branch of the Education department the principals and in most cases the vice principals of the training colleges the head masters of specially important high schools and the present Inspectors of divisions (to be relabelled Chief Inspectors and assigned one to each revenue division) will belong to Class I while the present assistant inspectors (to be christened Inspectors) and the other vice principals of training colleges headmasters of less important high schools and the deputy inspectors of educationally advanced provinces will belong to Class II. The present Additional Inspectors are to be abolished and Assistant Inspectors to be greatly reduced in number and to be ultimately replaced by *deputy* (or district) inspectors working directly under the chief inspectors (p 94).

In the collegiate branch of the department the Principal and the vice principal of every well-equipped college as well as at least one teacher of English History and so on should belong to Class I. Subjects like Sanskrit or Botany will be taught by officers belonging to Class II (p 95). Class I officers should be called *Lecturers* of their respective colleges in their particular subject. Class II officers should be termed *Assistant Lecturers* (or in Science *Demonstrators*) while the term *Teacher* should be reserved for members of the subordinate service (p 96).

(6) *Leave rules*—European officers (i.e., Class I men drawing full pay) should come under the European Service Leave Rules, while Indians (i.e., all the Class II men and the quarter of Class I posts reserved for Indians) should be under the Indian rules, which the commissioners themselves admit to be "much less liberal" than the terms on which Europeans enjoy leave (p. 50). No Indian (except the one or two appointed in England) must ever in his career aspire to come under the European officers' Leave Rules (p. 193).

(7) *Training*—"Recruits from Europe to Class I should (like the I E S at present) be selected at the average age of about 28 after acquiring experience in teaching or further study subsequent to taking their degrees. Officers to be appointed directly to Class I in India must have had similar experience." They must (a) either have held a research fellowship at an Indian University or (b) have served in private colleges in India after taking their degrees, or (c) "if untrained younger men," they are "not to be admitted permanently to Class I until they are of the same age as their colleagues arriving from Europe and have had a similar experience. Pending this they should be regarded as probationers." "Officers appointed directly to Class I in India will in many cases, no doubt, also have received some education in a European university, but where this is not the case, power should be taken at the time of selection to require the recruit to go to Europe for a term of post graduate work" (p. 100) \*

## SECTION II

### How the Indians have been harmed

These are the proposals of the majority. It will be clear from the above that they have not only perpetuated the existing

\* The commissioners here violate the principle accepted by them on p. 39. Obvious objections can be urged to offering higher rewards to men educated abroad than are offered to those who have passed through the educational institutions of their own country. We are, however, assured by our Indian colleagues that public opinion in India attaches importance to securing absolute equality between Europeans and Indians who have been through the same educational course. But under the actual recommendations Indians holding English University degrees if recruited in India will get Rs. 200 a month less than Englishmen of the same academic qualifications.

colour distinction in our Education Service, but also aggravated it and made the position of the Indian professors, both in the upper and lower branches of the service distinctly worse than before. (a) First, the majority report has openly and definitely established a colour bar in the choice of the higher teachers in Government colleges by laying down that *all the existing posts in the I E S must, for all time to come, be filled by Europeans*, and that if 65 more posts are created (as recommended), these may be filled by Indians. Normally, the European officials should be three times as many as the Indian.

(b) Secondly, it has expressly abandoned the old theory that the I E S and P E S are parallel services, equal in status though differing in pay.

(c) Thirdly, it has definitely degraded the Indian professors (Class II) and given them, however old experienced and distinguished, an avowedly lower position than every European officer however raw. Hitherto, college teachers of both races were officially designated as professors, but in future the Europeans (and one third of their number of Indians) are to be called *lecturers*, while the Indians (Class II) are to be styled *assistant lecturers* or *demonstrators* throughout their career. Formerly all Indian professors had been denied the high emoluments of the European professors, but had enjoyed the same title and status, in future they will be robbed of the title as well as the money.

It is assumed by Lord Islington and his friends that the Europeans (and a few Indians) appointed to Class I are *ab initio* competent to command and guide every member of Class II (i.e., Indian professors), and that no member of Class II, however high his academic qualifications, length of experience and success in teaching, can ever in his life be fit to take independent charge of a subject in a college (beyond only 8 p.c. of the cadre of Class II).

(d) Fourthly, Indians appointed to the I E S are now entitled to the more liberal leave rules styled as European Service Rules. But in future, every Indian appointed to the I E S in India or promoted to it from the P E S will be placed under the Indian Service Leave Rules, which are veryrigidly

(e) Fifthly, a *minimum* proportion of posts for Europeans, viz., 40%

laid down, but none for Indians. The maximum of one fourth for Indians will never be worked up to in practice, as is illustrated by the example of the statutory civilians created in 1879, who were intended to be *one sixth* of the cadre of the I C S, but actually numbered no more than *one-nineteenth* (p 171).

(i) Sixthly, Indians with British university qualifications when appointed to the I E S have enjoyed absolute equality as regards pay and prospects with their European colleagues. In future the Indians will get Rs 200 a month less and thus be *four years behind* Europeans with the same qualifications and recruited at the same time as themselves. (This remark does not apply to one or two Indians—out of a total of 264,—whose letters of appointment may be signed in London instead of at Simla (p 101).)

For the above disadvantages and public degradation it will be no compensation to the Indian educationists that 65 of them will be appointed to the higher Education service (against 2 at present), though even these 65 officers will draw Rs 200 a month less than their European colleagues of the same standing in the service.

### SECTION III

#### Treatment of Indian Lecturers in Government Colleges in India

What *senior* and *junior* professors mean in India do not know how the Indian professors are treated by the European.

Hitherto the two classes of professors (called P E S and I E S respectively) have in official theory been declared equal in status and Government has never *openly* accepted the policy that the I E S teacher of a subject should command and guide the P E S men lecturing in it. Yet, under the secret instructions of the European D P I's and European Principals, this objectionable policy of racial subordination of the intellect has been insidiously and informally,—but none the less effectively, introduced into several Government colleges. European professors, even the freshest recruits, have been arrogating to themselves the title of "Senior Professor" in their respective subjects though the title has never been acknowledged in any official document. The result is that every Indian professor automatically becomes

junior to every European teacher of special subject and has to take his from the latter and not from the Principal. Every European Principal enforces this policy (to which however Government is not *openly* committed) unless the public scandal of it is too great when it is kept in abeyance for a more favourable opportunity (e.g., the case of Professor Jada Nath Sarkar, an officer of 16 years' standing and a historian of European celebrity who was sought to be made junior to a newly appointed Cambridge graduate, Mr W Owston Smith, vide Vol XXII).

Lord Islington and his friends would perpetuate this evil and make it universal by publicly lowering the status of the Indian professors (Class II) and fixing on them a brand of inferiority throughout their career by designating them as *assistant lecturers*. Now, an assistant is, by his very designation and office, under the man whom he assists and must take his orders from the latter. He cannot claim independence and he cannot aspire to equality. An Assistant Magistrate is fully under the orders of the Magistrate, an Assistant Surgeon is ordered about by the (District) Surgeon, and so on. Therefore every member of Class II, (i.e., every Indian professor except 65 men out of a total of 585)—by virtue of his new designation of *assistant lecturer* must be admittedly and perpetually subordinate to every European (Class I,) who will be called full fledged *lecturers* from the very day they join the service. Thus the Indian graduate who enters Class II "must subscribe himself slave" for ever. (This remark is qualified only to the extent that 8 p.c. of the members of Class II, or less than *one twelfth* of the total will find emancipation by promotion to Class I, probably very late in life, when all spirit has been crushed out of them.)

In the actual working of the Government colleges of India this rule of making the Indians *junior* or assistants to the Europeans produces the following consequences—

(a) The college time table in every subject of lecture is drawn up by the *senior* professor and has to be followed by all the *junior* ones, without their having any voice in the matter.

(b) The *senior* decides the distribution of work and orders which branches of the subject and which classes a particular

*junior* should teach regardless of the opinions of the latter

(c) No book can be purchased for the college library without the sanction of the *senior* professor in the subject

(d) The *senior* professor alone sits on the academic Council of the college as the representative of his subject and decides what contingent funds are to be allotted to it what servants engaged what examinations held and so on

(e) Only the *senior* professor is considered fit to sit on the Board of Studies in that subject at the University and the I F S men make it a grievance whenever an officially labelled *junior* is elected to the Board. Three years ago the *Times* (Educational Supplement) denounced the Calcutta University because the Presidency College was represented on its Board of Studies in History by a *junior* while the *senior* professor was not on it. On investigation of this alleged scandal the following fact came to light the so-called *junior* was an Indian P L S officer named Mr J N Das Gupta who had taken Honours at Oxford as early as 1889 and had 24 years experience in college teaching while the officially labelled *senior* was of course an Englishman Mr Oaten who had taken Honours at Cambridge some twenty years later but had been put over the old Oxonian's head by reason of his being a European. Thus the natural and academic *senior* becomes the official *junior* in every Government college in India.

(f) When a *junior* produces a piece of original research his official *senior* is given in the learned circles of Europe—from the analogy of their universities where merit and not colour is the qualification for seniority—the credit of having initiated it and guided the course of investigation. Though in Indian Government colleges all research is done independently by the Indian *juniors* in their private capacity—their European *seniors* being usually incapable and always unwilling to render any aid. About 20 years ago Dr J C Bose the eminent physical discoverer was asked by Mr A— an eminent scientist of England if any other Indian had done scientific research like him. On his mentioning the work of Dr P C Ray Mr A— immediately remarked in a disparaging tone 'But he is Pedler's assistant'. Mr Pedler it should be explained was at that time the officially *senior* professor of

chemistry at the Government college where Dr P C Ray was serving as *junior* simply because he was a P L S officer while in education Dr Ray was a Doctor of Science of a British University while Mr Pedler had no academic qualification but had merely acted for some time as an assistant to Prof Frankland.

In one Government Medical College the European *senior* has been known to have published as his own a bacteriological discovery of his Indian *junior* of which he heard only after it had been completed.

## SECTION IV

### Examples of the European guidance of the Indian Professoriate

The Committee on the Presidency College Calcutta April 1916 consisting of the D I I Bengal the late Vice Chancellor of the University and 2 other distinguished European educationists condemned the system under which the member of a department is chosen as its head merely because he is a member of the I F S. The professors and lecturers who form the members of a department it should also be generally understood stand in the relation of colleagues to each other. The Governor of Bengal in Council accepted the view here expressed by the Committee (May 17 1916). But Lord Islington and his friends have adopted the opposite policy of placing all the P E S professors in a position of avowed and perpetual subordination by altering their designation to assistant lecturers.

When young British graduates of no very high academic qualifications—(the average intellectual level of the 46 officers appointed to the I E S 1912-14 was a Third Class Oxford Honours degree)—find themselves at the very outset of their career placed in command over grey-headed Indians it naturally turns their head. A few instances of the evil done by such unlimited power may be given here. In a Bengal College the time table in philosophy was settled by the staff at a meeting under the chairmanship of the University Inspector. Shortly afterwards the young European professor of the subject (officially *senior* because belonging to the I E S) wrote to his older and more experienced Indian *junior*—'Babu please come over to my room to attend a meeting of the philosophy staff for a new distribution of the w



Indian professor replied, "The college timetable having been recently settled by all of us together, I do not see any reason for changing it so soon after 'The meeting you propose should be held in the college and presided over by the principal' The young European wrote back 'As I am responsible for the subject (!) I have the right to alter the time table and to preside over the staff in the subject You must attend the meeting

At another Government College, in the Central Provinces, the Indian *junior* professor of History on coming back to his post at the beginning of a new term found that his raw British *senior* had, without consulting him or giving him any previous notice, changed the time table and set this Indian gentleman to teach two widely separated branches of History and a third or altogether foreign subject in addition from that very day.

A raw English youth who, by virtue of his being in the I E S, is *senior* in his subject, at another Government college, vetoed the suggestion of his Indian *junior*,—an M A with a most brilliant college record,—to buy for the college a copy of the Indian travels of the ancient Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims, with the learned remark, 'The book is useless to us What had China ever to do with India?

Another European *senior* professor of History, in Bombay, publicly declared that Khwafi Khan's book should be prescribed as an authority for the history of S India from 1761 to 1785. Now, as the book in question was written in 1734, the proposal was exactly as if a Japanese professor had declared that Macaulay's history of the later Stuarts should be prescribed as an authority for the reign of George III, and this Japanese professor had been placed over the heads of English professors at an English University.

Another Oxford graduate who has been imported as an expert for 'organising and conducting original research in Indian history from 1000 A D onwards' is innocent of any Indian language in which our historical records are written.

The result of such "guidance" of veteran Indian professors by I E S European *seniors* would have been comic but for its deplorable effect in lowering the standard of scholarship in our country.

## SECTION V

### The Effect of the Majority Report on Education in India

(a) Lord Ishington and his associates by insisting on the employment of Europeans (with the admixture of only 25 p c Indians) as ordinary college lecturers and raising their emoluments to five times what Englishmen get for doing similar work in England, have made the colleges under Government extremely inexpensive, because extremely costly. The commissioners note that a large part of the work of the colleges in India is of the nature of the performed in the upper forms of a secondary school in England' (p 95) And, again 'Qualifications of this high order (viz., professional standard of distinction understood in Europe) are not required for the efficient performance of the bulk of college instruction' (in India). And yet the commissioners recommend that three times as many Englishmen as Indians should be employed in this elementary work and these Englishmen should be paid £63 a month (the average pay of Class I), while masters 'in the upper forms of a secondary school in England get only £12. The average intellectual level of our European educational officers judging from the recruits of 1912-14, is a Third Class Oxford Honours. The iron rule of a European majority of three to one in the staff of our colleges will make it impossible for the State to open new colleges, by reason of the difficulty of finding the money for it. By utilising Indian talent the cost can be reduced to a quarter.

(b) No self-respecting Indian who possesses first-rate qualifications and the alertness of mind, strength of character and high spirit which alone can make an efficient and inspiring teacher of youth will care to enter Class II of the service, or remain contented and put forth his best efforts when once in this Class. Practically the entire work of Class teaching in our colleges is done by Indian graduates and the general quality of the teaching in a college depends entirely upon the initial qualifications of the Indian professors recruited and the spirit in which they do their work. If truly first-rate Indians are recruited in sufficient number and, by being given an honourable status in the eyes of their pupils and a fair field of promotion irrespective of colour, are induced to do

their best, then the happiest success will be achieved in transplanting European knowledge to India. But Lord Islington has reduced the number of Indians in Class II from 385 to 321 and made them form "a lower service occupying a position inferior to that of the higher (or European) one" (p. 19), in order to enlarge the number and raise above comparison the status of the European branch (Class I). The result will be that fewer and worse Indians would be available for the P.E.S. than even now and the bulk of the teaching work will have to be done by cheap *subordinate* service teachers on Rs. 100 or Rs. 125 a month.

By reducing the strength of the I.E.S. to 90, as suggested by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim (p. 458),—against 264 as proposed by Lord Islington,—money would be found for engaging the very best Indian talent in sufficient number and expanding our State aided colleges easily, cheaply, and at the same time most efficiently.

(c) By the deliberate lowering of the status of the Indian professors and keeping them in subordinate positions for years and years before any of them (only 8 p.c. of the total) can be promoted to the higher branch of the service and placed in offices of command, all spirit would be crushed out of them. They would then be too old and too "obedient" to do credit to the race they represent or do justice to the high chairs they are asked to fill. Such promotions would come as a matter of favour, and their inevitable effect would be to encourage the arts of the "courtier" and effusive "loyalty" among the Indian professoriate, while men with stiff backbone would pine in the cold shade of official neglect and supersession. A secret police dossier will have to be kept of every professor to judge whether he is a "safe" man or too independent for a native of a tropical dependency. We shall have the administrative methods of the second French Empire transferred to India.

## SECTION VI

### Islington's Arguments for Racial Favour Examined

(a) The majority report asserts that "as English education is in its initial stages, the European element in the staff should be substantial, viz., three fourths" (p. 97). Now, as the first English college staffed entirely by Europeans was established at

Calcutta nearly a century ago and our first three Universities, conducted entirely by Europeans, have now been at work for 60 years, Lord Islington and his friends have left us in doubt as to how many more centuries must elapse before the infancy of English education in India will be over and European academic tutelage will be unnecessary.

(b) The majority justify the distinction in pay and status between European and Indian professors on the ground that the European branch (I.E.S.) is a *corps d'élite*, while the Indian branch (P.E.S.) has been "opened to officers with ordinary educational qualifications" (p. 94).

An examination of the facts shows that the epithet bestowed here on the European service is a "terminological inexactitude." The Hon'ble Education Member of the Government of India placed before the Legislature, (8th September, 1914) a return showing that in the two years ending with that date 46 members had been added to the I.E.S., out of whom only 31 were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and that out of these 31, only

8	were	First class	Honours men
12	"	Second	"
6	"	Third	"

1 was a Fourth, Honours man and 4 were ordinary 'Poll' B.A.'s,—while the other 15 recruits were mostly graduates of the Irish, Welsh or provincial universities.

In the 21 months preceding September 1912, 35 officers had been appointed to this branch, of whom only 2 were first class and 7 second Class Oxford or Cambridge Honours men, while the remaining 26 had lower qualifications or belonged to cheap provincial Universities of the British Isles.

It will be clear from the above figures that a body whose latest constitution includes only 12 p.c. First Class Honours men cannot be called *First Class* (as designated by the majority) in the academic sense of the term, but only in the Anglo-Indian official sense. Nor are these European officers likely to rectify their low class degree by producing original research, as the majority of the commissioners have expressly absolved them from any such duty. They will therefore, constitute a *corps d'élite* only in the sense that, for reasons of political expediency they have been given the highest position and status, positions of

from the beginning of their service and a monopoly of the headship of Government Colleges and Directorships of Education

	Average monthly pay	Highest ordinary pay	Highest pay in select on grade	Proportion of selection posts to total cadre
	Rs	Rs	Rs	
Class I (Europeans)	970	1 0	2 50	22½ p c
Class I (Indians)	334	300	00	10

But if the Provincial Education service today contains a proportion of officers with ordinary qualifications it is the inevitable consequence of doing things very cheaply where the Indians are concerned which Government has followed in the past. While every European joined on Rs 500 and rose by annual increments of Rs 50 to Rs 1000 or even higher the Director of Public Instruction Bengal Behar and Orissa issued a letter (No T 661 dated 19th July 1907) by which no Indian was to be directly recruited as a professor or a member of even the lower educational service (P. E. S.) but every Indian college lecturer was to be first engaged as a member of the lowest possible service (*Subordinate Educational Service*) on only Rs 125 a month kept there for an indefinite and long period of probation and thereafter if his superiors were so pleased promoted to the Provincial Service on Rs 200 only.

Contrast this meagrely treatment and uncertain prospects of our best scholars with the lavish expenditure on European officers: every *ordinary* European lecturer joins on Rs 500 a month and gets an assured increment of Rs 50 a month even during his two years of probation after two years he must be told whether he will be confirmed or rejected (Not a single European probationer has been rejected during the last 30 years.) When Government has required a *specialist* learned European it has freely offered him an initial pay far above that of the ordinary I. E. S. men. For instance Messrs H. R. James and A. I. Hallward and Dr I. D. Koss were recruited on Rs 800 and Mr W. O. Smith (a Cambridge First Class Honours man but no postgraduate research scholar) on Rs 750 to start with and they rose in only 5 years to Rs 1000 a month.

The only way to secure the best Indian graduates is similarly to give them a

proper salary a status consistent with their self respect clearly defined prospects and a known period of probation

## SECTION VII The True Reform

The majority of the Commissioners have held that 585 posts are required for the work (above the subordinate service level) to be done in our Education Department and that out of these

34 p c must be reserved for Europeans  
11 p c may be held by Indians

45 p c forming *Class I* or posts of command on very high salaries, while  
55 p c forming *Class II* would be held by Indians in perpetual subordination to and one third of the pay of Europeans

The injustice cost and demoralising effect of these proposals have been demonstrated above. We now unfold our scheme which agrees substantially with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1886 the recorded opinion of Messrs Gokhale and Abdur Rahim and the views of the representative P. E. S. witnesses for Bengal and Bihar (the two experienced professors of European reputation named by Mr Rahim on page 157). It is this: (i) *Specialist branch or corps d'élite*—100 posts on Rs 1000 to 1500.

Europeans should be recruited not as a matter of rule but as an exception i.e. only when no qualified Indian is available. These specialists should be men of some age and established reputation in European seats of learning or educational organisations who have already given proof of their capacity. They would fill chairs of research certain professorships of science and a fixed proportion of principalships and chief inspectorships. They should be given high or professional pay. Select Indians would be eligible for admission to this class by promotion after gaining experience and proving their capacity in India.

(ii) *Ordinary branch*—485 officers on Rs 250 to 1000 should be almost entirely Indian and include all the lecturers (other than the specialists and subordinate service assistants or tutors) inspectors and principals not included in (i), and for some years to come a small number of younger European recruits. These Euro-

peans should not, as now, be employed as perpetual college lecturers but should be considered as going through a long practical training in India with a view to ultimate promotion to the *specialist* branch, if found worthy.

(iv) The Indians and Europeans in the *Ordinary branch* should form one service with time scale salaries ranging from Rs 250 to Rs 700 for all, and 20 p c selection posts, with salaries rising from Rs 700 to Rs 1000. Europeans would draw an overseas allowance of 50 p c in addition to their pay.

(v) The total number of Europeans to be recruited should, for the present, be one sixth or 97 out of 585. The remaining 488 posts should be held by Indians.

(vi) Indians who have done any striking piece of original work or shown conspicuous success in teaching and influencing their boys or great organising and administrative capacity, as well as the successful ones among the European probationers in the *Ordinary branch* should be promoted to the *Specialist branch*.

(vii) Indian recruits of the ordinary branch who have not been educated in Europe, will be on probation for one year and draw half pay during the time. Such of the recruits of the ordinary branch as have not been through a training college in India or Europe must either go to Europe for special post graduate studies or must attend a one year's course in the science of teaching in a training college in India or the post graduate pedagogics class of a University.

\* The majority report declares that no production of any striking original work and no professional standard of distinction as understood in Europe are expected in the members of Class I and that they are only to do teaching work as in the upper forms of an English secondary school (p. 90). But according to the same Report no member of Class II (beyond 8 p c of its cadre) can be promoted to Class I on the ground of his teaching experience or success in training and stimulating the minds of his pupils or administrative efficiency. To qualify for such promotion he must produce original work and obtain a widespread reputation (p. 90). It is therefore, evident that the standard demanded of the Indian aspirants to Class I is very much higher than that asked for from the European recruits to it and that the inevitable consequence of this proposal on the Indians would be to discourage honest teaching work, care of pupils, and devotion to college duties and college life and foster the expenditure of one's entire spare time and energy on private research and the selfish pursuit of a widespread reputation.

Training colleges of an advanced type should be multiplied in India in the immediate future and a course of advanced pedagogics, subsequent to the B A degree, opened at our three chief Universities.

Such a scheme would remove all reasonable discontent among the Indian teachers (who naturally do the bulk of educational work in India) save Government from even the suspicion of injustice and greatly cheapen the educational machinery of India,—and at the same time, by offering the best Indian talent to the work of instructing our future citizens, and in consequence raise the efficiency and general intellectual level of our professorate, while European teachers as a class would escape the odium which they now rightly excite when raw youngmen among them come to India as mere college lecturers and are placed *ab initio* over the heads of veteran Indians doing equally good (often much better) work but drawing only one third of their remuneration.

This is the only statesmanly and abiding solution of the service question in Indian education. What Lord Islington has recommended is mere political tinkering.

## SECTION VIII

### The Secretary of State's Duty.

Let the Secretary of State for India choose between the two paths.

It is possible for him to reply to our pleadings as President Kruger did to an Uitlander deputation. You may protest as long as you please, I have got the guns. It is possible for him as a measure.

\* The arrangement which divides the staff of a college into two services I C S and P E S (newly labelled by Lord Islington as Classes I and II) has generated in the mind of many an educated Indian a sense of real grievance. The inevitable effect is that almost every European professor when he first enters upon the discharge of his duties starts at an obvious disadvantage and with a certain amount of prejudice against him. He is regarded by the students as a member of an unjustly favoured class. (3rd April 1916)

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji (late Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University)

W. W. Hornell Director of Public Instruction Bengal

Rev J. Mitchell Principal Wesleyan Mission College

H. C. Mahtta Principal City College

C. W. Peake Senior Professor, Pres

of state policy and by an exercise of political power, to continue the *colour line* in our highest seats of learning (which Lord Islington would intensify) But he should remember that in God's world this unnatural arrangement cannot last Every day that passes makes the Europe in domination of Indian education more morally indefensible and more financially unbearable Every day the Indians are improving in scholarship and proving their capacity while the European monopolists of the I.P.S. are showing such poor quality that Lord Islington has been constrained to admit Great difficulty is now being experienced in obtaining suitable recruits from Europe (p. 101)—though they are paid princely salaries for doing the work of upper form masters in England

He should remember too that there are in India many colleges and university chairs filled entirely by Indians who are giving the highest teaching year after year while in the colleges maintained by public taxation alone are Indians excluded from seats of authority and high emolument

And he should also remember the

example of Japan's success in imparting the highest European education by an almost exclusively non-European agency It is a blue book issued by the very Department of Education at Simla,—and not Mrs Besant's *New India* nor Arambinda Ghose's *Vande Mataram* that informs the Indian public that the "Japanese colleges drop their European teachers like hot potatoes Even a Right Hon. member of the British Cabinet cannot prevent the Indian people from thinking over these facts

And finally he should remember that the stars in their courses are fighting on the side of the Indian people, and no less certainly against modern race monopolists than against medieval dynasts To the power of that Time—and not to the influence of the *Times* the patron of the I.C.S. coterie,—we look for our salvation with a clear assurance of victory The Secretary of State can retard it, but no man can prevent it \*

VETUS

\* In writing this we have been greatly helped by having before us the opinions of several eminent Indian educationists

## THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO ARYANS — — —

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PRÉMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAI

### XII SECTION V

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE THEORY

**W**I should note first the objections to the general principles upon which the hypothesis is based and next those to the application of the hypothesis to India

*General objections —*

#### Re PRIORITY OF MAGIC TO RELIGION ON A PRIORI GROUNDS

A Magic according to Dr Frazer is prior to religion on a priori grounds.<sup>1</sup> The fundamental conception of religion viz of

superior personal agents able to direct favourably the course of nature in response to prayers is more complex than the basic notion of magic that the course of nature is subject in the last resort to impersonal forces, which can be turned to account by proper spells and ceremonies It is added that magic like religion deals also with spirits but treats them as inanimate agents, i.e. constrains instead of conciliating them as religion does.<sup>2</sup> I do not see how in view of this exposition of magic and religion, the latter is more complex than the former The conception of nature is common to both as also that of spirits.

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Frazer's remarks on this subject a. Sec III

<sup>2</sup> For the references to Dr Frazer's work see above

DR FRAZER'S DESCRIPTIONS OF MAGIC AND  
RELIGION ANALYSED

The course of nature is said to be variable in the one and uniform in the other. I fail to see how it is so. Had it been rigid, incapable of the slightest change, no spells could have altered it one way or the other. Thus in the ultimate analysis nature is somehow variable in magic. As to the propitiation or compulsion of the spirits, a religious man conciliates while a magician compels them. Conciliation implies a submissive attitude, while compulsion a domineering one. Thus the component elements of religion have either identical or corresponding elements in magic but have nothing in them that marks the former as more complex or later in origin than the latter.

## PUBLIC MAGIC ANALYSED

Besides another point that should be considered is that we are here primarily concerned with public magic, through which the magician rises to the throne. The practice of this magic requires in the magician much cleverness, intellectual capacity and power of swaying masses of people by various artful ways. Such magicians were not exceptions but are said to have been abundant in early societies. Is it probable that the savage should develop so much his intellectual faculties while remain utterly stunted in the speculative and spiritual instincts implied in religion?

RELIGION NEED NOT HAVE GROWN OUT OF  
THE INEFFECTUACITY OF MAGIC

Dr Frazer holds that religion has grown out of the inefficacy of magic. I do not make out why it should wait for its birth centuries until the savages have despaired of magic for judging from its constituents, we see that there is nothing in it that cannot take root in a savage mind as early as the conception of private magic.

## PROF R R MARETT'S VIEW

Prof Marett looks upon religion and magic as two forms of an originally one and indivisible social phenomenon. The primitive man had one institution which dealt with the supernatural, and had in it the germs of both magic and religion which were gradually differentiated. The priest and magician were originally one.<sup>1</sup>

## PROF D G BRINTON'S OPINION

'The principle, says Prof Brinton "at the basis of all religions and all superstitions is the same and the grossest rites of barbarism deserve the name of 'religion' just as much as the refined ceremonies of Christian churches. The aims of the worshipper may be selfish and sensuous, there may be an entire absence of ethical intention, his rites may be empty formalities and his creed immoral but this will be his religion all the same and we should not apply to it another name. The Parliament of Religions announced these elements as essential to the idea of religion viz, a belief in a god or gods in an immortal soul and in a divine government of the world. No mistake could be greater. Buddhism rejects every one of these items. Many religions have not admitted the existence of soul.'<sup>2</sup>

MR ANDREW LANG'S OPINION. THE PRACTICAL  
SIDE OF RELIGION NEED NOT LIE IN 'GIVE  
AND TAKE'

Religion according to Dr Frazer consists of two elements one theoretical and the other practical—a belief in the superior powers and an attempt to please them. The practical element he adds need not necessarily be rituals. It may be pure conduct alone. If so the belief may not express itself in the asking of desirable things from the spirits at all. The belief accompanied by a conduct influenced thereby may be enough for religion. Should the practical element consist in 'give and take—worldly good in exchange for religious practices—piety as

remarked by Mr W. W. Thomas in the former work that Dr Frazer's theory is based on a selection of facts and not on the whole body of beliefs and rites recorded as magical among which are many where no spirit is figure. Dr Frazer's position appears to be that such rites are relatively late and may be neglected in framing a definition of magic. It may be perfectly true that the idea of magic has been progressively extended but belief in transformation is also for Dr Frazer magical. This belief is certainly primitive yet sympathy will not explain as it should if Frazer's theory is correct. Frazer's method ignores the fact that magic like religion is an institution i.e., a product of society not of any single individual. There is no more reason to suppose that a child reared in isolation would develop any kind of magical practices than that it would invent for itself a religion but if this is the case, the association on account of magic can be true.

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica (11th ed. Vol. 17—"magic") also Marett's Anthropology, pp. 99 ff. It

<sup>2</sup> Brinton's Religions of Primitive Peoples" (American Lecture Series 1893) p. 27.

travellers have given of tribes without religion are either set down to misunderstanding, or are thought to be insufficient to invalidate the assertion that religion is a universal feature of savage life"<sup>1</sup> "It (religion) would seem to be a psychological necessity"<sup>2</sup>

MR LANG AND OTHERS OPPOSE DR FRAZER  
REGARDING ABSENCE OF RELIGION AMONG  
THE MODERN AUSTRALIAN SAVAGES

Regarding the existence of religion among the present Australian aborigines, Mr Lang inclines to the affirmative view.<sup>3</sup> He also adds that Dr Frazer ignores without giving reason the evidences of Mr Ridley, Mr Greenway, Mr Gason, Mr Hale, Mr Archdeacon Gunther, the Benedictines of Nursia, Mr Eyre, Mr Roth & Mr Langlois Parker.<sup>4</sup>

PROF F RATZEL

'Ethnography,' according to Prof Ratzel, "knows no race devoid of religion but only differences in the degree to which religious ideas are developed. Among some, these lie small and inconspicuous as in the germ or rather as the chrysalis while among others they have expanded in a splendid wealth of myths and legends."<sup>5</sup>

PROF D G BRINTON

Prof Brinton, whom we have quoted in another connexion, adds, 'The fact is that there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travellers which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form. The contrary of this has been asserted'... by H. Spencer, Sir John Lubbock, not from their own observation, but from the reports of travellers and missionaries. I speak advisedly when I say that every asser-

tion to this effect, when tested by careful examination has proved erroneous.'<sup>1</sup>

IMPORTANCE OF THE DEFINITION OF RELIGION IN  
THIS ENQUIRY

Dr Frazer states that amongst the lowest savages, magic is universally practised but religion is almost unknown, and turns for data to the Australian savages who are regarded as still in the most backward state.<sup>2</sup> In this enquiry, the definition of religion is of the vital importance. If too narrow, it will exclude those savage races who may be credited with a religion under a broader definition thereof. In order to find a religion among the Australian aborigines in the opinion of Mr Lang we need not widen its definition so much as to bring it under the same category as the fear of a child at the sight of a dark room, the feeling of a horse towards its master, or the baying of a dog to the moon which may have to be admitted under this widened definition as an act of worship.<sup>3</sup> If men believe," says he, "in a potent being, who originally made or manufactured the nature of things or most things, that is an idea so far religious that it satisfies,

1 Brinton's Religions of Primitive People, pp 30, 31

2 The quest on has been carefully examined by G. Roskoff in his work *Das Religionswesen der Rohesten Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1880). He conclusively refutes the assertions that tribes have been encountered without religion. Brinton, *op cit* p. 31, fn

3 Dr Frazer doubts the authenticity of the passage quoted by Hegel from Captain Parry's account for inductive confirmation of his view (G. pt. I, vol. I, Appendix). Dr Frazer has not been able to trace out the passage either in the English original or German translation of the Captain's work. The expression 'empirical mode of existence' appearing in it 'savours' says he, rather of the professor's lecture room than of the captain's quarter-deck. Hegel relies upon Captain Parry and Captain Ross. If Dr Frazer relies upon the philosopher, he should also like him rely upon what these travellers say. They state that "among other peoples (i.e., other than the Esquimaux) a mediation is already present" in the religion of course the Australians. This appears Dr Frazer's view of the almost universal absence of religion among them. If the travellers' remark be impeached as too general for their range of personal observations and hence erroneous, producing a corresponding error in Hegel in his reliance upon their wrong authority it is no wonder that he might err similarly in the more slippery field of speculation, where mistakes are more insidious and difficult to avoid.

3 See Lord Avebury's *On the Origin of Civilization* &c. (1907), p. 219.

1 Prof A. Menzies *History of Religion* (1892), p. 23

2 *Ibid.*, p. 24

3 Mr Andrew Lang says that Dr Frazer cites Mr Howitt, Mr Palmer, Mr Oldfield, Mr Dawson, and Mr Cameron, all of whom testify to the existence of native religion among the Australian aborigines, for points other than the one, where if their reports be correct they could invalidate his central theory.

4 Andrew Lang's *Magic and Religion*, pp. 55, 57

5 Prof F. Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (translated by A. J. Butler, 1896) p. 40. The above remarks have not been made without full knowledge of the Australian group of races including the Australians, Malays &c.

by the figment of a supernatural agent, the speculative faculty. Clearly, the belief in such a being is a germ whence may spring the ideas of duty towards and an affection for the being.<sup>1</sup> Again ancestor worship, belief in future life and some practices which are liable to be classed as magical but which should really form part of religion on account of the object of propitiation they subserve, are found among the Australian savages.<sup>2</sup> If these elements can make up religion, the Australians cannot be said to be without it.<sup>3</sup>

RELIGION OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE EXAMPLES  
CITED BY DR FRAZER

Dr Frazer has himself in one of his Australian examples given materials sufficient to bespeak religion among them from Mr Lang's standpoint. He says for instance, that among the tribes of Central Australia, the most important function of the headmen is to take charge of the *sacred stone house* usually a cleft in the rocks or a hole in the ground, where are deposited the *holy stones and sticks (churinga)* with which the souls of all the people, both living and dead, are apparently supposed to be in a manner bound up.

In his examples from other countries there are many such materials. In Malo, one of the New Hebrides, the highest nobility consists of persons who have *sacrificed a thousand little pigs to the souls of their ancestors*. A man of exalted rank is never opposed, because in him are supposed to dwell the souls of the ancient chiefs and all the spirits who preside over the tribe.<sup>4</sup> In New Britain, a ruling chief was always supposed to exercise *priestly functions, that is, has professed to be in constant communications with the tobarans (spirits)*.<sup>5</sup> Among the Masai of German East Africa, the chief is not so much a ruler as a *national saint or patriarch*.<sup>6</sup> The procedure of the rain making chief amongst the Bari of the Upper Nile consists in *praying to the dead ancestor which is religious* and other

rites which are magical.<sup>7</sup> In the Ossinin district in the Cameroons in Africa, if the chief happens to be also the *fetish-priest* among the Ekios, he has not only powerful influence in all *fetish matters (and most of the vital interests of the people are bound up with fetish worship)* but also wields a powerful authority.<sup>8</sup> The old head-chief of Etatu in S. Nigeria in Africa performed many rites but along with them *prayed to big deities* in order to make rain.<sup>9</sup> The king of the Matabels of S. Africa had *recourse to religion as well as magic for making rain*.<sup>10</sup> A successful medicine man among the wild tribe of the Malaya peninsula has the best prospect of being elected a chief, and in the vast majority of cases the priestly duties form an important part of a chief's work.<sup>11</sup>

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES NOT ABSOLUTELY  
FREE FROM RELIGION EVEN ACCORDING  
TO DR FRAZER'S OWN STANDARD

Dr Frazer's position is that the Australian savages lowest as they are in the scale of civilisation, are almost free from religion. All other savages being higher in the scale have religion though it may be mixed with magic. But the Australians are not entirely free from it even according to his own standard of religion.

MORE EVIDENCES OF RELIGION WILL BE  
FORTHCOMING IF THE ABOVE STANDARD  
BE A LITTLE ALTERED

If this standard be a little altered as Mr Lang suggests, it would not be difficult to find evidences of religion among the very savages whom Dr Frazer described as almost free.

MR CAMERON'S TESTIMONY

Mr. Cameron, quoted by Mr Lang, says, for instance, "As to religion, ghosts of the dead are believed to visit the earth and to be frequently seen.—The people of all these tribes appear to have a belief in a Deity and in a future state of some kind. The Wathi Wathi call this being Thathapali, the Ta Ta thi call him Tulong.—The being is

1 Andrew Lang's Magic and Religion, p 48

2 Ibid, pp 49-51

3 The evidences adduced by Dr Frazer in his "Totemism and Exogamy," vol I, pp 141-153 in support of his opinion do not appear to carry his point farther than those of the Golden Bough vol I

4 G. Pt I, vol I, p 339

5 Ibid, p 350

6 Ibid, p 343

7 G. Pt I, vol I p 347 Here Dr Frazer himself says that religion is combined with magic in the function

2 Ibid, p 349

3 Ibid, p 349

4 Ibid p 351

5 Ibid, p 360.

6 Andrew Lang's Magic and Religion pp. 70-71



mind are towards clothing anything extraordinary in a supernatural garb it is only natural, that the savage subjects of the king would attribute to him many extraordinary qualities in direct ratio to the nature and number of sterling attributes of mind and physique actually possessed by him. Royalty is itself awe inspiring and can perhaps without any other aid set the savage mind a working towards the attribution to it of the supernatural qualities. In view of this it is not correct to infer from the magical functions and supposed supernatural powers of the kings of the present savage societies (and even of many modern civilised societies as Dr Frazer has done) that they or their ancestors in the past must have been public magicians who through their profession had acquired the crown. It may be objected that many of the very qualities and functions of the public magician are associated with the royal office e.g. rain making driving away storm, enemies, etc. from which it is justifiable to draw Dr Frazer's inference. The answer is to be found in the fact that the qualities and functions are by their nature associated with the public welfare, and the remedies are also by their character such as can and should be naturally expected by the people from the sovereign. If famine or pestilence decimates the land crops wither for drought or rot for excess of rain external or internal enemies cause havoc in the country, or such other calamities befall the people, they would naturally seek for panacea from the head of the land. The latter would try his best to satisfy the subjects and would have recourse to means of all sorts and as the supernatural means were believed both by the prince and the peasant to be a potent one it is no wonder that the sovereign might himself endeavour to remove the evils. As it very often happens in these matters, the people mark when the remedy hits but pass it when it misses. If by a coincidence the king is successful in the eye of his subjects his previous modicum of supernatural qualities receives confirmation and fresh accessions by leaps and bounds. The king may, thus, without being a public magician

acquire the above supernatural attributes. The functions of the public magicians who appeared later may have been but subsequent borrowings of these attributes, which offered to the practitioners a fruitful prospect of earning a decent livelihood accompanied by public influence and power. According to this view, the magicians launched on their career of public usefulness by imitation of the functions and qualities of the king who had first shown the way.

#### SECOND POSSIBILITY

There is also a second possibility. The king might have acquired the throne in ways other than through public magic, while the magicians might have developed their functions independently of the king and then there was a gradual transference of the magician's attributes to the king.

#### THIRD POSSIBILITY

According to a third possibility, the king might have attained to his position as described in the previous cases, and both he and the magicians might have developed some supernatural qualities of public utility independently of each other, which by gradual inter transference might have become common to both later on.

THE SUPERNATURAL ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS OF MODERN KINGS CANNOT THEREFORE BE INDUBITABLY IMPUTED TO PUBLIC MAGIC AS THEIR ONLY ORIGIN

In modern societies we may meet with supernatural attributes of sovereigns but before imputing them to the only origin that the sovereigns or their first ancestors were magicians we should make sure by indubitable proofs that the other three origins just mentioned were not responsible therefor.

THE EVIDENTIARY VALUE OF THE SECOND GROUP OF INSTANCES NIL

In the light of these possibilities the value of the second group of instances reduces to nil.

(To be continued)

## THE HOT-HOUSE CULTURE OF IMPERIALISM IN SCHOOLS

SIR Harcourt Butler, Lieutenant Governor of Burma, recently appointed a committee to "ascertain and advise how the imperial idea may be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma." The Committee have formulated their recommendations and drawn up a report. The Committee are anxious to teach the Burmese school boy, "as a citizen of Empire that his liberty and prosperity depend upon the maintenance of the Imperial connection." This the Government of Burma propose to do by the following means

- (i) The widest possible distribution of portraits of their Majesties and the Royal Family
- (ii) The provision of Union Jacks for all schools with instruction concerning the Union Jack flag drill and action songs with flags lessons in saluting the flag and the hoisting of the flag on Imperial anniversaries
- (iii) The special celebration of Empire Day commencing with parades and loyal speeches followed by fetes tournaments visits to museums zoological gardens interesting places or monuments waterfalls or objects of natural beauty
- (iv) Celebrations of special occasions such as the King's and Queen's Birthdays Durbar Day and other suitable historical anniversaries
- (v) The introduction of items of imperial significance in such functions as speech days opening days prize givings, and other school and college events
- (vi) Cinema or magic lantern exhibitions of royal processions incidents in royal public and private life, Imperial events State ceremonies the Army and Navy and the leading centres of the Empire
- (vii) Visits when possible to places of interest parades of reviews of troops docks and ships (especially warships)
- (viii) The teaching of songs and poems inculcating the Imperial spirit love of country or other patriotic motives a competition with suitable rewards to endeavour to obtain a national song suitable for Burma as part of the Empire
- (ix) History geography and reading lessons on the structure growth extent importance and meaning of the Empire and the relation of Burma to the Empire
- (x) Systematic lectures by teachers and lecturers on various aspects of the Empire and the Imperial idea
- (xi) The preparation of suitable text books
- (xii) The performance of patriotic plays especially those touching on events in Imperial and Burmese history

After laying down these first principles the "Imperial Idea" Committee proceed to make one hundred and one recommendations to give effect to their scheme. These

recommendations are of various kinds, from regulating the size of the Union Jack in accordance with the type of school, to drawing up a manual of civics.

Among the hundred and one recommendations is the significant one that "special knowledge of India is unnecessary in the high departments of vernacular schools."

[In this connection our readers will remember the proposal of Mr. Alleyne in his *Problems of Tropical Administration* that Burma should be separated from British India, and joined to the Malay Peninsula to form a separate Mongolian dependency—as a counterpoise to the Aryan agitators of India, exactly in the same way as the Austrian empire used the Czech population against the political aspirations of the Hungarians.]

Sir H. Butler's Committee do not think the Boy Scout Movement and Volunteering suitable for Burmese boys, though they recommend to the local Government the grant of commissions in the *Military Police* to such cadets in the schools as may 'have proved their efficiency both as cadets and leaders of boys.' But the worst thing about the inculcation of this Imperial idea in education is the evident determination of the Committee to have the whole show of education in Burma run by Imperial British stage managers. The following recommendations will give our readers a glimpse of how Sir Harcourt Butler wants the Burmese boys to acquire an imperial idea.

(6) In all aided Anglo Vernacular High Schools the Superintendent or Head Master should be of British nationality and of a status equivalent to that of an officer in the Indian Educational Service.

(7) In all Government Anglo Vernacular High Schools the Principals should eventually be officers in the Indian Educational Service.

(8) In all European schools the Head Master (or mistress) should be a native of the British Isles or the British Colonies or an Anglo-Indian trained in the United Kingdom.

(12) The chairs in the Burma University connected with Imperial studies e.g., civics, history geography and economics should for the most part be held by men of British descent trained in a British University. There is however no reason why these chairs should not be ultimately filled by Burmans [Query After how many centuries?]

wofully ignorant of things Chinese, we might say of things Asiatic Japan, of course, is an exception, because she forced the westerner to pay more heed to her.

The great poets and novelists of England have never taken China for a background, neither have they tried to interpret Chinese thought and life. European writers, with a few honorable exceptions, have the knack of drawing distorted pictures of Asiatic peoples and of heaping ridicule upon their heads without having any personal intimate knowledge of them.

In the course of a sympathetic article in the *Asiatic Review* for May, G Currie Martin tries to show that "English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge of things Chinese, for there has existed for centuries in their own language very excellent accounts of that land, and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by its inhabitants."

Hakluyt, for example gives a picturesque dialogue printed at Macao in 1590 which presents a wonderfully accurate picture of China as then known and many of the names in their quaint spelling are perfectly recognizable. It consists of fifteen provinces, we are told, among those on the coast being Coastum, Poqueu, Chequian, Nanquin, Xantum, and Paquin, while among the inland ones are Xensi, Xansi, Suchu, on, and Junan. The Chinese Wall is described for us, and we are also told how densely populated is all the land. The distinction between what the author terms *fu*, *chen*, and *hsen* towns is clearly given. The soil is described as fertile, the air wholesome and the whole kingdom at peace. Great stores of silver, gold, silk, spices, cotton, and porcelain are everywhere to be found. The system of graduation is explained, the love of literature, the method of Government postal arrangements, and the variety of religions.

As we turn over the pages we find in Gaspar da Cruz a 'Treatise on China' a wonderfully fascinating picture of Canton. It is possessed of very strong walls very well made and of a good height and to the sight they seem almost new, being 1800 years since they were made, as the Chinese did affirm. They are very clean, without any cleft, hole or rift or any thing threatening rents. All the streets and traverses are well paved, the pavements going along the houses (whatever that may mean) and lower in the middle for the course of water. The principal streets were 'crystal, smooth, white, like to new snow, high, and very well made which make the streets very beautiful and ennobles the city.

The houses of the common people in the outward show are not commonly very fair, but within are much to be admired.

The traveller is a native of Portugal, and notes that the poverty is not so great as in his own country, nor the conditions of the worker so trying. 'Idle people,' he affirms, 'be much abhorred in this country.'

He has great admiration for the Chinese carrying 'The chairs have a little window in each side, with a net made of ivory or of bone or of

wood, through the which they that go within doe see on the one side and on the other of the street without being seen.

There are infinite swine, which is the flesh they most love—that it may weigh more they fill it first with meat and drink, and the hens to make them weigh the more they fill them likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things." The modern method of incubators, he asserts, was not unknown to the Chinese poultry farmer.

He is greatly interested in their method of rearing ducks and has quite a pleasing picture of the daily scenes, as well as a description of the wild fowl.

He saw the method of fishing with cormorants, which he accurately describes.

Apparently, Chinese roadways at that period were superior to those of Europe. To me there was always a poetry in these paved ways of China, which count less multitudes had trodden. They had something of the marvel of the Roman roads, but one felt they were not made primarily for military purposes, but for trade and peaceful intercourse. This is how our author describes them.

In all the mountains and hills where there are ways they are very well made, cut with the pick axe, and paved where they are needful. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very general in every place of it. Many hills are cut in steps very well made.

Robert Burton, with his massive learning has many shrewd references to China in his *Anatomy*. He praises them for not allowing many bachelors to live in their midst. He quotes the Jesuit father Rucius (apparently his main authority) on 'that flourishing Commonwealth of China. He is full of admiration of their method of choosing magistrates.

Out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates their public Nobles are taken from such as *be moriahter nobles* virtuous noble, *nobilitas et olim ab officio, non a natura*, as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their Country in war and peace, not to hawk hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their Loysu, Mandarin, literati, licentiate, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state.

Later in the seventeenth century we have Sir Thomas Browne writing. The Chinese, who live at the bounds of the earth who have admitted little communication and suffered successive incursions from one nation, may possibly give account of a very ancient language, but consisting of many nations and tongues, confusion admixture, and corruption in length of time might probably so have crept in, as, without the virtue of a common character and lasting letter of things they could never probably make out those strange memorials which they pretend, while they still make use of the works of Christ and in a series ascend as high as Ponceus (P an hu), who is conceived our Noah.

John Milton did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic *Oliver*. Goldsmith made a gracious and imaginative use of his knowledge of China. Daniel Defoe, in his famous book *Robinson Crusoe*, writes of the Chinese in a very insular and parochial spirit. In Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* there are several references

to China. In Carlyle's *Heroes* we find him sympathizing with Chinese methods. De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China, which is full of the most atrocious misstatements and prejudices. A marvellous picture of the Celestial Empire has been given in the volume of poems entitled *Towards Democracy* by Edward Carpenter. It was written in the year 1900. Here are some of the passages:

"Far in the interior of China,  
Along low lying plains and great rivers, valleys,  
and by lake sides, and far away up into hilly  
and even mountainous regions,  
Behold! an immense population, rooted in the  
land, rooted in the clan and family  
The most productive and stable on the whole  
Earth

A garden, one might say—a land of rich and re-  
cherche crops of rice and tea, and silk, and  
sugar, and cotton and oranges,

Do you see it?—stretching away endlessly over  
river lines and lakes, and the gentle undulations  
of the lowlands, and up the escarpments of the  
higher hills,

The innumerable patchwork of cultivation, the  
pogrant verdure of the young rice, the sombre  
green of orange groves, the lines of tea shrubs,  
well hoed and showing the bare earth beneath,  
the pollard mulberries, the plots of cotton and  
maize and wheat, and yam and clover,

The little brown and green tiled cottages with  
spreading recurved eaves, the clumps of sea  
thery bamboo, or of sugarcane,

The endless silver threads of irrigation-canals and  
ditches slithering the hills for scores and hun-  
dreds of miles, tier above tier, and serpentine  
down to the lower slopes and plains,

The endless hills and cascades flowing into pockets  
and hollows of verdure, and on fields of steep  
and plain,

The bits of rock and wild wood left here and there,  
with the angles of Buddhist temples projecting  
from among the trees

The azalea and rhododendron bushes, and the wild  
deer and pheasants unharmed,

The sounds of music and the gong—the Sinfu sung at  
even-tide—and the air of contentment and peace  
pervading,

A garden you might call the land, for its wealth of  
crops and flowers,

A town almost for its population "

The poet then goes on to describe its  
condition, "rooted in the family," touched  
but lightly by Government and by reli-  
gious theorizing

"By the way of abject common sense they have  
sought the gates of Paradise and to found on  
human soul their City Celestial "

Then he concludes.

"And this is an outline of the nation which the  
Western nations would fain remodel on their  
own lines

The pyramids standing on their own apexes want-  
ing to overturn the pyramid which rests four-  
square on its base "

### Islam and the Negro

In the *Islamic Review* for June, Abdul  
Karim (D E Gwira) asserts that Islam  
is the only religion for the Negro as the  
Great Democratic Brotherhood which is  
the essence, the acme of the Faith, is innate  
and latent in every Negro.

Islam is not merely a religion but is also—and this  
is one of its proudest boasts—a great social system,  
the religious, political, and social elements are literally  
one and inseparable. In countries where Islam is  
supreme it is fairly just to attribute observed results  
to Islam itself as cause in other words in the world  
of Islam religion does work directly

Evidence is not wanting to show that  
the Negro has prospered under Islam but  
not under Christianity. Dr. Schabas, in his  
work the *Glances of the Ages*, compares  
the Negro under Muhammadan culture and  
under Christian culture. Says he

As representing the great Muhammadan States of  
the Soudan, the Arabic and Moorish cultures dis-  
played by Muhammadan Mandingoes in the greater  
size of their towns or cities, their larger and better  
furnished dwellings, their workmanship in gold, the  
preparation and uses of leather, their knowledge of  
letters, and their better organized political system,  
being superior to the purely pagan Mandingo section,  
prove the ability of the African to assimilate a higher  
culture. But the culture here assimilated is far less  
complex than that presented in the West of Europe,  
as well as by North America. The Ethiopian race  
dwelling in the New World numbers possibly some  
fourteen millions. Of these, the greater part, between  
ten and eleven millions, are in the United States.  
This majority the members of which are now citizens  
of the Great Republic, began its career in that land,  
as is so well known, not as freemen but as slaves. As  
slaves they passed two and half centuries under a  
system wherein all that is vile, base, and brutish in  
human nature found its fullest fruition. And when  
at the close of that epoch of agony and horror—an  
epoch of mental, moral, and physical mutilation—their  
shackles were removed, they were in a condition of  
abject poverty and gross ignorance in that condition  
they were in a large measure required to educate and  
entirely to support themselves, as well as to discharge  
their duties as citizens of the Commonwealth. Nor is  
this all, for there has existed a conspiracy, begotten  
of fear, of disappointment, of jealousy, of implacable  
hate, that has fabricated or exaggerated crimes which  
it has imputed to the coloured citizens and which, in  
order to defame them, it has circulated throughout  
the world. A conspiracy that intimidated and ostraci-  
zied them; a conspiracy which by means of violence  
has excluded the majority of coloured citizens from  
enjoying the highest privilege of citizenship, a conspi-  
racy that has heaped upon these citizens humiliation  
of every description, and by every kind of obstructive  
and oppressive tactics that fiendish ingenuity can in-  
vent, even to murder, has striven ever since the eman-  
cipation to secure their overthrow and ensure their  
ruin "

A thoughtful article appearing in the *Times* of London deals with the nature and genesis of

### Revolutions

in which occurs the following

There is the merely destructive revolution and there is also the creative. There are dynastic and national revolutions. Some are merely local, others, the outcome of infectious ideas, pass with incredible rapidity from country to country. Some are the manifest results of long accumulated explosive forces. Others seem to be due to unaccountable impulses, the causes are too obscure or too complex to be always understood even by the prime movers, themselves the instruments of forces of which they are not conscious. There is the revolution if such it can be called which is only a conspiracy or intrigue on a large scale, a mere change of names and persons, the seizing of places and power as so much booty, a sordid transaction the essential vulgarity and meanness of which may be hidden by the drapery of fine phrases and the mimicry of patriotic motives. Some revolutions—and it is the type with which the old world has been most familiar—touch only the Constitutions of the countries which experience them. Political forms are changed, new parties acquire ascendancy, a new policy at home and abroad may appear to be initiated. But the spirit of the Government, in the long run its conduct, may remain much the same. Then, too, there are revolutions which are significant of the loss of political capacity in the governing classes, due to instability to the absence of self-sacrifice to the self-seeking of factions, and to the personal ambition of party leaders. Wholly unlike these changes is the true revolution arising from consciousness and assertion. It may be for the first time of national life, the collective will expressing itself as it never before has done, and a displacement of the center of political power—in the language of jurists a new sovereignty. This is not the disintegration of decay, but rather a new birth. A fresh nation, though retaining many of its ancient forms and names, has come into the world.

Some incidents—the unpopularity of a ruler or of his entourage, a maladroit act or word offensive to the nation, any sign of complexity or sympathy with its foes—communicate an electric spark to long-stored combustibles, and there is an explosion. It follows that just as a small incident may bring about a revolution, another slight incident may retard or avert it for a time. What the historians and political philosophers who make much of such slight incidents generally fail to realize is that the true revolution, such as that which has just overthrown a powerful autocracy, is preceded and rendered possible by a revolution within the body of the people, once subversive or even torpid, a revolution it may be gradual and imperceptible. The true significance of what has happened with almost universal approbation in Russia is that in every town in almost every household there has been entering new light. The old Government has fallen because the people have changed, and for many reasons. Economic influences which dwellers in the most remote parts of Russia could not escape, have reached the moujik; and even to him, who reads little, have come new desires and ideas in vague form, and a spirit of restlessness. In the official classes there have been sharp conflicts—Tolstoy and Dostoevsky have depicted them—between the old spirit and the new. A mental revolution must have been going on, to what extent these last marvellous days show,

even in the soldiery and the parts of it least susceptible, one would have conjectured, to democratic influences.

All revolutions have certain common features, and the likeness between that in Petrograd today and that in Paris about a century and a quarter ago has struck everyone. Rasputin has been the Cagliostro of the drama, and there seem to have been the representatives of the well-intentioned Louis XVI and the pathetic figure of Marie Antoinette. But what so far distinguishes the Petrograd revolution from so many of its predecessors is a spirit of moderation, the exercise of discipline in tumultuous and trying circumstances, the absence or presence in only a slight degree, of that intolerance and class hatred which have been the usual accompaniment of revolutions. Here among a highly emotional people, with unexampled rapidity, the old order is overturned with only a short period of confusion and with few outbursts of sanguinary passion; and we do not know which is more to be honored, the moderation of the addresses of the new provisional rulers or the words in which the Tsar lays down his sceptre, words sure to stand out in history as the lofty expression of a noble nature bowing to transcendent adversity.

There are many lessons to be deduced from the drama enacted before our eyes, but none more pertinent or containing more truth than that which the earliest of political philosophers taught, that the more restricted are the functions of kings the longer will they last unimpaired. The impact of revolutionary forces is great, it may be irresistible, when they strike full against unyielding privileges and a solid wall of authority. They may break harmlessly on institutions which less resist than direct them.

Upon one fact all students of revolutions have dwelt—they are swift in their action and they are contagious. No quarantine can prevent their affecting neighboring countries where like circumstances exist, and the greater the similarity the greater the danger of their spreading. The Epic Poet of the French Revolution, describing its resistless progress, tells us how, in spite of all remedies 'in all quarters and places, from Paris onward to the remotest hamlet is infection, is additional contagion, inhaled, propagated by contact and converse, till the duldest soldiers catch it. And so it will be in these times.

### English and the Vernaculars

The commissioners comprising the Indian Public Services Commission admit that a sound knowledge of at least the principal local languages is necessary to the efficiency of India's administration. They further admit that the teaching of these languages should form a part of the probationary course of future civilians at the universities. But the admission is qualified. They say:

The Indian vernaculars have but a small and comparatively meagre literature, and have only recently become vehicles for literary expression. It is possible, therefore, that the university authorities will not regard them in their present state of development as suitable items of a university honours course. If so, we propose that they be treated separately, and that for the honours degree only the classical languages be considered.

J. D. Anderson writing in the *Cambridge*

Review admits the unfortunate fact that the universities of India itself do not regard Indian modern languages as fit subjects of academic study, or even as mediums for academic instruction. The writer also points out the great diversity of languages spoken in different parts of India and English supplies the need of a copious and flexible common speech. Doubtless the case for English is strong. But is there nothing to be said on the other side?

Latin killed the barbarous languages of ancient Europe, as a vigorous literary language will always supersede weaker speeches when it comes into touch with them. But English is not killing the modern languages of India. On the contrary, it has given them a new vigour and power of growth. We have introduced the printing press into India, with results known to most of us. Take Bengal alone. Most people, even in incursive Europe, know a part of Rabindranath Tagore's literary performance if only from his own translations of some of his lyrics. But he is one of the most copious of modern writers. He has written some fifty volumes of poetry, drama, fiction, criticism, and general essays. Even among the moderns are dozens and dozens of writers not less original in their way. Let me merely mention Akshay Kumar Dutta and Madhu Sudan Dutta and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Nabin Chandra Sen, and Harra Prasad Shastri (a favourite of the

late Professor E. B. Cowell), and Hem Chandra Bannerjee, and many others. All these, though their genius is indigenous, borrowed freely from Western methods of literary expression. So, no doubt, is it with the other great literary languages of modern India. English is not a substitute for these, not a chosen vehicle of literary expression. It is the common speech of commerce and politics of administration. It is the speech of those who realise that British rule has welded all the nations of India into one great administration in which naturally and properly they wish to have their share. But they do not on that account drop their own native tongues. If Europe (and India is as great in size and population as Europe without Russia) were under Chinese rule, we should all I suppose Anglo-Saxons, Latins, Teutons and Turks alike learn Chinese. But we English would not drop Shakespeare and Milton.

That is more or less the situation in India. Of 278 millions in British India, 134 millions have become marvellously bilingual. They crowd into all the new energies of westernized India and enjoy the amenities such as they are, of Anglo-Indian civilization. They serve as a buffer and a screen between the white administrator and the 278 millions and aim at superseding the administrator in question in due course. No one blames them for this natural and even laudable ambition. But the white administrator's business is to get at to understand to develop and educate the 278 millions who know no English.

To do this we must take the modern languages of India seriously. We might even call them Modern Languages. We might give them academical recognition here and in India.

## NOTES

### What is Democracy?

"Democracy," rightly observes the *Christian Register*, "is something more than a form of government, something more than the freedom people gain to govern themselves, something more than the levelling of privilege and the breaking down of ancient narrowness of prerogative."

The most impressive and fruitful part of democracy is its human economy. It brings all the resources of all people into what is far more than a melting pot. It utilizes the infinite possibilities of human nature. It enlarges the area of choice. It abolishes human waste. It discovers power which under the best conceivable order of society otherwise would be undiscovered. It develops creates what the most careful selection and culture could not bring to fruition. It is a natural order displacing artificial order and broadening to the full extent of human life. What makes it of such inspiring quality is not that it takes away superiorities and excellencies in abolishing their exclusiveness.

door of these superiorities to every human being. Democracy is universal human opportunity. It does not level downward but it does give entrance from every lower level to every higher level, so that the real levels in humanity shall be reached.

It is democracy which enables us to understand what equality means.

This shows what equality really is. It is not the spurious thing which, merely by claiming people can be credited with having. It is not the impossible thing which in loose discourse it appears to be. The only equality meant by democracy is every person's equal freedom to make of himself all that is possible.

It has been often observed that Abraham Lincoln saved the United States of America. That is true. But our American contemporary's interpretation of that historical fact shows great insight.

Lincoln saved this country, rather we should say that the democracy which made it possible for the country to have a Lincoln at its head saved the country. Justice saved France rather the democracy.

an army saved France Democracy alone makes saviors possible It is worth every sacrifice

### War Among Animals and Man.

The *American Journal of sociology* gives a summary of an article on war among animals and man which was contributed to the French Journal, *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, by J L de Lanessan The writer means to say

The Schopenhauers, Nietzsches, and Treitsches of Germany have laid the theoretical basis supporting the practical methods whereby the house of Hohenzollern having made Prussia supreme in Germany has pressed on to make Germany supreme in Europe They have replaced the former German idealism by a mystical materialism which the German people have accepted with the enthusiasm and held with the tenacity of a new gospel This transition was facilitated by the discovery of the Darwinian theory synchronous with the rise of the power of William I and Bismarck The doctrine that strength is the only virtue and weakness the only sin was apparently given the highest possible scientific standing The Darwinian theory of the struggle for life in its crudest and most extreme form has been relied upon to justify disdain of all generous sentiments contempt of all liberty, of both individuals and states and to glorify all means whatever their moral value which attain their end But this whole philosophy is in error Force is not the only factor nor even the most important one in evolution and when it takes the form of aggressive warfare it is unknown in nature All animals excepting man seek to satisfy natural physical desires only But human aggression has seldom been motivated by actual needs It has been a result of the ambition of rulers or ruling classes civil and religious It has retarded rather than advanced human progress In view of the predominant role played by intelligence co-operation, sympathy etc the burden of proof rests upon those who hold that warfare is an essential factor in the evolution of either animal or human groups

The gospel of force may have been elaborated and formulated in Germany, but it has been followed in practice, more or less, by all "strong" nations

### The Prison System of the Philippines

Walter H Dade writes in the *Delinquent* to the effect that the Prison System of the Philippines consists of five large prisons and about forty provincial and sub-provincial jails, which can hold altogether a population of about eight thousand

The prisoners are treated kindly and humanely They have reading matter of various kinds they can converse freely with one another, they have writing privileges medical attendance and inspection sports, games and other activities to relieve prison monotony The good prisoners who do industrial work share in the profits of the work The Iwagui Penal Colony contains one hundred thousand acres and to this place the best prisoners are sent They can send for their families or get married and live on a small plot which they cultivate The guards

are unarmed, and the prisoners wear civilian clothes When the prison term expires the erstwhile prisoner keeps all the accumulated property, except that he must reimburse the government for the actual expenses entailed Even a life term can by good conduct work his way out automatically in thirty years — *The American Journal of Sociology*

This seems to be a humane and reasonable method

### "The Real Cause of this World War"

*The Crisis*, an organ of the colored people of America, observes —

We trace the real cause of this world war to the despising of the darker races by the dominant groups of men, and the consequent fierce rivalry among European nations in their effort to use darker and backward people for purposes of selfish gain regardless of the ultimate good of the oppressed

### World wide Democracy the Basis of Permanent Peace.

The *Negro journal* observes —

We see permanent peace only in the extension of the principle of government by the consent of the governed, not simply among the smaller nations of Europe but among the natives of Asia and Africa, the Western Indies and the Negroes of the United States

### "The Great Hope for Ultimate Democracy."

It goes on to say —

Despite the unfortunate record of England, of Belgium, and of our own land in dealing with colored peoples we earnestly believe that the greatest hope for ultimate democracy, with no adventitious barriers of race and color lies on the side of the Allies with whom our country has become companion in arms In justification of this belief we point on the one hand to the splendid democracy of France the recent freeing of our fellow sufferers in Russia, and the slow but steady advance of principles of universal justice in the British Empire and in our own land, and on the other hand we point to the wretched record of Germany in Africa and her preachment of autocracy and race superiority

While not disputing the correctness of the facts stated above, we are of opinion that the cause of democracy is likely to be best served by no section of the world's ascendant peoples being allowed to feel that they are the absolute masters of mankind

### The Duty of the American Negroes

*The Crisis* lays down the duty of the American Negroes thus —

We, therefore earnestly urge our colored fellow citizens to join heartily in this fight for eventual world liberty we urge them to enlist in the army, to join in the pressing work of providing food supplies, to labor in all ways by hand and thought in increasing

the efficiency of our country. We urge this despite our deep sympathy with the reasonable and deep seated feeling of revolt among Negroes at the persistent insult and discrimination to which they are subject and will be subject even when they do their patriotic duty.

Let us, however, never forget that this country belongs to us even more than to those who lynch, disfranchise and segregate. As our country it rightly demands our whole hearted defense as well today as when with Crispus Attucks we fought for independence and with 200,000 black soldiers we helped hammer out our own freedom.

### Just Demands Cannot Wait

But it also asserts emphatically —

Absolute loyalty in arms and in civil duties need not for a moment lead us to abate our just complaints and just demands. Despite the gratuitous advice of the white friends who wish us to submit uncomplainingly to caste and peonage, and despite the more timid and complacent souls in our own ranks, we demand and of right ought to demand —

- 1 The right to serve our country on the battle field and to receive training for such service
- 2 The right of our best men to lead troops of their own race in battle and to receive officers' training in preparation for such leadership
- 3 The immediate stoppage of lynching
- 4 The right to vote for both men and women
- 5 Universal and free common school training
- 6 The abolition of Jim Crow cars
- 7 The repeal of segregation ordinances
- 8 Equal civil rights in all public institutions and movements

These are not minor matters. They are not matters that can wait. They are the least that self-respecting free modern men can have and live. In asking these rights we pretend to no extraordinary desert. We are ordinary men trained in ignorance, forced sometimes to crime, kept in poverty. Yet even so we have blazed a great red trail to freedom, stained with our blood and sweat and a proof of our earnestness. Modern political and social rights are not rewards of merit. They are measures of protection and prerequisites to uplift. The denial of them is death and that our enemies and some of our false friends well know.

Let our action, then, include unflinching loyalty to our country, unbounded effort toward realizing the larger, finer objects of this world battle of America and her allies simultaneous with this and in further, stronger determination to realize world peace and self-government, let us insist that neither the world nor America can be happy and democratic so long as twelve million Americans are lynched, disfranchised and insulted—so long as millions of other darker folk are exploited and killed.

In earnest confirmation of this thought and action we call on the twelve million Negro Americans to unite with us in a great and solemn festival beginning in August, 1919 which will be three hundred years after the permanent settlement of Negroes on the American mainland. On that occasion without exultation in the beginning of a shameful slavery but with thankfulness for the partial fall of its shackles let us meet and thank and rejoice and solemnly resolve on the threshold of our fourth century in America to go forward toward Freedom without hesitation or compromise.

Though in some respects the Negroes

are treated more harshly and cruelly than Indians in India, they have more political power than the people of India.

### "Union of Nation"

About the middle of May last, the following cablegram was sent from Boston, U. S. A. "Minister Viviani of France, in an address delivered in this city last evening, stated that he hoped to see a union of nations of the world to prevent a mad 'autocrat' from imperilling the welfare of the entire universe." Whereupon the *Philippine Review* rightly comments as follows —

Exactly what was actually meant by Minister Viviani by a union of nations we hesitate to construe. If it is a step towards avoidance by all nations in interest of further international outrages or the prevention of a mad autocrat from jeopardizing the welfare of the whole world, it should prove beneficial to all mankind and the idea can never be overpraised. But if it is confined to Europe alone, to the exclusion of Africa, the Near and Far East, and generally speaking of all other still non-independent or smaller or weaker countries, the materialization of this union would greatly change neither the present world status nor the danger which the powers concerned are confronted with. The principle open or underlying which in their own interest and for the balance of power in Europe, has prompted France, England and Russia together to fight Germany can hardly warrant this union. America's principle as enunciated by Wilson would more properly be the one to prompt it. The union as proposed cannot operate in behalf of a certain portion only of the universe. It should operate in behalf and for the good of the whole of mankind. For the latter's welfare does not admit of any division whatsoever. It is high time now for all the countries of the universe to enjoy the same rights and stay together on the same plane of living. The birth of this ideal is but the sequel of the successful efforts made by the French Revolution for the recognition of the equal rights of all men. Minister Viviani's ideas as to the union of nations can only be true if it would bring all countries of the world to the same higher plane of common life and life relations. If men have the right to be equal countries should also have that same right to be equal. We cannot conceive of any union of nations if it is only to mean union of nations to quell any very strong nation or the better subjugate the weaker ones. One of the blessings of the present war is the definition of the attitude more or less sincere, of world powers as to nations' respective rights to exist as free states, be they small or great. Belgium is impersonating in the present War the small countries of the world. If her merciless invasion by Germany has aroused the sincere indignation of the greater powers because she was weaker and if such step really was taken as a reliable indication of their readiness at any time to safeguard the rights of smaller countries just as they claim to be defending those of Belgium then the purpose is good. But if the attitude of the powers towards Belgium, England's supporting of Belgium is simply because her own country may have been imperilled by the invasion and occupation



of Belgium by Germany, then the hope of small countries lies on a sandy and slippery basis and its chance for materialisation can be but a conditional one. We therefore trust that Minister Viviani in alluding to this hoped for union of nations has sincerely meant the promotion of the welfare of the WHOLE UNIVERSE and that this welfare comprises also that of the smaller and still dependent countries. In this sense, the step would be one towards the equalization of peoples, similar to the equalization of men as proclaimed and attained by the French Revolution. May this forward move be a better future for the WHOLE OF MANKIND and may this be a chance for all countries and peoples of the world to be happy and independent, and for the designs of the stronger for the subjugation of the weaker to cease at once and forever for "the welfare of the entire universe. Fortunately, the presence of America in this possible union of nations is an assurance for us smaller countries.

### Superstitions and Democracy.

There are some queer people who think that we ought not to have political power until we have got rid of our superstitions, &c., the underlying assumption and suggestion being that free peoples are not superstitious. But that is not really so. For example, Mr. Lowther Peters writes in *Pedagogical Seminary* —

The difficulty of uprooting old beliefs is so great because they are usually incorporated or adapted by advancing culture. There is a persistency in human thought which is surprising. Many revolutionary movements have taken place but we have never been able to get rid of our past. A study of 300 girls of good American families, between seventeen and twenty one years of age reveals that the following taboos and mental obsessions actually and frequently influence their conduct. (1) A silent wish made in passing a load of hay, or a pibald horse will come true if you do not meet either one on the same day. (2) To pick up a pin means good luck for the day. (3) To open an umbrella in the house means trouble. (4) To put flowers on bed means a funeral. (5) Never tell a dream or sing a song before breakfast. (6) To spill salt at the table or to leave a pair of scissors open means a quarrel. (7) Give for every pointed gift a penny in return in order to preserve the friendship. (8) Tap on wood when boasting. There is also a widespread and firm belief in the unluckiness of 13, in 'lucky' or 'unlucky' days, in mascots, in Fate, 'Destiny,' 'Guardian Angels' or in 'perfect Jonahs' — *The American Journal of Sociology*

### Dominion Statesmen and "the Indian Representatives".

In the course of a note on "India and the Dominions", the *Review of Reviews* writes in its editorial section entitled "Progress of the World" —

'We all know that the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference won the golden opinions of their colleagues, from the unanimous vote passed by the Dominion representatives recommending India a representation at all future Imperial Conferences. The Prime Minister paid them tribute in the House of

Commons, and announced that India would be represented in the Imperial War Cabinets that were to be held.

*The Review* then asks —

The question is: How did the Dominion statesmen impress the Indian representatives? Sir S. P. Sinha assures us that the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meeson and he, have been much struck by the cordiality and broadmindedness with which they have been received. "If autonomy within the Empire," said he, "was in the gift of the self-governing Dominions, I am sure that India would not have to wait very long. That does not sound as if the Dominions want to rule India—as many Indians fear."

Sir S. P. Sinha assured the *Review of Reviews*, that is to say, some one representing that very useful periodical, "If autonomy within the empire was in the gift of the self-governing Dominions, I am sure that India would not have to wait very long." In the apocryphal story told by Mr. A. N. Chaudhuri at a Calcutta Home Rule League meeting Sir R. Borden, Canadian Premier, is reported to have told Sir S. P. Sinha, "you ought to get self-government this evening." Even anti Home-Rulers will find that there is some resemblance between what Sir S. P. Sinha is reported to have said in England and the words put in the mouth of Sir R. Borden in Mr. Chaudhuri's story. Until S. P. Sinha contradicts the *Review of Reviews*, we may be permitted to believe that, though Mr. Chaudhuri's story must not be held to be correct *literally and in its historical setting*, it did convey a generally correct impression of the attitude of some colonial statesmen towards India as indicated in the presence of Sir S. P. Sinha and the other delegates.

But we must tell our countrymen not to put too much trust in the words of statesmen.

### Indians and the Defence Force

The *Review of Reviews* has under its present editor consistently pleaded for justice to India, and therefore we find it able to take a right view of the absence of enthusiasm displayed by Indians in connection with the Defence Force. It says —

#### Coolies and Graduates

Indian opinion recently scored a great triumph when the Government of India prohibited the recruitment of indentured labour. Mr. Austen Chamberlain gave last month in the House of Commons, an undertaking that this system will not be revived. We take the explanation given by the Indian authorities to mean that the labourers who would have gone out of India to enrich planters will be

available for purposes of war. A laconic telegram received the other day told the people here that only 300 Indians had come forward to join the Defence Force that the Government is creating. There was not a word to explain why the response has been so poor. Probably it is because the authorities have failed to respect their promise of giving Indians the same terms as Europeans. How can Indians feel any enthusiasm if they are not to hold commissions even in a volunteer force let alone the Regular Army and if B A's and M A's are required to serve at less than £1 a month? The Indian Government does not even seem to realise that the success of volunteering depends very largely upon making training available for the patriotic volunteer near his place of residence. Let the authorities treat our Indian fellow subjects generously and we are sure that there will be a warm response from India's manhood.

Both in England and in India it has been repeatedly observed that there was more eagerness to utilize for the war the mythical 'hoarded wealth' of India than her full manpower. So we find that a hundred times greater and more multifarious efforts were made to raise the Indian war loan than were and are being made to obtain recruits for the Indian section of the Defence Force. Officers of Government in every province manifested a coldness which indicated that they would not be sorry if the movement failed. Anglo-Indian papers have taunted Indian leaders on their failure to raise even 6,000 men. But the demand for this very small number to be trained in the course of one year, for the defence of a country inhabited by 315 millions, itself showed that in the opinion of Government there was no urgency or emergency, and that even if 6,000 men were trained at the end of twelve months from September next, they could hardly be considered to have perceptibly improved the military position of India.

We have access to British papers. Can Government say that before Reuter was permitted to send the "laconic telegram," they took any of the various steps taken in England before conscription was resorted to to obtain recruits of which we have read in British papers? Were even those steps taken which were taken in India in the case of the non-Indian section of the Defence Force? It is only very recently that official recruiting committees have been formed. Let us see how they set about their business.

### Condition of Ireland

The full significance of the general and unconditional pardon granted to all

Irish rebels in prison and the admission of Sinn Féin delegates to the Irish convention for the framing of a scheme of self-government for Ireland, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the condition of Ireland. On this subject *Current Opinion* writes —

The choice of a Sinn Féiner, serving time in prison as member of Parliament for an Irish constituency caused no surprise to the London News. Ireland to-day it says is filled with "a passion of indignation" against England unparalleled for a generation. The admission of Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster rebellion to the Lloyd George ministry, after the execution of the leader of the Dublin rebellion has been a trump card to the Sinn Féin organs. Here it is necessary to point out that the British censor has rendered it practically impossible to give representative summaries of Irish opinion outside of the organs of Ulster and the organs of the orthodox Home Rule party under Redmond. The organs of Sinn Féin are printed by stealth to some extent. Nevertheless observes the London News it has become the representative Irish party there being serious talk of a project to have all the Redmonds resign. The explanation of the fact that Home Rule Ireland has gone over to the party of violence and must be held down by an army stated in the London Post to be 150,000 is explained in various ways according to the point of view of the English daily one consults. The one established fact seems to be that the British bayonet does not quite suppress risings, riots, displays of the flag of the lost republic. As for the effort to obtain recruits for the war, the thing is such a joke that the London Post urges immediate conscription.

### German Impressions of the Irish Situation

Quotations from Berlin dailies on the subject of the Irish situation are not permitted in London newspapers. The censorship in London seems to be exercised through the war office which has ruled that passages in general articles dealing with military situations must be submitted to its judgment before publication. Ireland being held by a British army of occupation under General Sir Bryan Mahon, comes within this ruling. All Sinn Féin organs come under the seditious class as defined by the War Office in London. The result is a state of things painted in somewhat dramatic fashion by the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin) and as the British War Office permits no exportation of German dailies to this country we must depend upon scraps translated into Italian Socialist dailies and Swiss pro-German organs. Even the comments of the London *Nation* upon the Irish situation have not been available of late, owing to the ban upon its exportation. Private letters sent abroad from Ireland are opened in the post office. In spite of the difficulties in the way of arriving at the facts certain details can be set down by putting together revelations supplied in British dailies and inferences in continental European dailies. Thus there is no doubt about the magnitude of the recent riots in Dublin and in Cork. Rebel emblems were displayed lately in both those cities. The orders of the military ruler in Ireland who, to all intents and purposes has superseded the civil government are frequently set at flat defiance. He cannot prevent altogether the holding of meetings. Even large processions now and then wind their

way through Irish towns before the military can be unopposed in sufficient strength to disperse them

### Western Narrowness of Intellectual Vision

This year's Annual Presidential Address to the Classical Association was delivered by Viscount Bryce, and has been published in the *Fortnightly Review*. It is entitled "The Worth of Ancient Literature to the Modern World." It is a valuable address. But in some passages it suffers from the unconscious arrogance of occidentals and their narrowness of culture and intellectual vision. We will give a few extracts.

1. Greece and Rome are the well-springs of the intellectual life of all civilized modern peoples. From them descend to us poetry and philosophy oratory and history, sculpture and architecture even (through East Roman or so-called Byzantine patterns) painting. Geometry and the rudiments of the sciences of observation grammar logic politics law almost everything in the sphere of the humanistic subject is except religion and poetry inspired by religion are part of their heritage. One cannot explore the first beginnings of any of these sciences and arts without tracing it back either to a Greek or to a Roman source. All the forms poetical literature has taken the epic the lyric the dramatic the pastoral the didactic the satiric the epigrammatic were of their inventing; and in all they have produced examples of excellence scarcely ever surpassed and fit to be still admired and followed by whoever seeks.

Among the "civilized modern peoples", are the Hindus, Chinese, Arabs, Persians and Japanese, or some of them, included, or are they not? If none of them are included, what is the definition of "civilized people"? If any of them are, are Greece and Rome the well-springs of their intellectual life? In exploring "the first beginnings of any of these sciences and arts," enumerated above, do modern savants trace it back either to a Greek or to a Roman source? Does not European civilization owe anything to Egypt, India or Arabia?

Lord Bryce tells us further

2. Secondly Ancient classical literature is the common possession and with the exception of the Bible and a very few medieval writings the only common possession of all civilized peoples. Every well-educated man in every educated country is expected to have some knowledge of it to have read the greatest books to remember the leading characters to have imbibed the fundamental ideas.

Again we ask, who are meant by the expression "all civilized peoples"? There are civilized peoples and well-educated men who do not know Latin and Greek. Of course, by ancient classical literature Lord Bryce means only the literature of ancient Greece and Rome.

3. Thirdly Ancient History is the key to all history, not to political history only but to the record also of the changing thoughts and beliefs of races and peoples. Before the sixth century B.C. we have not only patriarchal or military monarchies but with the Greek cities that political institutions begin that different forms of government take shape that the conception of responsible citizenship strikes root that both ideas and institutions germinate and blossom and ripen and decay.

By Ancient History Lord Bryce means, of course, Greek and Roman history. The political ideas and institutions of Greece and Rome cannot be too highly valued, but we cannot admit that their history is the key to all history, nor that it is the key to "the record also of the changing thoughts and beliefs of races and peoples" in a very inclusive sense. For Greek and Roman history does not explain the changing thoughts and beliefs of the races and peoples who professed Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and formed the majority of mankind.

There is reason to think that republics existed in India in the sixth century B.C., if not earlier.

### Re-establishment of Liberty throughout the World.

Speaking at the Belgian Independence Day Feast at Queen's Hall in London Mr. Lloyd George gave a caustic reply to Dr. Michaelis the new German Chancellor. In course of the speech the Premier said—

"I don't want Germans to harbour delusions that they are going to put us out of this fight till liberty has been re-established throughout the world."

We hope liberty will be re-established throughout the world, including India.

### International Right and Justice in the World

Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have concluded his recent Queen's Hall speech as follows—

Every British American and Portuguese soldier knows that he is fighting side by side with others for international right and justice in the world and it is that growing conviction more than the knowledge of our vast unexhausted resources which gives them and us heart to go on fighting to the end knowing that the future of mankind is our trust to maintain and defend (loud cheers).

May it be hoped that "every British American and Portuguese soldier" and citizen will insist on the ideal and standard of "international right and justice in the world" being the same in India as elsewhere? May it be hoped that the allied

nations will actively remember that the people of India form part of mankind and that the future of mankind includes the future of India?

### Languages in the Philippines

The Present population of the Philippine islands is 9 835 700 The total number of native languages and dialects spoken there is 87 This does not include many unknown dialects The number of linguistic groups alone is 43 The existence of so many languages and dialects has not—will Anglo Indians believe it?—stood in the way of the Filipinos obtaining responsible self government Of course English is the lingua franca which is the case in India too According to the census of 1911 in India there are 220 languages and dialects including 38 minor dialects The number of the speakers is nearly 313 millions As the population of India is more than 31 times that of the Philippines we should not have been disqualified for self rule even if we had  $87 \times 31$  or 2 697 languages and dialects in our midst instead of which we have only a paltry 220! The figures for the Philippines are taken from the latest census of that archipelago

### Residential institutions and the poor

We have said again and again in this Review that though we are not blind to the advantages of residential schools and colleges the residential system being expensive is not suited to the circumstances of poor students and they are the majority in India We in India want schools and colleges broadcast over the whole country as in many towns and villages as can afford to establish and maintain them with or without state and municipal aid Even in so wealthy country as the United States of America the advantages and need of non residential universities have been felt We read in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ended June 30 1915 Vol I page 45

The development of State universities has been recognized as a fine forward sweep of democratic education but the municipal universities now making a strong appeal for support on the ground that it is still more democratic It offers higher education to the youth of the city who can live at home more economically than away

The organization of the Association of Urban Universities at Washington last winter emphasizes the growing importance of this problem State legis-

lation has been analyzed so that any city can easily find what statutory changes need to be made in order to permit taxation for a municipal university Ohio still leads in numbers universities at Toledo and Akron having been opened in addition to that at Cincinnati the power as a real municipal university The way is being paved for such a university in Detroit a city eminently fitted to support such an institution

### One College or School for Two Sets of Students

The following resolution was accepted at a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate held on June 9th last

That a Committee of seven be appointed to enquire into the working and effects of the systems introduced in some of the Arts and Science Colleges in Calcutta last session under which different sets of Classes are held in the course of the day and to submit to the Senate a full report on the subject

It is well known that in most provinces of India there is not sufficient accommodation in the colleges for all the students who desire to be educated Instead of turning away students from their doors some Calcutta colleges therefore held last session classes for one set of students during the usual college hours and again duplicate classes for a different set of students in the morning hours before ten and in the afternoon and evening This is the practice to be enquired into It is well known that according to our indigenous system of education students were and are taught before and after midday This practice being suited to the climate is good for the health Even under the Western system of education in Medical and Law College and in the case of some Calcutta University arts lectures classes are held in the mornings and evenings Therefore if some arts and science colleges teach different sets of students in different parts of the day—if they utilize the morning midday afternoon and evening hours the practice itself apart from other considerations cannot be condemned On the contrary if a college built for and meant to teach say 500 students can in this way teach a thousand we ought to encourage the extension of the system Of course if a double set of students have to be taught the staff must be increased to as great an extent as may be needed so that no professor lecturer tutor demonstrator clerk or librarian may be overworked Proper sanitary and disciplinary arrangements should also be made

The adoption of this plan of duplicate classes in a poor country like India, not only for colleges but for schools as well, is bound to greatly increase our teaching capacity without our having to build additional college and school buildings. Of course, where and when the money is easily forthcoming, new institutions may be established. But even then we may very well ask ourselves, *why not use for ten or twelve hours instead of only for five a building which has cost thousands or lakhs?* Not to utilize a building to the full is to throw away money. This ought not to be done anywhere and least of all in a poor country like India. We do hope, therefore, that, wherever possible, this duplicate plan will be adopted.

In the United States of America this plan is known as the Gary Duplicate Plan. In that wealthy country the scheme originated with William A. Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, at Gary a town near Lake Michigan. According to the London *Times*' Educational Supplement, No. 81, Nov. 2, 1916, p. 189, it 'has roused intense interest throughout the States. *The Times* says "To give effect to this scheme all that seemed necessary was to count each school as available for double the number of pupils for which it was originally intended. why should these fine and expensive buildings remain empty in the late afternoons and evenings? *The community must get the full value of its money.* The school buildings are open from early morning till late at night.' *The Times* of course, insists that "we must discriminate between increased school hours and increased hours for teachers." We also do not want teachers and professors to be overworked. The staff, as we have said above, must be proportionately increased.

In England many poor children leave school at 14. In order to give them a more complete education it has been proposed to teach these children until they are 18 during half the period of the usual daily school hours. Regarding these suggestions, *The Times* observes 'If anything is to come of the proposals for half time work between the ages of 14 and 18, the arrangements would be greatly facilitated by a system under which there could be a very wide range of alternative times at which particular subjects may be studied. *There should be early morning courses,*

middle of the day courses, afternoon courses and perhaps evening courses."

The plan which in wealthy England an aristocratic paper like the *Times* supports for the particular needs of England, poor India should certainly adopt for her particular needs.

In wealthy America the Gary Duplicate Plan has not been confined to Gary. It has been and is being tried and adopted elsewhere, too. For instance, we read in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, U. S. A., for the year ended June 30, 1915, Vol. I, p. 26, that in New York City, 'after less than a year of trial, those who control the finances urge the adoption of the plan for the whole city. The attitude of those who view the school chiefly from the angle of costs is illustrated in the following program announced by the controller—

1. The total elimination of any increase in the budget of the board of education for 1916. This means a saving of about 4 000 000 dollars.

The plan has its critics in America. But as it has succeeded in some towns there, and has been recommended by the *Times* for adoption in England for a particular purpose, we should also give it a trial to see whether it will serve our purpose or not. We should also ascertain whether in Calcutta, where tried, it has shown any defects. If the defects are remediable, the remedies should at once be applied. But under no circumstances should such a promising plan be given the go by until we have tried our best to make it successful.

### Congress and Moslem League Politics also Tabooed

At a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council in reply to the Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ranji Government stated that the Education Department circular of the Bombay Government dated 7th June, 1917, preventing students from attending political meetings *did* apply to all political meetings including those where the question of self Government as propounded by the Indian National Congress and Moslem League is discussed.

This ought to please those few Bengal Moderates who wanted very much to be "rallied",—including a certain paragraphist in the *Bengalee* who wished a certain veil to be lifted. The curtain has been raised now. And lo! what is the sight that meets the gaze?

### What is a Yellow Paper?

A yellow paper is that whose real colour may be grayish, bluish, or brownish white, but which appears yellow to a jaundiced eye

### A Constitutional view of the Internments

Sir N G Chandavarkar was never an extremist and he is not a Home-Ruler. And, therefore, the view that he takes of the recent Madras internments ought to be carefully considered by Anglo Indians and others who think that Mrs Besant and Messrs Arundale and Wadia have been quite properly interned. In the course of a letter to *The Times of India*, Sir N G Chandavarkar says —

It follows from these considerations of the constitutional history of British Indian legislation that of the Executive Government takes by means of an Act special and summary powers of absolute discretion couched in the widest terms from the Legislature for a limited object and with a special intention and then applies those powers to a case going beyond that object and intention then that Government acts unconstitutionally.

The statement of Objects and Reasons of the Defence of India Act and the speeches of the Viceroy and the Home Member (who was in charge of the Bill) during its passage in the Imperial Legislative Council explained that as an emergency War measure it was virtually directed against two classes of offenders (1) those assailing the enemy during the War and (2) anarchists and revolutionaries like those on the Pacific Coast in the Far East or in India itself who, taking advantage of the circumstances created by the war attempt to foment discontent among or hatred between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects. The constitutional principle therefore applies that though the language of the Act is wide so as to apply even to persons other than those falling within the two classes mentioned yet its operation must be limited to those two classes only. It is not the case against Mrs Besant and her two colleagues that they fall within those two classes.

The case against them is that they have conducted a political agitation for reforms in the internal administration by mischievous methods likely to be prejudicial to public safety. Let us assume it to be so and concede for the sake of argument in favour of Government that having regard to the critical times through which the Empire is passing the summary power of internment conferred by the Act on the Executive should be exercised without regard to the constitutional principles discussed above. Even then seeing that the political agitation conducted by Mrs Besant was for internal reforms, her case, as the case of every person conducting such agitation stands on different grounds of the Constitution. Persons who either directly or indirectly embarrass the Government in the prosecution of the War and help the enemy put themselves at once by the very nature of the act as "alien enemies of His Majesty outside the Constitution" — to use the suggestive words of Mr Chamberlain's question to Mr Chamberlain in Parliament. It is otherwise with persons who conduct political agitation for internal reforms. Before they can be held

to have put themselves outside the Constitution and to have attracted to themselves by their methods, however mischievous the penal consequences of a drastic measure like the Defence of India Act, their case must be tested by certain considerations which have become the recognised though unwritten rules of constitutional movements. And that upon the principle recognised by the Government of India itself that in constitutional matters the letter of a written law is not so important as broad unwritten principles recognised by usage (see the Minute of the Governor General's Council dated the 30th March 1876 following Despatch No 9 of the Government of India of the same year).

In the course of a second article, Sir Narayan says in effect that if any agitation or agitators become mischievous or dangerous, the aloofness of the Government from the people must be, to a great extent, held responsible for such an undesirable state of things. He is, therefore, of opinion that Government ought to associate with the agitators.

### Indian Politicians and Educationists

It has been dogmatically asserted by Anglo Indian bureaucrats that Indian politicians ought not to have anything to do with the solution of educational problems, which ought to be dealt with solely by educationists. But unfortunately the bureaucrats themselves are guided mainly by political considerations in their educational measures and methods. As for ourselves, we mean educated Indians, we have so many things to do to make our country what it ought to be, the number of workers not being sufficiently large, we cannot always specialize, the same man has often to be a politician, a preacher, a social reformer, a journalist and an educationist. In the course of his presidential address at the Bombay Educational Conference Sir N G Chandavarkar gave a very reasonable answer to the Anglo Indian contention. He said —

Here generally speaking the professors and the students taught are not of the same people. They have no common religious, social and political interests outside the colleges and university. Socially and religiously they live apart. The Indian student naturally feels nervous in opening his heart to his English professor lest he should be misunderstood. Also by reason of the political considerations imported sharply since 1896, into the Indian Educational Service, making a distinction between European and Indian and also because of the pronounced views of some that the spread of higher education spells political danger to the British Empire the Indian educated classes justly fear that the predominance of educational opinion in the government of our universities means the predominance of educationists who are as much politically biased as Indian politicians. The

fault is not of the Indian people but of the system which has put its finger in the scale of university control. The university problem in India has been made not by him alone, a political problem. If Indian politicians are to be excluded from university control Europeans who without themselves knowing it are politicians in the guise of educationalists would have to be excluded.

### England Giving India Her Best

Englishmen often say and that some times even in official reports and documents that England must give to India her best. That does not mean that England must send out her best sons and daughters to India to render altruistic service there. It means that the men and the women of Great Britain who work in India must receive all the highest salaries here as their remuneration on the ground that they are England's best. But every one knows that they are not England's best. In very many cases they are not even equal to India's best. Therefore when at the Bombay Educational Conference Sir N. G. Chandavarkar observed that though it was necessary that India should have only the best English professors to teach our students these best men must not oust India's best professors. It was only when India herself could not meet her own requirements that England should come to her assistance.

### Dadabhai Naoroji

After fighting for India's freedom for three score years Dadabhai Naoroji the venerable patriarch of India had been enjoying well earned rest and the love and reverence of his countrymen. And now he has left us for other shores. But he has left behind for our benefit an example of unselfish devotion of undying love of liberty of strenuous and faithful service of courageous and unflinching truthfulness of thorough grasp of principles and details of unflagging zeal and perseverance of gentleness born of love and of spotless purity of character in private and public life. It was not for political freedom merely that he had fought. The greater part of his life was no doubt devoted to political work and to the improvement of economic condition of the people of India but the earlier part of his career was marked by a wider range of activities. He was a pioneer in the field of the education of girls and women and established schools for them and



Dadabhai Naoroji

worked therein as an honorary teacher. With the help of Principal Patton he organised the Students Literary and Scientific Society and started a journal named the *Students Library Miscellany* in connection with it and was one of its most active contributors. He started branches of this society under the name of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandal for discussions in the Gujarati and Marathi languages and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Mandal.

"He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Institute, the Irani Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1851 he started the *Rast Guftar* (Truth-Teller) as a Gujarati weekly and the organ of the advanced and progressive views held by himself and other youngmen at the time, and edited it himself for two years with able colleagues" (Natesan's *Dadabhai Naoroji*.) He has himself said in "A Chapter of Autobiography" :—

The six or seven years before I eventually came to England in 1855, as one of the three who came here to establish the very first Indian firm of business in the City of London under the style of "Cama & Co.," were full of all sorts of reforms, social, educational, political, religious, etc. Ah, those years!

Female Education, Free Association of Women with Men at public, social and other gatherings, Infant Schools, Student's Literary and Scientific Society, Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the Vernacular, Parsi Reform, Abolition of Child Marriages, Re-Marriage of Widows among Hindus, and Parsi Religious Reform Society were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot, and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Professor Patton, and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

Yes, I can look back upon this part of my life with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed that I owed to the people. Yes, these "days of my youth" are dear to me, and an unalloyed source of happiness.

The greatest event of my early career was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at my old, old *Alma Mater*—Elphinstone College. I was the first professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor.

To merit is the dearest title, and honour above all honours. It is my delight, and many a school fellow and pupil call me "Dadabhai Professor" to this day.

Thus like all true reformers, he was convinced that reforms in different departments of human life are interdependent. It is not, of course, possible for anybody to be active in all fields of reform, or equally active in all; but one may co-operate with active workers in as many spheres as may be practicable.

The main facts of Dadabhai Naoroji's life are known to our educated countrymen. What is now required is a biography in English containing full details and a study of his character and of contemporary problems. A similar biography, but not so elaborate, should be written in all the principal vernaculars of India. His speeches, papers and other works should also be brought together and published in one or

two volumes. The editor should be able to leave out repetitions, and supply up-to-date statistics to bring out the full force of his arguments.

The resolution to devote himself to the service of his country was made early in his life. He has told us in his Chapter of Autobiography that when he was a child he was sent to a free school started by the "Native Education Society".

The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

After passing through the Vernacular and English schools I entered the Elphinstone College. Again the stars were favourable. As in the schools, there were no fees. On the contrary, admittance to the college was to be obtained only by scholarships, one of which I was fortunate enough to gain.

As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school boys came from a well-to-do classmate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape there came in my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted.

It is a sad thought that many of India's sons and daughters who could have become valuable servants of the Motherland if they had received education, have not been able to do anything for the country because of their ignorance. And sad, too, it is to reflect that only a few of those who receive education devote their talents even partially to the doing of public good. It is not merely those who receive free education or receive scholarships who are educated at the expense of the people, but even those who are educated at the most expensive Government schools and colleges are indebted to the people for their education. A student of the Calcutta Presidency College pays a fee of Rs. 144 per annum, but the amount spent on his education in 1915-16 was Rs. 362-6-5 per annum. The Calcutta Medical College student paid Rs. 88 6-2 in 1915-16 on the average, but the amount spent for him was Rs. 313-14-2. The figures per



student for the Sibpur Engineering College were similarly Rs 66 and Rs 784 12 2. But how many of them think of repaying the debt like Dadabhai Naoroji.

### Dadabhai Naoroji's "Swaraj"

Historically, of course the expression Indian Home Rule was as far as we are aware, first used in India and the demand for 'Home Rule' was made in the *Modern Review* in 1907 though it was certainly Mrs Annie Besant who brought 'Home Rule' within the range of practical politics and made it a ringing cry and a living issue. But the idea of complete autonomy, self rule or *Swaraj*, was older. When Mrs Besant first made the Home Rule cry resound through India many leading Indian politicians thought that it was too much to ask for Home Rule and that the Indian National Congress could not support such a demand. But it was evidently forgotten that, about a decade before, the greatest President of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, had in his presidential address formulated a demand for *Swaraj* which was not less but more than what the present day Indian Home Rule Leagues ask for. Dadabhai Naoroji's demand was

(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services departments and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country so should we in India claim that the administration in all services departments and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India. The remedy is absolutely necessary for the material moral intellectual political social industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India. (2) As in the United Kingdom and the colonies all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries so should also be the rights of the people of India.

It was in the year 1906 that he made this demand. Not the most moderate of Moderates criticised him then or afterwards. And 'in the last year of his life,' as the *Bombay Chronicle* correctly notes, Dadabhai Naoroji "declared with passionate insistence that India was now fit for self government and gave whole hearted adhesion to the Home Rule cause." Moreover, Indian Home Rule Leagues are working for the reforms demanded in the joint note prepared by the Congress and the Moslem League. There is therefore, now no reasonable cause for any congress man to say that the Indian Home Rulers' demands are immoderate. Of course, if

any one for any reason considers the use of the words Home Rule inexpedient or unsuitable he may use any other words he likes.

### Anglo Indians Invoke our Dead Leaders

For sometime past Anglo Indian journalists have been saying, 'Mr Gokhale had been living he would not have done this or that which the present day agitators are doing. Even the majority of the Public Services Commissioners have used his name to lend weight to their recommendations. All this is quite safe to do, for Mr Gokhale will not contradict his post mortem admirers.'

Dadabhai Naoroji, too, has come in for his share of post mortem Anglo Indian admiration and praise though in the vast concourse of 75 000 persons who followed his body to the Tower of Silence there was not a single European. The *Englishman* has said 'He was not a crude agitator of the type that threatens the peace of India today.' 'If many others were like him the argument for political advancement would be very much stronger.' When our leaders are alive they are neither praised nor supported by Anglo Indian journalists, but when they are dead, some of them are praised only in order that thereby the living workers may be condemned. For instance, the *Englishman* proceeds to observe that Dadabhai Naoroji was 'deeply conscious of the fact that years of apprenticeship should be passed before India could safely attain to that 'Swaraj' whose banner he unfurled at the Congress of 1906.' But the fact is, he declared, when he had passed his ninetieth year, that India was fit for self government, and he supported the Home Rule cause, too.

In order to show that no crude, mischievous, or dangerous agitator of India today says anything stronger than what Dadabhai Naoroji said long ago, the *Bombay Chronicle* quotes the following passage from a speech delivered by him to the electors of North Lambeth in 1904.

What had been the result of the nonfulfilment of this long series of promises? The system of greed and oppression at it obtained in the Government of India the country was being selfishly exploited for the sole benefit of Englishmen. It was slowly but surely being drained of its wealth for no country in the world could withstand a drain of from 30 to 40 millions sterling annually such as India was now subjected to. Its power of production was diminishing and its people were dying of hunger by the mill

lion. The responsibility for all this rested upon British Rule. What was the remedy? Not the mischievous, reactionary policy now being pursued by Lord Curzon, but the taking of steps to transform and revolutionize in a peaceful manner the present evil and disastrous system of Government so as to enable the people themselves to take their full and proper share in the administration of the affairs of their country. Lord Curzon has described India as the pivot of the British Empire. India could not be content with the present state of affairs and he earnestly appealed to the people of Great Britain to themselves compel the Government to redeem the promises so often made and to secure for India real self Government; subject of course to the paramountcy of Great Britain" (Cheers)

We remember, too, that when in 1905 he spoke at the International Congress of Social Democrats at Amsterdam as the representative of India, he used some very strong words, such as "plunder," "oppression," &c., which present-day agitators do not use.

Meanwhile let us all remember and follow the "word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen" which he has left us :

"Be united, persevere, and achieve self government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and most civilized nations of the world."—Congress Presidential Address, 1906.

### Raising False Issues.

Some weeks ago *The Bengalee* published a leader which was meant to throw ridicule and cold water on the Home Rule agitation. Subsequently it published another article intended to undo the mischief done by the first one. And if an Associated Press telegram can be depended upon, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, has repudiated the authorship of the first article. It should be understood, therefore, that the comments which we are about to make are not directed either against Babu Surendranath Banerjea or the usual political views of the *Bengalee*.

As we have mislaid the copy of the *Bengalee* which contained the leader in question, we shall refer to its contents in a general way from memory. It was suggested therein that before demanding Home Rule the country should make progress in the direction of social reform and social purity, attention should be paid to the private character of leading public men, education should be improved and spread more widely, the condition of the backward classes should be improved,

the position of the women raised and their appearance in public and participation in public movements secured, &c.

We quite agree that all these things should be done, and have repeatedly called attention to these matters in this Review. What we object to is the demand that we should carry out all these improvements and reform before we ask for self rule. Our objection is based on various reasons. The first is that all reforms are interdependent, and if we are to proceed far in any direction, we must have political power. The second is that neither social reform, nor educational progress, nor any other item in the prescription of the writer in the *Bengalee*, is a definitely fixed quantity of which the accomplishment or attainment can be measured. Is there any country, free or not, in which no social reform is necessary? Is there any free country in which society is perfect? When the countries which are now free entered on their career of freedom, as we now aspire to do, had they thoroughly accomplished the work of social reform, secured complete social purity, raised the most backward classes to a position of equality with, say, the middle class gentry, found means to educate all boys and girls, emancipated and enfranchised their women and obtained for themselves the leadership of public men who were all saints in their public and private lives? The little of history that we have read does not enable us to answer these questions in the affirmative. We know in the best communities, societies, nations, &c., that have yet existed on earth, there have been and are defects. The third reason for our objection is, therefore, this, that neither the *Bengalee's* writer nor anybody else can definitely fix the point or stage after arriving at which along a certain line of progress a people may be entitled to claim self-rule. But unless this is done, however great our social, educational or other non-political progress may be, the *Bengalee's* writer may repeat his formula from his high pedestal and go on saying, "Make further progress, O ye degraded fellows, before you can demand self-rule."

If society be compared to the human body, man and woman may be spoken of as its two sides. If in a country the women are ignorant and unable for other reasons also to bring about welfare, we may say that society is "

person with one eye sightless, one ear deaf, one hand paralysed, &c. But if a man be in this deplorable condition, do we tell him that he must not see, hear or act with the limbs or organs which he possesses unless and until he is able to recover the use of the disabled limbs or organs? India, of course, is not exactly such a country, for here women as a whole are not ignorant or powerless though the vast majority are in a pitiable condition so are the majority of men. As for taking part in public movements or exercising political power, there have been many free and independent countries, where the position of women has not been such as would satisfy the *Bengalee's* writer.

If a man's wife be ignorant or unfit for appearing in public, should the man be also deprived of the right of doing what he is capable of, and must he also wear a veil and sit behind the purdah?

The writer says that Government ought of course, to educate the people, but the rest we ought to be able to accomplish ourselves. We do not quite see how we can do that unless we have political power. Our position is this. Social betterment (including improvement in morals) greatly depends on education, social elevation of backward classes greatly depends on economic improvement and education, woman's enfranchisement and emancipation greatly depend on education, economic improvement largely depends on education, and sanitary improvement also partly depends on education. Education, of course, also depends on material progress, better health, &c., but we do not want to make our remarks involved and intricate by bringing in these points of mutual dependence.

How is a whole nation to obtain this education? We know of no modern country which has practically got rid of illiteracy without the state moving in that direction. And the state has not moved, where it is not the embodiment of the national will. In India, too, the people will not as a whole or practically as a whole be educated until we have that "one form of government, where the ultimate control is in the people." And unless there be great progress in education accomplished by this means no adequate progress can be made in any other line of activity. In the words of Dadabhai Naoroji, the remedy of Swarni "is absolutely necessary for the

material, moral, intellectual, political, social, industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India" (Congress Presidential Address, 1906).

It may seem to some that we have ascribed too great efficacy to education, we, of course, mean the real thing. Though we are fully prepared to argue the point, we shall not, for the sake of brevity, do so now. We shall quote only a few authorities. Prof Seligman writes in his *Economic Interpretation of Human History*, p. 132,

The more civilized the society, the more ethical its mode of life. But to become more civilized to permit the moral ideals to percolate through continually lower strata of the population we must have an economic basis to render it possible. With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be an opportunity for the unfolding of a higher life, but not until the economic conditions of society become far more ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress.

On p. 129 of the same book the author says that "all progress consists in the attempt to realize the unattainable,—the ideal, the morally perfect." But how can a nation form an idea of the ideal, the morally perfect, without the foundation of some education?

As regards the economic basis of material prosperity on which the edifice of social and ethical betterment has to be built, let us hear what Horace Mann, the great American educational reformer, says

"An ignorant people not only is, but must be, a poor people. They must be destitute of sagacity and providence and of course of competence and comfort. The proof of this does not depend upon the lessons of history but on the constitution of nature. No richness of climate no spontaneous productiveness of soil no facilities for commerce no stores of gold or of diamonds garnered in their treasure chambers of the earth can confer even worldly prosperity upon an uneducated nation. Such a nation cannot create wealth of itself, and whatever riches may be showered upon it will run to waste. The ignorant pearl divers do not wear the pearls they win. The diamond hunters are not ornamented by the gems they find. The miners for silver and gold are not enriched by the precious metals they dig. Those who toil on the most luxuriant soils are not filled with the harvests they gather. All the choicest productions of the earth whether mineral or vegetable wherever found or wherever gathered will in a short time, as by some secret and restless attraction make their way into the hands of the more intelligent. Let whoever will sow the seed or gather the fruit, intelligence will consume the banquet."—*The Power of Common Schools to better the State from Social Vices and Crimes* by Horace Mann pp. 1250-51 U. S. A. Education Report, 1820-21.

In the same paper from which we have quoted above Horace Mann says that 'the great body of vices and crimes which now sadden and torment the community may be dislodged and driven out from amongst us by such improvements in our present common school system as we are abundantly able immediately to make'. The Encyclopaedia Britannica says that Horace Mann "was a believer in the indefinite improvability of mankind, and he was sustained throughout, in his work of reform, by his conviction that nothing could so much benefit the race, morally, intellectually and materially, as education'.

Can the abolition of child marriages, and of enforced widowhood, and the removal of caste prejudices and restrictions be brought about without education? Can the position of women be improved without education? But education itself depends on the possession of political power.

We do not, of course, say that we are to sit idle with our hands folded and do nothing until we have got political power. Let us by all means do what we ought to and can do in our present condition. We have constantly urged people to do so. And, however little the nonpolitical activity in the country, it is by no means absolutely negligible and there is more and more of it every year. And many Congressmen and Home Rulers are to be found in the fields of educational, social, and industrial work, too.

There are some immoral men among those who are prominent on our platforms. But it would be wrong to say or suggest that they form the majority or even a considerable minority of our public men, or are the most influential. We should undoubtedly try to eliminate them. But their existence cannot disqualify us for Home Rule. There has never been a country which had not moral lepers among its prominent men. Not a few of the kings and ministers of England led notoriously impure lives. Was there any demand from their contemporary journalists that England should therefore cease to be self ruling? or that there should not be greater political freedom? When Parnell and Sir Charles Dilke were found out, did the demand for Irish Home Rule or the English parliamentary system of Government cease?

We have our depressed classes no doubt. But in England, during its centuries of freedom, have the masses been in an elevated condition throughout? How many years ago was it that General Booth created a sensation throughout the world by writing about Darkest England and the submerged classes there? Did England cease to have self rule therefor? Do not slums and the slum population exist in every big city in England?

As for the condition of British women, it is still capable of vast improvement. The white slave traffic, the sweating system, etc., have not passed out of living memory. Nor can it be said that our women are in every respect worse off than Western women. But England was and is a free country still.

As regards social purity, we do not claim that we are better than other people, in fact we do not want to make any comparison at all. We only want to say that in many of the freest and foremost western countries vice flaunts itself shamelessly. But let us try to give some definite idea of vice in Great Britain. Only a few months ago Mrs. Fawcett contributed an article to the *Review of Reviews* in which she pointed out that the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases published in March, 1916, gave it as a fact that the number of persons in the United Kingdom infected with venereal diseases cannot fall below ten per cent of the whole population in the large cities. The illegitimate births per thousand births in England and Wales were 48 in 1876 1880 and 40 in 1901 1905. In Scotland they were 83 in 1876 1880 and 64 in 1901 1905. In Denmark 101 in 1876 1880 and 101 in 1901 1905, in Austria 138 in 1876 1880, and 141 in 1896 1900, in Germany 87 in 1876 1880 and 84 in 1901 1905. In France 72 in 1876 1880 and 88 in 1901 1905, and so on. These are all independent countries and possess representative government to a greater or less extent. We are sure they ought to vastly improve their morals but we do not see how the loss of self rule can possibly facilitate the work of moral reform in those countries.

There are some papers in our country which declare for prohibition and publish the advertisements of intoxicating liquors. There are some papers which demand social purity and pure private lives in public men and condemn nautches, but

publish the advertisements and puffs of theatres where women of ill fame are actresses and dance on the stage. We are among the Sir Oracles of the writer in the *Bengalee* who demand Home Rule, demand prohibition, insist on social purity, condemn nautches, demand the weeding out of immoral persons from the ranks of our public men. But we have the great disqualification that we have always refused to advertise spirituous liquors, and theatres where the actresses are women of ill fame, and have persistently discouraged the patronage of these theatres.

### The New Secretary of State

Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India, is undoubtedly far better qualified for his office than his predecessor. His political principles are liberal and his sympathies are on the right side. Still we are not inclined to expect from him any appreciable benefit to India. On becoming part of a machine a man has to become different from what he was before. Was not John Morley a greater, a more radical and a more honest statesman than any which the India Office has known, at least in recent decades? But what record has he left there? We do not, however, predict failure for Mr. Montagu. We do hope that he will prove an exception to our proverb that whoever goes to Lanka becomes Ravan. To understand the drift of the proverb, substitute "India Office" for "Lanka," and "Tory" for "Ravan."

### Imperialising Science, Art, &c

Our Government wants to imperialise everything,—science, art, education, archaeological and other historical research, agriculture, &c. There is a board to advise and arrange how scientific research is to be carried on; there are I E S officers to improve art, historical research is or is supposed to be carried on by Imperial officers, and so on and so forth. The Imperial idea is going to be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma.

Napoleon tried this imperialising experiment in France. We read in the "History of Contemporary Civilization" by Charles Seignobos, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris, that

"Napoleon desired that his reign should be marked by great scientific and artistic works as well as by great conquests and great creations. He sought to encourage scholars, writers and artists by rewards and honours. But he tried to manage science

and art just as he managed war and politics. He wanted every one to understand art and science as he understood them. He persecuted the two principal writers of his time, Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël and ordered their works to be seized because they expressed ideas which did not suit him. He openly abused the naturalist Lamarck because he was occupied with the study of meteorology." P. 167.

He dealt similarly with musicians, theatre managers, dramatists, &c. What was the result?

Napoleon did not have the share that he imagined he exercised in the science and art of his time. The sciences made great progress, but in France as in England they continued to develop in the direction they had taken before the time of Napoleon" (Pp. 167-68). The emperor realized in a measure his impotency. "I have on my side," said he to Fontanes, "the insignificant literature, and the important is opposed to me."

In Bengal the Calcutta University, the Central Text book Committee, the Sabitrya Parishad, &c., encourage "literature" in their own way. If they were as intelligent and discerning as Napoleon was, they would have said what Napoleon did.

"Sculpture produced few great works. The French Sculptors Carlier, Esparceux, Girard remained inferior to their contemporaries the Danc, Thorwaldsen and the Italian Canova. The architects, Percier, Fontaine, Chalgrin, Brongniart whom Napoleon charged with the building of his monuments continued to copy the antique forms, no original art came into existence. In music there appeared no great composers save those of the revolutionary period."—*History of Contemporary Civilization* by Seignobos p. 169.

In India, too, the imperially managed departments of science, art, history, &c., are not producing works of striking originality and genius.

For instance, are the Imperial Artists employed in our schools of art known for their great works of art in the galleries of Europe or America, or even of India? Millions of rupees are sunk in stone and brick and mortar. But where is the British Imperial Architecture to rival Moghul Architecture? Here, of course, there is another and a serious cause of the failure of the British Government in India. This has been noted by Rabindranath Tagore in his lecture on "What is Art?" Says he—

"The lawyers office as a rule is not a thing of beauty, and the reason is obvious. But in a city, where men are proud of their citizenship, public buildings must in their structure express this love for the city. When the British Capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi there was discussion about the style of architecture which should be followed in the new buildings. Some advocated the Indian style of the Moghul period—the style which was the joint production of the Moghul and the Indian

genius. The fact that they lost sight of was that all true art has its origin in sentiment. Moghul Delhi and Moghul Agra show their human personality in their buildings. Moghul emperors were men, they were not mere administrators. They lived and died in India, they loved and fought. The memorials of their reign do not persist in the ruins of factories and offices, but in immortal works of art,—not only in great buildings, but in pictures and music and workmanship in stone and metal, in cotton and wool fabrics. But the British Government in India is not personal. It is official and therefore an abstraction. It has nothing to express in the true language of art. For law, efficiency and exploitation cannot sing themselves into epic stones. Lord Lytton, who unfortunately was gifted with more imagination than was necessary for an Indian Viceroy, tried to copy one of the State functions of the Moghals,—the Durbar ceremony. But state ceremonials are works of art. They naturally spring from the reciprocity of personal relationship between the people and their monarch. When they are copies they show all the signs of the spurious.”—*Personality*, by Rabindranath Tagore, pp 17—19

Our Government should certainly encourage science, art, &c., and spend money for fostering them. But let it not try to manage science, art, &c. For then the result would be what history teaches. The few recent years of imperialism in India, too, have their corroborative lessons.

### Bombay Bishop as Political Adviser.

The Bishop of Bombay has contributed a long letter to the *Indian Social Reformer* on the Indian situation. It would have been better for his reputation if he had stuck to the pulpit and not descended into the political arena. The letter shows that he is remarkably ignorant of contemporary Indian politics and of the history of self-government in the British colonies. He is also as much of a partisan as any ordinary Anglo Indian. In his opinion, all that is desirable and unsatisfactory in the present situation is due to our faults of omission and commission; for he has not uttered a word by way of criticism of Government. According to the Associated Press summary of the letter,

He urges Indian politicians to consider the temperament of the British democracy, to take such action as will commend them to it and to avoid such action as will irritate it.

The immediate object of Great Britain is to win the war. British democracy will, therefore, think them an abominable nuisance for presenting a feverish agitation during the war.

Of course. Britishers, the Irish, colonials, British labourers, &c., agitate, rebel, strike, carry on republican propaganda,—in fact, do whatever they

think is necessary for their interests; but we must not even carry on any agitation in a thoroughly legal and constitutional way. For, are we not helots? The Bishop need not have repeated for the thousandth time worthless stuff like this which has been repeatedly shown to be quite unreasonable and ridiculous in the Indian press and on Indian platforms. For instance, speaking as president of the Dadabhai Naoroji memorial meeting in Calcutta, Sir K. G. Gupta observed —

There is no longer any question of postponing post war problems. Great Britain, the centre and heart of the Empire, has taken the lead, its private individuals, responsible statesmen and authoritative bodies are earnestly discussing every conceivable question relating to the social, industrial and political re-arrangement of the Empire and of its component parts. The Self Governing Colonies are doing the same. But it is only in India that in some quarters we are seriously admonished to keep quiet and not to disturb those who are actively prosecuting the war by discussing problems that vitally affect us. Why should we of all people be marked out for silence?

The Bishop goes on to say,

I wish to press upon the people of India that their aim should now be to deserve self government. All self government that has flourished in history has begun in the successful self-government of small areas. India was given under Lord Ripon a chance of learning self government in municipalities. That chance has been extended from time to time. Can India at this moment point with pride to her Municipal Government? Has it shown that there are large numbers of Indians ready, willing and able to make disinterested and efficient councillors?

The Bishop asks us to prove that we deserve self government. But who are to judge whether we deserve or not? Evidently those who are the holders of power, who, naturally, do not want to surrender it. It is plain that we must wait till the Christian's day of last judgment, if we are to satisfy the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. But let us test the Bishop's knowledge of history of the attainment of self-government, by briefly referring to events in one or two foreign countries.

England has been self-governing for centuries. She was self governing in 1835. Redlich and Hirst's book on *Local Government in England* contains extracts from the report of a parliamentary commission, dated 1835, regarding the municipalities and boroughs of that period, from which a few sentences may be quoted:

"In general the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watch-

ing or lighting the town &c., but they are frequently expended in feasting and in paying salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases in which the funds are expended on public purposes, such as building public works, or other objects of local improvement, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken.

#### The authors observe

"These symptoms, as the commissioners clearly show, were not natural, but were the artificial product of a system of political corruption erected and kept up by the ruling oligarchy."

The parliamentary commission referred to above reported in 1835 regarding local bodies that "revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people."

Evidently these English local bodies had not large numbers of disinterested and efficient councillors.

The French Canadians were conquered by the English in 1763, but the whole colony became self governing in 1791. The granting of full self government to the united dominions of Canada was due to the Report of Lord Durham, who was sent to govern Canada in 1838. "He recommended the union of the two Canadian provinces at once the ultimate union of all British North America and the granting to this large state of full self government" (*Encyclo Brit*). When Lord Durham recommended the granting of full self government to Canada, which was actually granted in 1840, were the Canadians "ready, willing and able to make disinterested and efficient councillors?" Let us quote from Lord Durham's Report

"In the rural districts habits of self government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

Turn we now to the Philippines which have been granted responsible self government after 17 or 18 years of American occupation. The following extract from General Frank McIntyre's report to the Secretary of War, U. S. A., dated March 1, 1913, will show how fit the Filipinos were for municipal self government sixteen, ten, and seven years ago —

"The principal difficulties encountered in the inception of self government in the

municipalities were summarized, in the Philippine Commission's Report for 1901, as follows:

The educated people themselves though full of phrases concerning liberty have but a faint conception of what real civil liberty is and the mutual self restraint which is involved in its maintenance. They find it hard to understand the division of powers in a government and the limitations that are operative upon all officers no matter how high. In the municipalities in the Spanish days what the fear did not control the presidente did and the people knew and expected no limit to his authority. This is the difficulty we now encounter in the organization of the municipality. The presidente fails to observe the limitations upon his power and the people are too submissive to press them.

"Manifestly this condition called for the education of the inhabitants of the municipalities and their officials in the duties of local self government. In addition to the official supervision every effort possible was utilized to this end so that each American, whether employed as school teacher, engineer or otherwise, should give that element of personal help, which would be the more valuable because it was free from the shadow of official authority. The Americans were few in number, the natives many, and these educative efforts were slow in producing enough results to make much showing.

"A more careful administration of municipal affairs became necessary. Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows:

In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwisely not to say wastefully. In 83 municipalities out of 633 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements.

"Two hundred and twenty six municipalities

spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored and the commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues.

"Fifteen months later Governor General Smith, in his message to the Legislature, February 1, 1909, reviewed municipal conditions as follows:

Nearly all the municipalities made great sacrifices in the interests of education and especially to secure school buildings and adequate school accommodations but there the interest in making expenditures for purposes other than salaries and wages ended at least in most of the municipalities. It must be admitted that the law putting a limit on the gross

amount which might be expended for municipal salaries and wages was to a certain extent a restriction of the autonomous powers originally conceded to municipal governments but it was an interference with municipal autonomy completely justified by hard experience and more than five years of wanton waste of the public moneys.

Prior to the passage of Act No 1733\* 99 per cent of the municipalities, excluding the city of Manila had no fire departments of any kind. Every year great loss was caused by conflagrations.

During the year 1908 the Governor General personally visited some 200 municipalities and in not more than half a dozen did he encounter a police force that was worthy of the name. The municipal policeman of these Islands as a rule does not rise to the dignity of the ordinary house servant and in a great majority of cases performs no higher duties.

With five or six exceptions the entire municipal police force as it is organized and disciplined to-day might be abolished without any evil results whatever. . . . He is appointed as a rule not because of his intelligence his uprightness of character and his physical fitness but because of his relationship to the appointing power or by reason of the political services which either he or his powerful friends have rendered to that official.

We may or may not be in a position to be proud of our municipal government, but are the conditions under which municipal administration have to be carried on in India such as to ensure success? Are there not too many restrictions? Have the people sufficient initiative and control? In any case we can produce at least as good councillors as self governing England in 1835, self governing Canada in 1838-40, and self governing Philippines in the present decade. And perhaps if the facts were known it would be established that the freest countries do not now possess better municipal councillors than Kristo Das Pal, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pheroze Shah Mehta, G. K. Gokhale, Gangaprosad Varma, D. E. Wacha, M. M. Malaviya, Surendranath Banerjee, and a whole host of others. We may or may not be disinterested councillors. But the real question is, are our towns worse now than when there were no elected municipal commissioners at all, and when urban sanitation lighting etc. were managed entirely by officials? No well informed man can say that they are not now better. And that is the real test. Municipal commissioners in Western countries are not angels. No one should make himself ridiculous by prescribing for us standards of perfection.

which neither Anglo Indian officials nor the city fathers of the West can all come up to.

India was asked for 6000 volunteers. In all these months not two thousand have applied. Has it never struck the educated India that this moment if it wants as great a place in the Empire as Australia and Canada it must be as ready to die for the Empire.

Regarding our 'failure' to respond adequately to the demand for volunteers for the Defence Force, we would ask the Bishop to read the comments of the *Review of Reviews* printed elsewhere in this number. As regards the comparison with Australia and Canada, the Bishop places the cart before the horse, and therefore literally uses a *pre post* erous argument. Were Australia and Canada accorded "a great place in the Empire" after making sacrifices for the Empire? On the contrary, is it not the fact that they are making sacrifices for the Empire because they have already, from long before the war, had a great place in the Empire, and have been *definitely* promised a still greater place after the war? India has neither got such a place, nor even a promise of such a place. On the contrary, her rulers are telling her sons not to hope for responsible government within any measurable period of time, and adopting repressive method to put a stop to any constitutional agitation for self rule.

Before the war, India helped to make England what she is. She kept a larger army than was necessary for her own purposes—an army which has been used for England's purposes more than once. During the war, at the very first stage, the Indian army saved the situation in France. Since then India has 'bled absolutely white,' in the words of Lord Hardinge, for the Empire. In addition to incurring the usual military expenditure, her princes and people have contributed largely to the various war funds and India has made a "gift" of 100 millions sterling to Great Britain. The Colonies have received advances from England to the extent of 146 millions,—though, of course, they also have incurred their share of the military expenditure like India, and their soldiers have died like Indian soldiers. India has been for generations the training ground of some of the greatest British generals,—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, etc., and of many lesser but

\* To reduce this preventable loss the Commission passed this act, requiring each municipality to provide at least buckets and ladders and to drill its police force with any volunteers as a fire department.



still distinguished officers, India paid for their experience. The colonies have never been of any such use to Great Britain.

The Bishop thinks that he has silenced and shamed the educated Indians by telling them,

Now, it will not do for educated India to get behind the fighting races and say that numbers of them have, who are not so advanced in education, died for the Empire. So they have. All honour to them. But we did not leave our working people to die for us. The University men of England went and died with the working people and before them. I ask the educated Indians what they suppose the University classes of England are likely to think of them if they will not even volunteer.

But do Indian and English university men occupy the same position? The English University men can and have become both privates and officers holding the King's commission. Indian university men cannot have the King's commission, they cannot have the pay of even Eurasian privates in order that they may have a living wage. Apart from rank and pay and prospects, look at the matter from another point of view. The English graduate is fighting to safeguard, among other things, the independence of his country and his own perfect citizenship. This is a great and a glorious incentive and inspiration. The Indian graduate may, similarly, fight to safeguard the dependence of his country on Great Britain and the subjection of himself to the rule of British and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. The dependence of a country on Great Britain and the subjection of a man to British and Anglo-Indian bureaucratic rule may be advantageous, but surely no patriotic Englishman will say that they are glorious privileges like British independence and perfect citizenship. The Indian graduate is not even promised any citizenship like the British graduate after the war. The Bishop will, therefore, we hope, understand that the motive and inspiration to fight voluntarily cannot be the same or even nearly equal in the case of the British graduate and the Indian graduate.

We would also advise the Bishop to read pages 148, 149, 153, and 154 of Kaye and Malletson's *History of the Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol. 1, Longmans, Green & Co's Silver Library, to find out how and why the Indian gentry ceased to have any part in the British Indian Army. Extract from these pages will be found in our

last April number, p. 500. Excluded from the army for generations, the gentry are now expected all of a sudden to grow enthusiastic!

The Bishop says —

Class exclusiveness is one of the pet aversions of the British democracy and it will quickly recognise that caste exclusiveness is both stronger and harsher. I should say that until education is so diffused that authority and positions of trust under Government are sure to be pretty equally distributed among the different castes and communities, full self-government cannot be given to India without leading to a result which would have nothing in common with democracy.

Firstly, as regards the diffusion of education. Who opposed and who brought about the rejection of Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill? Not our countrymen, but the Bishop's. If education is not widely diffused, it is not we who are to blame, but his countrymen. It will come to him then to turn round and lay down the wide diffusion of education as a condition precedent to the grant of self rule.

We have already quoted from Lord Durham's *Report* recommending full self-government for Canada, to show that at that time "education is [was] so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

The Bishop is, or ought to be, aware of the words ascribed to Bobby Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, after the Reform Act of 1866, viz., "we must educate our masters." The words he actually used were that efforts should be made "to induce our future masters to learn their letters." The Bishop will, therefore, see that in his own country the wide diffusion of education followed, did not precede, popular government.

As to the pretty equal distribution of offices among different classes and sections of the people, will he tell us whether that is the case even now in his own country? Mr St Nihal Singh writes in the *Commonweal*, July 20, 1917

Oxford and Cambridge Universities are spoken of as Varsityes in contradistinction to the Universities of London, Manchester, etc. which are of more recent growth and are not residential. The Varsity men are usually the sons of the ruling classes, and look down upon the University men. The higher posts in Government office in England and appointments in the Indian Civil Service, are monopolised

by Oxford and Cambridge men. Graduates from the new Universities are however, making their mark especially in trade and commerce.

Can the Bishop contradict this ?

In an article in the *North American Review* Mr. Sydney Brookes says :—

"The caste system was beyond doubt the outstanding feature of the British structure. It was the caste system that made the West End of London the governing centre of the Empire ? It was the caste system that in every British ministry reserved an excessive number of places for the aristocracy, whose title to them was based mainly on the non essentials of birth, manners, and social position

"There were some trades and professions and occupations that were 'respectable' and others which were not... There was not a single Englishman who had not the social privilege of despising some other Englishman, and the lower one penetrated in the social scale the more complex and mysterious and the more rigidly drawn did these lines of demarcation become"

Can the Bishop contradict all this ? Since when in England have costermongers and lords begun freely and usually to intermarry and intermarry ? Will he please tell us the date on which Anglicans, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics and Jews became equally entitled to all offices and privileges, political, educational, &c. ? Was England self-governing on and before that date, or was she not ? We hate caste, we hate exclusiveness, we hate monopolism, as much as anybody. But we would ask the Bishop to bear in mind that in India his countrymen are a very exclusive and arrogant caste, and are greater monopolists than any section of Indians. And he will also please remember in future not to make that in our country a disqualification for self-government which was not and still is not a disqualification in his own country ; for that would be pharisaism, which his Lord Jesus Christ has condemned.

### The Bombay Compulsory Primary Education Bill.

At a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council held at Poona on July 26, Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel introduced a Bill to provide for the extension of primary education in the Municipal districts in the Bombay Presidency other than the municipality of Bombay. Mr. Patel described the bill as the first of its kind in India and if passed into law would ever remain a monument of Lord Willingdon's stay in India. The object of the bill was to enable the Municipa-

lities to make elementary education within their areas compulsory. The provision of the bill being permissive does not make it obligatory on any municipality to introduce the principle of compulsion in the system of elementary education under its control. Mr. Patel proposed that at first the bill should apply only to urban areas. Similarly there were safeguards provided to prevent the misuse of the provision of the bill by any local body. The bill was heartily welcomed by non-official members and the discussion centred round the question of finances, the majority being of the opinion that Government should extend the financial help where the municipality was too poor to provide for full educational facilities.

At the resumed sitting of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Bill was read a first time and referred to the Select Committee. Almost all the speakers supported the principle underlying the bill while many non-officials criticised the saving clause in the bill inserted at the instance of Government to satisfy legal requirements. His Excellency wound up the prolonged debate in a sympathetic speech in course of which he declared,

"As the head of the presidency it has been a severe blow to me to feel that our finances have been curtailed owing to war. I am certain when the war is over this question of compulsory primary education will have to be seriously and comprehensively considered not only by this Government but all over India. Only if we educate our children, we shall be able to raise an educated public opinion without which general administration is severely handicapped"

### Eagerness to be Taxed.

In the course of his reply to the addresses which he received at Dacca, H. E. the Governor of Bengal said :—

Perhaps I may also be forgiven for reminding you that the spending of more money means the imposition of more taxes, and though I find that people are most anxious to be provided with railways and school and drainage schemes and many other things which are no doubt excellent in themselves, I do not find any great enthusiasm for the taxes which would be necessary to provide the money that all these things cost. So long as our funds are limited, we have no option but to limit our activities.

We do not know of any country where the people are usually eager to be taxed. If there be any such countries, our readers will kindly let us know their names, quoting the name and page of the book in which this eagerness is described. Lord Ronaldshay is a great traveller. He may

have visited some such country, particularly a country where the people are eager only to be taxed but not to control expenditure.

Our people have asked the rulers to curtail expenditure by generally appointing Indians to all offices, employing Englishmen only where that is *absolutely* necessary, by not making unnecessary territorial redistributions and creating new provinces and thereby adding to the number of highly paid posts, by not dividing and subdividing districts, by extending local self-government, thereby delegating power to the people and reducing the burden and cost of administration by not building new Imperial and provincial capitals and district headquarters, by giving up the exodus to the hills, etc. Our people have also asked that by *earnestly and really* (not merely in words or on paper) trying to improve and extend agriculture, and to revive old and introduce new industries, the material prosperity of the country may be promoted, so that they may be in a position to pay more taxes in order that extra expenditure may be incurred for securing the progress of India. But we do not find any great enthusiasm among our rulers for giving heed to these prayers and suggestions of the people.

His Excellency also said

With regard to the greater measure of self-government to which you look forward I think it only right that I should utter a word of caution lest you be encouraged to cherish hopes which are not destined to be fulfilled. I should indeed be a false friend to you if I were even to seem to give consent by my silence to the belief which some of you express that this aspiration can possibly be realised within the brief period of my rule. Those who seriously hold any such belief—if indeed there be any such—can have given no thought at all to the immense practical difficulties which stand in the way.

To express a hope and really to hope are different things. His Excellency may rest assured that few cherish any hopes like those which he sought to discourage. He need not have taken the trouble to do so. There is enough already of hopelessness in the country, one result of which has been the rise of the cult of revolution. It may be left to our rulers to judge whether, under the circumstances, hopelessness ought either directly or indirectly to be further strengthened. No doubt, false hopes ought not to be raised. But on account of the past history of

promises, it would be difficult now to make many people hopeful by even a definite promise. We have, therefore, no suggestion to make or advice to give to our rulers in this matter. And that may even be looked upon as impertinence or presumption. Not that we have no hopes. But they rest on the play of world forces, that is to say, on Providence, and on any effective pressure that the people of India may be able to exert on the British democracy by constitutional and legitimate means. We do not look upon any particular man or group of men as the arbiters of our destiny. Our future is no doubt in God's keeping, but He, too, wants the active co-operation of those who wish to have a future.

The fates of England and India are to some extent linked together. But Englishmen ought not to think that India's future has no bearing on England's future. Unless India becomes great, England too cannot remain great or become greater.

### Patna University Bill

The Select Committee have made considerable improvements in the Patna University Bill. The inclusion of the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr among the external colleges has been a considerate act. In one most vital point there has been practically no improvement. In the original Bill, it was provided that no new college shall be established except in the four towns named in the Bill. In the amended Bill the Select Committee say,

As regards external colleges teaching to degree standard we have provided that as to the location in four particular towns may be dispensed with in any particular case by the direction of the Governor-General in Council.

This provision is not at all satisfactory. As Government do not view with favour the multiplication of colleges, the new provision is practically equivalent to the old. High education in Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur is, therefore, destined not to expand appreciably, until a more reasonable attitude is adopted. We would rather have a university managed entirely by the provincial education department without any senate or syndicate, with the people enjoying the right freely to establish colleges wherever they can afford to do so, than a university with a wholly elective senate and syndicate and elected office

bearers without the power to establish new colleges on conditions similar at least to those which prevail at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and the Panjab, though these, too, are very stringent. India is a poor country, where education must be brought to the doors of the people as much as is practicable. Of course, those who can afford to do so may have residential colleges and universities for their sons and daughters. But the majority of students, who are poor, should be able to attend their classes from their homes. This may not be and is not immediately practicable, but this is the ideal to be kept in view. Even in so wealthy a country as the United States of America, Municipal Universities have come into vogue, because they are economical, as we have shown in a previous note in this number.

### Mr Lloyd George on Human Liberty

In the course of the speech which he made on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of Glasgow on June 29th last, Mr Lloyd George said —

But for our great efforts, a catastrophe would have overtaken the democracies of the world. "The strength of Britain flung into the breach has once more saved Europe and human liberty." (Cheers).

We hope "human liberty" includes the liberty of Indians.

### Peoples' Wishes the Dominant Factor.

Referring to the fate of the German colonies, the Premier said their peoples' desires and wishes must be the dominant factor. The untutored peoples would probably want gentler hands than German's to rule them. (Hear, hear).

As the people of India are somewhat more tutored than the people of the German Colonies in Africa, the desires and wishes of the people of India ought to be a more dominant factor in determining their future, though the present temper of the bureaucracy in India does not encourage the hope that any such equitable principle is going to be followed. As untutored peoples want gentle hands to rule them, we hope it has not been or will not be concluded that tutored peoples want ungentle hands to rule them.

### 'Nations must control their Destinies'

Mr Lloyd George also said —

The Austrian Premier has repudiated the principle that nations must control their own destinies, but

unless this principle is effected not only will there be no peace, but if you had peace there would be no guarantee of its continuance. Peace framed on an equitable basis would not be broken by nations and abiding peace will be guaranteed by the destruction of Prussian military power.

It is well known that in their press laws and rules regarding communal representation the Government of India borrowed some ideas from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But we do hope, none of our rulers have had any Austrian training in statecraft. The reason for this apprehension is that some of them seem to repudiate in practice the sound democratic principle laid down by the Premier "that nations must control their own destinies."

### 'Emancipation of Mankind'

The Premier concluded. Europe is again drenched in the blood of its bravest and best but do not forget the great success on of hallowed causes. They are stations on the Cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. I appeal to the people of this country and beyond, that they continue to fight for the great goal of international rights and international justice so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of liberty." (Loud cheers).

When British and other Allied statesmen speak of human liberty or the emancipation of mankind, there is no positive reason to suppose that they speak lightly or hypocritically. But we can not help thinking that their words, if taken literally would seem to raise greater hopes than they have power to fulfil. Do these statesmen possess the power, or even the serious and firm determination, to bring about or work for the emancipation of all mankind? We shall indeed be glad to be convinced that they are not in their excitement and enthusiasm indulging in big talk.

### The Ideals of Justice and Liberty

On May 10 last, the anniversary of the expanding of the first Russian Duma, the President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko made a speech, in the course of which he said —

The innumerable sacrifices which we have laid on the altar of this war demand that the peace should correspond with the immensity of our efforts and that the aim for which we are struggling should be assured to us, namely the triumph of the ideals of justice and liberty. The Germans oppose to these splendid ideals the rotten programme which is totally different, namely the hegemony of the world and the enslavement of nations.

A struggle for principles so mutually contradictory cannot terminate in a draw, but only by the decisive victory of one or other of the adversaries. Only the complete defeat of German militarism will assure the happiness of the world. The gulf separating the Germans the devastators and destroyers of civilisation from the Allies is too deep for the war to cease without the realization of the ideals which I have mentioned.

Prince Lvoff, the Prime Minister, said —

It is not the wonderful and almost fairy like character of the Russian Revolution it is not its power and rapidity which have astonished the world, but the ideal which directed it and which embrace not only the interests of the Russian people, but those of all nations.

### 'The War of Ideas'

In an article with the above heading, contributed to the London *Daily News*, Mr A G Gardiner writes that German or Prussian militarism is not confined to Germany or Prussia, so that the mere material defeat of Germany will not do, the idea for which that militarism stands must be uprooted from every country, including England.

The victory over Napoleon was a material victory but a spiritual defeat for Europe. The victory had to be won because Napoleon had betrayed and trampled on all the grand ideals of the French revolution. He used the power generated by the ideals of the revolution to overthrow the old gods of despotism and having overthrown them impudently erected a shoddy fabric of Imperialism on the ruins. The fabric collapsed and the old Gods came back for the plunder. The liberties of Europe were lost in the struggles of rival despots.

### A SPIRITUAL VICTORY.

If we are not to have a repetition of that experience, if this war is not to be a mere overture to another and a greater war, a material victory must not satisfy us. We must have a spiritual victory. It is not enough to defeat Prussian militarism. We have got to defeat in all the world the spirit of which Prussian militarism is the present embodiment. And in this matter it is necessary to remind ourselves that ideas have no geographical limit. They are indifferent to all beligerents. You will find as venomous a hatred of liberty in this country as anywhere. Turn to any number of the *National Review* or any issue of the *Morning Post*. Turn on that infamous article in Blackwoods' this month in which insults are poured on President Wilson and the United States, sneers levelled at the Russian revolution and silly gibes directed at all our free Allies and in which the 'trumpery of democracy' is denounced as a vile thing for which we are not fighting.

### WHAT THEN?

Aren't we? Then pray what are we fighting for? If we are not fighting for freedom, then we are fighting for its opposite. And its opposite is Prussian milita-

rism. The man who writes thus is not fighting against Prussian militarism. He is fighting to impose Prussian militarism on us. And do not let us suppose he is simply a voice crying in the wilderness. There are many to read him and echo his virulent animosities. You will hear plenty of scoffing at America, find plenty of sympathisers with the Tsar, discover the clut's fall of people who are bewildered by the turn of events and are not quite sure whether they hate the Prussian despotism or the Russian revolution the more. In the war of ideas the revolution is a defeat for them and the intervention of America is a defeat for them, for these events make for the doom of Prussianism, and they are not fighting Prussianism. They are only fighting Russia for the possession of her idol. The difference between England and Russia is not that one has been wholly Liberal and the other wholly Militarist. The difference is that in our case Liberalism has been in the saddle, in the case of the other, despotism has been in the saddle. And the gentleman in 'Blackwood' wants to win the war in order that the position may be reversed. He wants to win the war to defeat Liberalism in England.

### St. Andrews University Memorial on the I. C. S. Recommendations of the Public Services Commission.

In a memorial which the University of St Andrews in Scotland has addressed to the Secretary of State for India on the report of the Public Services Commission, it says —

We fully recognise that the interests of the people of India are of the first importance, and if we were convinced that these could only be secured in the manner proposed by the Commissioners we should feel bound to acquiesce in their proposals.

But evidently it is not convinced that the interests of the people of India have been secured.

It is observed in the memorial,

We believe, however, that the proposal to lower the age for the competition to what is called the "school leaving age" of 17 to 19 would exclude from the service all boys educated in ordinary Scottish schools, and would make it inaccessible to the sons of poor men not only in Scotland, but in England.

### REDUCTION OF AGE-LIMIT

Under the existing system, a considerable number of young men from our province have entered the Indian Civil Service and some candidates from our University have been placed among the first four or five in the list of successful candidates. This will no longer be possible if the recommendations of the Commissioners are adopted.

The concluding sentence of the memorial is very important, and gives expression to a view which coincides with our own. It runs as follows:—

We cannot believe that it is in the national interest or in that of the Government and people of India that the sons of poor men should be excluded from the

public service as will certainly be the case if the proposals of the Commissioners are adopted

### The Chief Educational Need in India

At a meeting held at St Paul's Chapter house, London on June 4 the Bishop of Lahore "described the chief educational need of India as being that of the domiciled community" (*The Indrman*) 'Yes, the indigenous population of India is far more educated and literate than the domiciled community'

### The "Hoarded Wealth of India"

In a letter addressed to the *Indrman*, Mr A C Chatterjee, I C S, shows that the so-called "hoarded wealth of India" cannot amount to much. He says

Apart from this factor of normal trade payments it has also to be remembered that there has always been a considerable wastage of the precious metals in India. Gold and silver have been much more extensively used in the industrial arts in that country than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Leaving entirely out of question the manufacture of jewellery those acquainted with the numerous art industries of cities like Benares, Ahmedabad, Delhi and Lucknow will have some idea of the quantity of gold and silver consumed in these industries in the halcyon days. Gold and silver have now largely replaced the precious metals in the art industries. In jewellery and personal ornaments also there are fluctuations in the popular taste and all Indians know that the village goldsmiths and silversmiths are mostly occupied in melting down old jewellery and remaking them in new forms. There is always a loss in these transformations.

As regards jewellery, his opinion is

It is impossible to estimate the aggregate value of the gold and silver jewellery belonging to Indian women but casual visitors are liable to fall into the error of a very serious overestimate. The village women in all parts of India wear heavy loads of ornaments on their arms and ankles but only an insignificant proportion of such ornaments is of silver. The art of giving a silver coating to inferior metals has been carried to a high pitch in India and the bright sun adds to the deception of the observer.

Regarding 'hoards' he gives his reasons for thinking that for the whole of India they cannot amount to more than a hundred millions sterling.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the actual number of hoards of coin and bullion in India is really large when allowance is made for the immense population and extent of the country. The political insecurity that prevailed in many large tracts of India until about a hundred years ago must have strengthened the instinct of hoarding but it is equally certain that the secret of many hoards both large and small is now entirely unknown and it is only accident that occasionally brings some of them to light. Under present conditions hoarding is so struck among the peasants and all other classes in India that it must have already absorbed most of

the substantial hoards that may have existed at the beginning of British rule. Famine and scarcity have always been familiar incidents in the economic life of India. It would be naturally expected that the pressure of a famine would release a large number of hoards. Neither detailed observation in the districts nor the returns of the currency department indicate that any such result has followed a famine during the last fifty years. The experience of the co-operative credit societies also discredits the theory of the countless hoards of India. The capital now owned by the rural societies has been built up almost entirely by savings since the societies were established and it may be safely asserted that very few hoards have been drawn upon. It is true that a great many peasants possess a few rupees laid by for times of stress or emergency but according to careful estimates made by competent observers such savings do not exceed ten rupees on the average of the whole population. Five rupees per head is perhaps a more correct figure and this would amount in the aggregate to a hundred millions sterling for the whole of India.

In the Gangetic provinces with which mostly I am familiar a few large hoards are possessed by individuals here and there and some of the native States are credited as possessing substantial cash balances in their treasuries but it is doubtful if the aggregate of such larger hoards will amount for the whole of India to more than a hundred millions sterling.

### Bengal Internments

It cannot be said that the official replies to the questions asked by Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray at a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council in connection with internments under the Defence of India Act do not at all constitute a human document, but their machine-made qualities were certainly more in evidence. Whatever their character, the guardians of the *detenus* should provide themselves and the *detenus* with copies of the replies and see whether the interned persons really have enjoyed the rights spoken of in the replies or been free from the inconvenience and sufferings from which they are said to be free. Should any of the replies be incorrect in these particulars, Government should be addressed on the points and the grievances ventilated in the public press.

"As the *detenus* have the opportunity of informing their relatives regarding any illness, of which they take full advantage, Government have not considered the desirability of reporting every case of illness among *detenus* to their relatives. But should *detenu* be so ill as to be unable to write, should not Government inform his relatives?"

'There has been one case of suicide.' This is greatly to be deplored. A

enquiry ought to be made as to the treatment which this *detenu* received

There is no regular medical inspection of interned persons. "facilities for obtaining medical help are given when necessary." We think those who are confined on mere suspicion should have at least those advantages which ordinary prisoners enjoy

Regarding explanations by *detenus* some of the questions asked were

(c) Who are the persons who consider these explanations are they the same officers on whose advice action under the Defence of India Act was ordered? (d) Are such *detenus* allowed to consult any lawyers before submitting their explanations? If so how? (e) In how many cases were such persons allowed to consult lawyers or relatives before being called upon to make any statement

The answers given were not at all to the point nor definite as their text given below will show

(c) These explanations are finally considered by the local Government (d) and (e) As stated in answer to question No XXIII there is no bar to *detenus* consulting lawyers or relatives in jail but at the time when charges are put to them they are invited to give their own answer

The questions and answers regarding alleged handcuffing and confinement in cells are quoted below

(a) Is it a fact that some persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act were handcuffed and put in prison dress? (b) Is it a fact that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are sometimes kept in cells during their period of detention under Rule 12A of the Defence of India Rules

Answer (a) It is not a fact that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are dressed in prison dress. The use of handcuffs is also prohibited in such cases. (b) The answer is in the affirmative

A gentleman of our acquaintance, of unquestionable veracity, reports that he saw at the Burdwan Railway Station a *detenu* in a handcuffed condition. This *detenu* belongs to Hardpur district and has been interned in a place situated within the jurisdiction of the Mayurakshi thana District Birbhum

Solitary confinement in cells is one of the worst modes of punishment known. It often leads to mental breakdown, and may bring on slow death. Mere suspects, as all the interned persons are, ought certainly not to be punished in this way

The questions and answers regarding alleged torture are given below

(i) Are the Government aware that there is a belief in the country that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are sometimes subjected to torture? (b) Are the Government aware of the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh, of Narayanganj subdivision who stated in open court at Dacca before Special Commissioners that he was subjected to torture by the police officers while in Calcutta? (c) How many applications or other informations have been received regarding such cases of torture, and in connection with which of the *detenus*? (d) What inquiry has been made by Government in the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh and other such cases, if any?

Answer (a) (b) (c) and (d) The Hon. Member is referred to the answer to question No VI (13), given in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock on the 21st March, 1916, in answer to the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu

As regards the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh, who absconded from internment and is still untraced this has already been a subject of inquiry

It is very unfortunate that the rumoured use of torture was not categorically denied. The reference to an answer given in the Imperial Legislative Council more than a year ago, is perfectly useless. The public do not treasure these precious replies in their memory. *Detenus* may not have been tortured before and upto 21st March, 1916, but could not Government give a definite assurance that none of them have been tortured subsequent to that date? As the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh "has already been a subject of inquiry," why was not the result of the inquiry made known? A supplementary question ought to have been asked on this point

The reply was given in Council that no arrangements exist for *detenus* being visited in jail, like ordinary prisoners, by non official visitors. Why not? Are suspects worse than convicts?

### Railways in Japan State Versus Company Management

From an interesting article from the pen of Mr. Yoshiro Kinoshita, Director of Transportation, Imperial Government Railways of Japan republished in the columns of *The Lushman*, of this city of May 14, 1917, we gather, that up to March, 1916, the aggregate mileage of railway lines in the Land of the Rising Sun amounts approximately to 8,124 miles of which 5,759 miles are owned by the Government and 1,679 miles only, mostly composed of feeder lines, by private Companies. Railway

development in Japan since its inception in 1872 has been steady and significant. At the outset railway construction was chiefly in the hands of the Government but after 1887 private capital was encouraged to undertake this new enterprise so that at the end of 1899 the private companies numbered more than 30. In the course of time however this divergent ownership and management gave rise to various drawbacks such as the lack of systematic working and the question of nationalisation began to receive the serious attention of both the Government and the public at large and at last after years of investigation the plan matured and in the two years of 1906 and 1907 the Government bought seventeen leading private lines of some importance. The total Government lines on the completion of the railway nationalisation extended 4 371 miles about three times their former length 1 518 miles while the invested capital grew from ¥ 170 000 000 to ¥ 700 000 000. Since then the construction of the Government lines has been steadily pushed on and even comparatively remote provinces of the country are being provided with facilities of railway communication. The capital invested up to April 1915 was ¥ 1 000 469 583 and the annual net profit for the year ending 31st March 1916 amounted to ¥ 63 992 603 or about 8.2 per cent and the whole of this sum finds its way to the coffers of the State to the benefit of the tax payer instead of filling the pockets of individual shareholders of private companies which in a self governing country like Japan is perhaps not so bad as it is in India where as a rule every shareholder of a Railway Company is as a rule other than an Indian. The average fare per passenger mile is 1.32 sen or less than half an anna and the average goods per ton mile 1.71 sen or about half an anna for the fiscal year ending March 1916. Furthermore these cheap fares and rates are levied for shorter journeys and hauls than those on railways in many other countries. The average journey per passenger is 23 miles and the average haul per ton 92 miles. When these conditions are taken into consideration the railway fares and rates may be considered exceptionally cheap in Japan. In the financial arrangement of the State the Imperial Railways are set apart as a special account and all disbursements for cons

truction working improvement etc., are met from the receipts and profit arising from railway traffic itself. In the matter of comfort speed and safety as far as circumstances permit the system of working in Japanese Railway is indeed a model for adoption in India. A trip through Japan properly made on the Imperial Government Railways is a most comfortable even luxurious way inconceivable in this country. The trains are all telescoped passages from car to car so that you can walk from one end of it to the other a real convenience and should you desire a visit to the dining car you can do so and return without getting off the train or waiting after your meal at any time you may wish. The train sleeping accommodations are also ideal during the day each passenger occupies a nicely upholstered comfortable roomy individual arm chair which is through a patented arrangement collapsed into a most enjoyable spring mattress with all the comforts of a first class hotel double bed with a special attendant to care for your wants or to wake you up if necessary should you want to get off at your station during the night. In other words the adoption by the State of the exclusive management of the Railways in this country has become a great desideratum in the interests of the people of India under the present circumstances.

R V

### A Constructive Programme for the Defence of India

We have in our previous issues criticised, as far as the Press Act would suffer us to criticise the Government's schemes for mobilising the manpower of India and creating an Indian Defence Force. It is only fair to our readers that we should unfold our own plan for the safeguarding of our hearths and homes and the honourable partnership of India's sons in the great war for human liberty now raging on the Continent. It should be clearly understood at the outset that it is not a question of money but of men that is facing the directors of the British empire to-day. The limit of mercenary recruitment has been reached and in order to get more men an appeal should be made to the sentiments of the people—as has been done in England from the very first day of the war. Even in India we have to call forth all that is noblest in human nature.



do this there should be a perfectly friendly understanding between the Anglo Indian Government and the Indian people, they should feel that they are *exactly* one. It would be the height of political folly to blink this fact. Unless this union of hearts is established complete success in marshalling India's man power under the banners of the Empire is a futile dream. No statesman should shut his eyes to the eternal verities of the case. Secondly, it should be distinctly understood that the defence of India by citizen soldiers is not a temporary exigency of the war which is to be gone through in a higger mugger fashion and abandoned on the day peace is signed. It is for all time to come an abiding problem and therefore preparation should be made for it with statesmanly length of vision organisation and unceasing linked effort. A demartialised and politically suspected race cannot be turned into a nation in arms in a day. Great is Diana of Peterhoff but even she cannot over ride Nature's law that nothing can be created *per saltum*. The man power of India like that of the self governing countries of Europe can be developed only by following a well thought out programme for a course of years and pursuing a truly wise policy of trust and deliberate promotion of national strength.

We suggest below what strikes us as the most promising—and indeed the only—means of raising an army of national defence in India.

(1) Release all the Indians interned on suspicion or imprisoned by sentence of law courts for their political views. In Ireland all the Sinn Féin *rebels* have been set free. The new Emperor Karl had released all the political prisoners in Austria. In Russia the new government have burnt the *doctors* of the secret police, and sent those gentlemen to the front to do some tangible work for their country. These facts are before the Indian public.

Almost every Bengali student who took an active part in the relief of the Burdwan flood or East Bengal famine has been interned, never tried never even definitely accused. And their friends and comrades are just the class from which you expect to get your recruits for the I D F.

(2) Indians should be admitted to the *Kang's* commissions on the same terms as other races in the empire. We only want a fair field and no favour.

(3) Indian youths, slightly falling short of the military height or girth of the chest should be embodied as a 'second line'. After six months regular exercise and a modified military training, you will find that they have grown to the requisite size when you can enlist them in the regular I D F (or 'first line'). Those who have failed to grow, should *then* be rejected. This measure will bring in a very large number of recruits. Those who knew the members of the Bengali battalion before have been astonished at the development of their physique in six months of martial training. By insisting on a rigid observation of the stature and chest measurement at the first stage, you are excluding tens of thousands.

(4) Lads above 15 and below 18 should be formed into cadet corps (*third line*) and trained in physical drill and martial discipline for an hour daily after school and 2 hours on Saturdays and their diet should be carefully regulated to increase their strength and power of endurance. No barracks are needed for this. The cadets will be fed and housed by their parents and if they have to be concentrated in towns the village boys will be billeted on the local gentry of the towns who we can assure Government will gladly bear the expense. In two years these lads will satisfy all your military requirements and form first class soldiers. Thus you will get a perennial supply of men. Every conscript country has its school cadets.

(5) The staple food of the people of Bengal Bihar and Assam and Burma has to be changed. It is a matter entirely in the hands of the people and their leaders. The idea is not ludicrous. Early in the 14th century the entire English nation changed its food, by giving up barley and adopting wheat. After the Russo Japanese War the Japanese have become wheat eaters in an appreciable degree. The thing can be done by deliberate and organised national effort, though it takes time. The staple food of the Eastern provinces of India has not the highest food value for its quantity; it also creates wind in the stomach and lowers the power of digestion. A campaigner should have the gastric powers of the ostrich. The Bengali soldiers have found no difficulty in adopting a partially wheaten meal in their content.

ments. Our youngmen should be asked to do the same in their homes.

(6) Lathi-play, wrestling and other indigenous forms of athletics should be removed from the "C" register of the Indian police, and the Government should openly remove the ban laid on them since the partition of East Bengal. You cannot pick up grovelling timid young invalids and make soldiers of them in a month. Public squares for athletics should be reserved in every large village and town, and games should be made compulsory for all the boys in every school, state aided or proprietary. The child is the greatest asset of the modern state and he should be cultivated by a public organisation (mostly voluntary, though guided by public servants at the top).

(7) Open summer schools for military training (of "first line" men) and physical training (of "second line" men) in the hills, the expenses being borne by public subscription.

Our scheme is not impossible nor Utopian. If there is a union of hearts between the people and Government, it will succeed in India, as it has done in every other civilised country. Money will pour in freely. Youngmen will offer themselves in thousands for their country's service—if only you can convince them that it is their country's service; Indian private medical practitioners will cheerfully join your I.M.S. to attend their sons, brothers and nephews; and you will be saved a second Mesopotamian scandal. The sun-dried bureaucrat, the conservative case-hardened in his "experience of Indian life (!)," the mechanically-minded politician who is dead to ideas and emotions, may see insuperable difficulties in the path of our success. But no statesman, no thoughtful student of human history, will scoff at our proposal, because he knows *Omnia vincit amor*.

But, what about enlisting the common people, the non-martial peasantry? you will ask. Our answer is that they will do exactly what they see their social betters doing. In the Peninsular War, many a Scottish captain, like the Napier brothers, was followed to the war by his tenants enlisting as privates. The same thing will happen in eastern India as it has always happened among the Rajputs. Peasants follow their natural leaders, in glorious enterprise no less than in vice.

### The Russian Situation.

That a whole division of the Russian Eleventh Army has had to be blown to pieces by its own artillery for cowardice and treachery, shows the sore straits in which Russia finds herself. We trust she will be able to pull herself through.

### Increase of Fees in Bethune College.

Fees have been increased in Bethune College and School. We are opposed to this increase. The total amount spent by the Bengal Government for the education of girls and women is much less than the total amount spent for the education of boys and men. And the day seems far off when any institution for the education of girls and women can expect to be even nearly self-supporting. Under the circumstances, what will Government gain by realising from the girl and women students a few hundred rupees, seeing that the additional income must mean discouragement to many parents of daughters? *The Indian Daily News* is opposed to this increase of fees, and observes:

ARROGOS of our remarks on the conveyance of Hindu girl scholars, published in our leading columns yesterday it is interesting to note that in New Zealand the greatest attention is paid to the education of children, and that free passes on the railway to the nearest private or public school are granted to children living near a line of railway; but out of reach of a primary school Education Boards are also authorised to make provision when necessary for the conveyance of pupils to primary schools by road or water. In the case of a child being compelled to live away from home to attend a primary school, provision is made for a boarding allowance. The total amount paid to Education Boards in 1915-1916 for such conveyance for scholars was £9,119.

### Britishers Unfit for Self-rule.

In Great Britain there are generally at least two political parties the members of each of which in turn habitually call in question the fitness and good faith of those of the other. If the arraignment be right, then the members of both parties must be considered incapable. How is it then, that men who are unfit to rule their own country become infallible when they come out to rule India? If in spite of their incapacity Englishmen can rule a foreign country, why should our alleged incapacity stand in the way of our obtaining self-rule? If the arraignment be wrong, then it is evident that Englishmen in matters of politics say things which are not

rect Therefore, when Englishmen call in question our fitness, how can it be taken for granted that we are really unfit? People who wrongly impeach their own countrymen cannot be considered infallible and trustworthy when they impeach us

### The Grave Educational Situation in U. P

#### The Leader says —

It is generally known that the problem of admission in colleges has become an acute one in these provinces. But we doubt if it is known equally well how grave it actually is. The following figures relating to colleges affiliated to Allahabad University which we have been able to obtain and which we believe to be correct will help one in understanding the extreme importance of the question —

Class	No of students refused admission	No admitted into other institutions	No who absolutely failed to get admission anywhere
1st year Arts	530	175	355
1st year, Science	194	109	85
2nd year Arts	311	49	262
2nd year Science	182	24	158
3rd year Arts	158	57	101
3rd year Science	39	12	12
4th year Arts	213	73	140
4th year Science	15	2	13
Total	1 642	501	1 141
Deduct the number of applicants for admission from other Universities			263
			878

#### Our contemporary observes —

A comparatively small proportion of these students must have belonged to the Central Provinces Central India Rajputana and the bulk of them to these provinces. Suppose that three fourths of the 878 young men whose educational career was cut short by the refusal of admission in colleges belonged to these provinces it means that well over 600 young men suffered in this wise,

The United Provinces have in recent years and months shown great public spirit and courage. Their leaders should be able to tackle the educational problem, which is from many points of view the most important that any nation can be called upon to solve. We strongly support all the suggestions of the *Leader*, e.g., that the maximum number of students admissible in each class should be raised from 60 to 100, that principals should be directed to admit students up to the maximum limit, instead of whimsically turning away students (as at Queen's College, Benares) in spite of their being accommodation that plucked students should be allowed to reappear at examinations without fresh attendance at lectures, that class accommodation and the staff of professors should be increased, that some new Colleges should be opened, etc.

To these we add that the Allahabad University should allow the Gary Duplicate Plan, described in a previous note, to be adopted by colleges of which the governing bodies can arrange for its adoption. This plan should be of great help.

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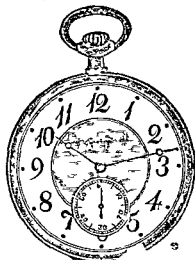
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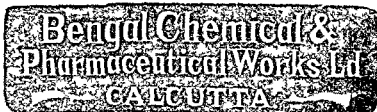
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ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS AND NOTICES, MEANT FOR ANY MONTH'S ISSUE, SHOULD REACH THE EDITOR BEFORE THE 1ST OF THE PREVIOUS MONTH

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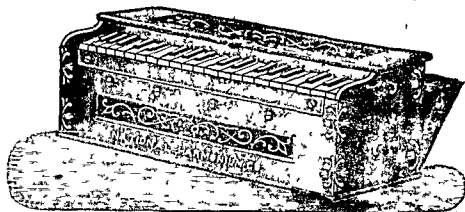
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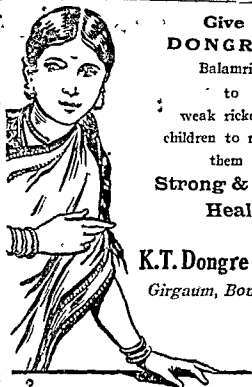
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### *The Message says :—*

There is no serious student of Indian politics who does not read the *Modern Review*.—it has simply become indispensable. Much of the credit belongs to the editor, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who possesses, in addition to a mine of information and a well of righteous feelings, a critical faculty of a high order and a peculiarly trenchant style of expression. The book before us exemplifies these qualities in a remarkable degree. All the arguments purporting to show that India is not fit for democratic institutions are examined with ruthless logic and irrefutably proved to be erroneous. The copy ought to be on the book shelf of every Home Ruler. Whatever *argumentation* can do in the matter of winning Home Rule is done here. If it fails to make the bureaucratic readers prepared to grant self Government to India within a reasonable period, the failure will not be due to any defect in the argument but to something else. How we wish that Ramananda Chatterjee were rich enough to send a copy to each and every member of the ruling race in India, so that their ignorant self complacency might receive a rude shock and their eyes be opened to the realities of the situation!

### *New India says :—*

It is a most instructive and representative selection that he has made, and includes the opinions of many distinguished persons both in India and in the West. The first forty nine pages give us the editor's own views on many aspects of the question, under the title, "Fitness for Self Rule." Everyone agrees—even many British officials in India—that self rule is the ideal towards which India should move, but when we begin to discuss the question in detail and as a matter with which the country will have to deal in a practical way in the near future, then all sorts of objections are raised. With the most common of these the author deals very satisfactorily, bringing forward the facts of history and the pronouncements of writers and speakers of note to show that these objections are not of any serious importance. "India and Democracy" by Sister Nivedita is the next paper. The main question here considered is that implied in the remark, "English Democracy cannot be planted in India. India is not fitted for it." The author points out that it is not English democracy that is wanted, but the right of Indian democracy to find self expression in its own country and among its own people. And as for India being unfit for democratic institutions—she quotes at some length instances of democratic methods which have been recorded in literature as the ideal of the people of ancient India.

Mr. John P. Hoops writes on Home Rule for India, and urges Indians to make some effort to inform the British public in England of their needs and wishes; and, later, in another short article, he gives an account of an interview he had with Alfred Russell Wallace in which he asked the great naturalist his opinion on the question of Self Rule for India. A very interesting contribution by Mr. Abinash Chandra Das gives an account of popular assemblies in ancient India. It is impossible to enumerate all

the many interesting points dealt with. We can only recommend the book to our readers as full of a great deal of information worth having.

### *The West Coast Reformer says :—*

We have received from the Modern Review Office, Calcutta, a neatly got up booklet entitled *Towards Home Rule*. The book is a timely publication, which effectively disposes of some of the silly arguments advanced against the ideal of Self Government for India, by interested people. In the opening paper on "Fitness for Self Rule" the position taken up by those critics is closely analysed and demolished. Mr. Lionel Curtis of the notorious Round Table organization also comes in for his due share of notice. Altogether, a very strong case in favour of granting Self Government for India has been made out, and the book is undoubtedly a step 'Towards Home Rule.'

### *The Commonwealth says :—*

Ever since its starting, the *Modern Review* has been devoting a great deal of attention to the subject of Home Rule, and various articles have appeared in India discussing why we need Home Rule and whether the time to have it is not overdue. No contemporary event bearing on that movement has failed to find a place in its columns; and the attention of the readers has been very often drawn to incidents happening in countries enjoying Self Rule—events of the type which are quoted in India to show that we are not yet fit to govern ourselves. Our past and contemporary history has also been utilised very freely to prove our capacity. Hence, month by month, the *Review* was making a valuable contribution to current Home Rule literature, and it was a good idea which has induced the Editor, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, to publish the most striking of such contributions in a small book of 132 pages. He has wisely decided not to republish much on the question whether we need Home Rule; for no Indian asks such a ridiculous question to day. If any thinking persons have still stood aloof from the Home Rule movement, it is because they doubt our fitness to manage our own affairs, and the present book has much valuable information for them.

The very first chapter is on "Fitness for Self Rule." In its 48 pages, every conceivable objection advanced by our enemies has been scrutinised and its hollowness exposed. Here is one typical instance...

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXII  
No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1917

WHOLE  
No. 129

## THE DAY IS COME

Thy call has sped over all countries of the world  
and men have gathered around thy seat  
The day is come  
But where is India ?  
Does she still remain hidden, lagging behind ?  
Let her take up her burden and march with all  
Send her, mighty God, thy message of victory,  
O Lord ever awake !

Those who defied suffering  
have crossed the wilderness of death  
and have shattered their prison of illusions  
The day is come  
But where is India ?  
Her listless arms are idle and ashamed  
and futile her days and nights, lacking in joy of life  
Touch her with thy living breath,  
O Lord ever awake !

The morning sun of the new age has risen  
Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims  
The day is come  
But where is India ?  
She lies on the dust in dishonour,  
deprived of her seat  
Remove her shame  
and give her a place in thy House of Man,  
O Lord ever awake !

The world's highroads are crowded,  
resounding with the roar of thy chariot wheels  
The sky is trembling with travellers' songs  
The day is come  
But where is India ?  
Doors are shut in her house age worn  
feeble is her hope, her heart sunk in silence  
Send thy voice to her children who are dumb,  
O Lord ever awake !

Peoples there are who have felt thy strength  
in their own hearts and sinews  
and have earned life's fulfilment  
conquering fear

The day is come  
 But where is India ?  
 Strike thy blow at her self suspicion and despair !  
 Save her from the dread of her own  
                   pursuing shadow,  
 O Lord ever awake !

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF 'FIVE YEARS,' "THE CINEMA GIRL," &c

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended]

### CHAPTER XV

#### THE PRETTIEST GIRL IN LONDON

"MY dear, my dear, I see it in the paper! Oh my dear I'm so sorry for you! And what a shame to put 'im away for that! There! but never mind that's nothin', there'll be no disgrace about that. Why, it's only wot might 'ave 'appened to my Ted if I'd been starvin'! But oh, my dear, my dear, I'm so sorry!"

Gladys had returned from the police court where she had heard the sentence pronounced on Harry, together with a few remarks from the magistrate. From the dock Harry just threw one look at her, and in his eyes was the agonised pleading of love, then a touch on the shoulder, and he was taken below.

Back to the shop in the Blackfriars Road, cold and gloomy, Gladys walked blindly, instinct just taking her to the place she called home. For sorrow, grief, impotent anger had had her very hands on her heart, had filled her brain for the time. All she knew was that her man, her husband, had gone to prison, gone to prison just because he had been refused money to buy food for her. He had not meant to strike the officer, he had been sorry for it directly afterwards, as he had said to the magistrate, it was anxiety and fear lest his wife should starve which had sent him nearly mad. But the magistrate had

replied coldly and with judicial calm that that was no excuse for committing an assault.

Charlie, the young fellow who looked after the shop, was full of sympathy for Gladys when she returned. Up till last week his wages had been paid out of the profits from the sales in the shop, he lived with his mother in a fairly comfortable home, so he was in no want, and Gladys found that out of his own money, which she knew he wanted for a new overcoat, he had bought a little coal and some food, so there was a fire in the little parlour at the back of the shop, and there she sat, alone in her grief and despair, until it was time to shut the shop, and just as she was closing the door Meg arrived, her great womanly heart full of sympathy.

"I see it in the paper, my dear. My Ted got 'ome early and brought it in with 'im. Oh, why didn't you tell me, why didn't you let me know? I'd 'ave come to the court with you and I'd 'ave told that magistrate somethin' if they'd let me speak. Now, my dear, just you try and think as the month 'll soon be over. It won't 'urt 'im in there, and you know as 'e aint done nothin' wrong—really wrong, I mean—so just you try and cheer up. And you never told us 'ow bad things was with you, you never come to see us on Sunday and 'ave a bit of dinner—we could 'ave managed that. Oh, you shouldn't 'ave stopped away like that!"

Meg was fondling and soothing Gladys, and the poor, stricken girl wife felt a wave of helpful sympathy enveloping her as she

leant her poor wearied head on the coster girl's bosom and cried

"We were poor, so poor," said Gladys, "and we couldn't take our troubles to you, for you and Ted had so much to put up with, you had quite enough trouble of your own."

"Oh, that be blowed for a tale!" said Meg, indignantly. "We've never been like you, without food and fire. And Ted ain't doin' so badly now, for things 'ave been bucking up a bit lately, and e's makin' just over thirty shilin's a week. And listen 'ere, my dear—oh, I'm so 'appy that it makes me more than miserable to see other folks un'appy—may I tell you?"

"Oh, do, do! I should love to hear any good news for you, Meg dear."

Gladys tried to put her sorrow on one side, for she was genuinely fond of Meg, and she wanted to hear what her news was.

"Well, Ted, 'e's been took on by one of the biggest dealers in the Garden—you know, Covent Garden, where they sell all the fruit and the vegetables. 'E's seen my Ted up there lots of times, and some'ow he took a fancy to 'im, which I don't wonder at, for what my Ted don't know about vegetable stuff ain't worth knowin'. Well, this 'ere dealer is goin' to take 'im on as his buyer, and Ted's to get five pound a week and commission. Five pound a week! Just think of that, my dear. And very likely, 'is commission 'll come to another two or three pound a week, and we shall be able to 'ave a nice little 'ome after all—and" here the rather rough voice sank to a tender whisper, "when the baby comes there'll be a good 'ome waitin'. I could never bear my baby to be born poor, I told Ted that. Ain't we in luck's way?"

"Meg dear, I'm so pleased, so very, very pleased. But it isn't luck, you deserve it, I'm sure you do, you deserve all of it."

"Well, that's all right then! But your luck 'll turn one of these days, you see if it don't. Now, Ted's noo job don't start for another couple of months, and in the meantime we've got to live on the thirty bob, but anyway, my dear we can squeeze enough food out of that thirty bob for you to 'ave some too. We're not goin' to see you starve. And you never told me, you never told me! Naughty girl, naughty girl!"

"I really think you're the kindest woman in the world, Meg," said Gladys. "But dear, I couldn't allow you to keep me, out of your husband's thirty shillings a week. It wouldn't be fair."

I don't care whether it's fair or not, it's what's goin' to appen. You know what I am when I make up my mind."

Gladys did indeed know that Meg was obstinate, nothing could move her from a fixed purpose.

"Meg, Meg," cried Gladys suddenly, a thought flashing through her mind, "I have an idea! If you will insist on helpin' me, we'll share things a bit, as it were. You and Ted come and live here over the shop rent free and what you would pay for rent shall be counted towards my food. Perhaps you will be just as comfortable here as where you are now, for there's this sitting room and the kitchen and everything you can have. Old Mr. Claymer's room for your bed room, and if we can only just keep the shop open and make enough to pay the rent and so on and Charlie's wages, we can stop on here, I suppose, until we're turned out. I wonder who really does own the place? But there, that doesn't matter now. You'll come won't you Meg? It'll be so nice to be together again."

My dear, that's a splendid idea! A sittin' room and a litchen and all, after one room! My, fancy that! Oh, I'll fetch Ted along to night. We've been payin' rent in advance, so we don't 'ave to give a week's notice."

And that night Ted and Meg Martin moved in their few belongings to the second hand shop—Ted brought them on his barrow.

But while Gladys was fairly happy in the thought that she would now have Meg for company, when she went to her room that night the tears, which had been so frequent lately, came to her eyes again, and a load of sorrow settled once more on her heart as she thought of Harry, Harry her husband, a prisoner in jail! And something, she did not know what it was, impelled her to take pencil and paper, and under the influence of her emotions she wrote three or four verses of poetry, pouring out, as has so often been the case, a heart's anguish in lines that seemed to write themselves. It was just the expression of her mental state, the feelings of an aching heart. Next morning when

she woke she hardly remembered having written the verses, and as she took them up and read them through they surprised her, and she could hardly believe that she had written them herself.

When she went downstairs to breakfast—Ted had long left for his market—she read them aloud to Meg.

"My dear, they're just simply lovely," said Meg, and her eyes shone. "They made me cry all over. Why, you ought to have them printed! Why not send them to a paper? May be they'd give you a lot of money for them. I've heard some of them writers make pots."

Gladys's heart gave a little jump. Should she dare to try and send these lines and get them published anywhere? She remembered her playful little remark to Harry that she was going to try and write a play. That play had never even been started. This was the first time she had taken up her pen for composition since the days when her uncle had told her that if she were not so lazy she would make a name for herself as a writer. Well, she would try now. Perhaps she might be able to earn some money. Poor Harry would want new clothes when he came out of prison. Prison! How awful the word sounded! What was he doing now, she wondered? She wouldn't be allowed to write to him; he wouldn't be allowed to write to her, she would not see him again till his month was served, when she should meet him at the prison gates.

"But I'll be brave, I'll be brave!" she said to herself. "It's what he would like me to be. He'll be brave inside that awful place, I know."

And so Gladys sat down and copied out in ink the verses which she had written with her pencil the night before and, in fear and trembling, sent them to a weekly paper, a sixpenny paper which she had often seen in the Free Library, and wondered whether anything would result.

"The landlord's been, mum," said Charlie when she returned from the post, "and he says he'll be glad to know if you're going to keep the shop on after the next quarter as, if not, you ought to give notice now, for the lease is up."

"Oh dear, I don't know at all, Charlie! How are the takings to day?"

"A bit better, mum, a bit better. There

ought to be about a pound profit this week. Oh, we shall pull through all right."

A pound profit that week! Oh that was indeed glorious news. It had not been nearly so much as that lately. Perhaps after all the luck was beginning to turn.

Gladys tried to be as cheerful as possible though the days seemed to drag so heavily, and it seemed as if Harry's month would never be up.

"There it is! I knew it!" cried Gladys one night when there had been the knock of the last post at the door, and she returned with a long envelope bearing outside the name of the paper to which she had sent her verses. "They've come back! I knew they would! Oh, how could I expect that they would ever be published?"

"Well then 'e don't know 'is business, that chap whatever 'e calls 'isself. If they made me cry, I know they'd make other people cry, and wot more does 'e want?"

"Oh! oh! wait a minute!" cried Gladys, who had drawn out what indeed were her verses, and with them a letter, and her face brightened up with a smile as she read it. "What more does he want, Meg? Well, what he doesn't want is to make people cry. Listen! 'Dear madam,' he says, 'your verses have made me cry—'"

"There you are!" broke in Meg, triumphantly.

"And as it is not the aim of my paper to make its readers miserable, I send them back to you at once. There is quite enough weeping in this world without poets adding to it. If you like to try and write something bright and merry, I shall always be pleased to look at it. Yours truly Richard Tarlton."

"And 'e sent 'em back because they made 'im cry! Well, I should 'ave thought that was just what would 'ave made 'im print them, but I suppose 'e knows best. Well, go on, my dear, sit down and write something to make us laugh."

"Something bright, something lively?" said Gladys, despair setting in now with the reaction. "Oh, I don't think I could ever do that! Still I'll try."

"'Ere you are, Mrs. Raymes!" broke in Ted, who could never be persuaded to call her Gladys, he thought that would be taking a liberty. "'Ere's something that would be better than writing poetry, I should think. Twenty five of the prettiest

girls in London wanted, and I know you're one of 'em!"

"Ted, what are you paying me compliments like that for?" cried Gladys. "I won't have it."

"Go on, shut up!" said Meg. "You know you are. Go on, Ted, what is it?"

And Ted rather laboriously read out from the evening paper a paragraph stating that for a new musical production at the Pandora Theatre of Varieties the manager required twenty-five of the prettiest girls in London, he didn't care of what station or rank they were, they must be pretty, that was all. He had secured fifteen already, and he therefore wanted another ten. Photographs should be sent first, and the selected applicants would be requested to call at the theatre.

"Why don't you send yours up?" said Meg to Gladys. "I'm sure you'd be chosen. 'Ow much did it say they would pay, Ted? Two pounds a week? Go on, Gladys, you must!"

"I shouldn't think of doing such a thing!" said Gladys, her face scarlet. "To think that I should consider myself—what shall I say?—good looking enough for that! I shouldn't dream of it!"

"All right, 'ave your own way!" Meg glanced across at Ted and winked, and the little man looked puzzled.

And though Gladys had so indignantly refused to entertain the suggestion, yet as she looked at herself in the glass that night the thought of two pounds a week kept ringing like a refrain in her head. Two pounds a week! Why, there would be enough out of that to buy dear Harry some warm clothes when he came out. Two pounds a week! Supposing the piece ran for months—as pieces often did—why, they would be all right until Harry got work, which he would be sure to do soon, and she knew well enough that Harry would not allow the Martins to pay for his food. Oh yes, two pounds a week would be lovely. But she couldn't persuade herself that she was pretty enough to be selected. And besides, she had no photograph to send.

She little thought that in the next room Meg and Ted were preparing a conspiracy.

"Look 'ere, Ted," said Meg, "when I say a thing's got to be done, you know it's got to be done. Well, to-morrow you'll find time to go to the Pandora Theatre and see the manager, and tell

'im as there's the prettiest gel in London—not one of the prettiest mind you—the prettiest gel in London—down 'ere, tell 'im straight out that she ain't got no photograph to send, and if she 'ad she wouldn't send it, and tell 'im to come down 'ere and see 'er 'imself. She needn't know nothin' at all about it, 'e can call 'ere and say as 'e's a pal of yours, and if 'e don't like her looks, well, 'e needn't let on 'oo 'e is, and if 'e do like 'em, well, she'll have to take the job, for I shall make 'er. Do you twig?"

"Oh, yes, I twig!" But what about me goin' up to a swell thea'ter like thit?"

"Well, you'll have to go, that's all! I've said so."

"All right, Meg. You're generally right I'll go."

And the next afternoon, when Ted had finished his round, an amused manager sat in his office and listened to the tale that was told him. Ted had insisted on seeing the manager on special private business, and at length had been admitted.

"If you don't believe what I tell you," said Ted, when he had explained his errand, "you come and see for yourself. You can't see 'er properly in the shop because it's always dark there, but you come down to night and ask to see me, Mr. Martin, and I'll say you're a pal of mine, see?"

The manager began to enter into the spirit of the thing, he concealed a smile behind his hand. His quick brain saw an advertisement in this, if the girl really was pretty. Yes, he would see it through.

And that night, at about nine o'clock, there was a knock at the side door of the shop, a double, rather important sort of knock, and Ted jumped up to answer it.

"I'll go, Mrs. Raymes," he said. "Expect it's a chap I know, a sort of pal of mine. 'E said c'd very likely look in to see me to night. I thought you wouldn't mind."

"Mind? Of course not, Ted!"

And so Mr. Hamborough, the manager of the Pandora Theatre, was shown in by Ted.

A shrewd, keen man of the world, Hamborough took up his cues well. He was in evening dress, just as he had come from his theatre, and Gladys wondered who this well-dressed friend of Ted's could be. Ted introduced him as—

"Mr. Hamborough, a gentleman wot's

a friend of my future gov'nor, and 'as come down 'ere just to give me a few tips in the way of buyin' "

Ted winked at Mr Hamborough, who understood that Ted was hinting to him the sort of part that he was to play

"O yes, of course, quite so! Of course, that's quite right" said Mr Hamborough, wondering what on earth he was to say about buying, what hints he was to give this quaint little coster "Well, I—I think that could very well wait for another time, you know I—I said I would call but I'm in a little bit of a hurry "

All the while he was looking at Gladys, as she sat there close to the lamp modestly, almost poorly dressed, and with rather a sad look in her eyes But her features had lost none of their chivalric beauty, her complexion was still white and fair, and the golden aureole of her hair seemed like a sun cloud resting on her well shaped head

"Yes, this was indeed beauty," thought Hamborough, as his quick eye framed her as the centre of a vision of lovely women in the tableaux for his next production

"Yes, I think that it be all just now," stammered Hamborough, taking up his hat "Just walk a little bit of the way with me, will you, Mr—er—Mr Martin? You must forgive my running away so soon, ladies, but I'm very busy just now "

"Well, that was a very quick call!" said Gladys She was quite puzzled as to the sudden appearance and departure of this well dressed man "It's something quite private he wants to see Ted about, I expect "

"Oh, yes, it's quite private," agreed Meg

"Well, what's 'appened, Ted?" asked Meg, when he returned with a broad smile on his face

"That gentleman as 'as just gone out, Mrs Raymes," said the little man striking an attitude, "was Mr 'Amborough, the manager of the Pandora Theatre 'E come down 'ere on purpose to see if what 'e 'ad 'eard was quite right, that the prettiest girl in London was 'ere and 'e's seen 'er and 'e says it is right 'E wants 'er for 'is show, and 'e's authorised me—that's a good word ain't it?—'e's authorised me to offer 'er on 'is be'alf not two pounds a week but three, because she's goin' to be the centre one of the lot, the pick of the bunch And Mr 'Amborough presents 'is

compliments to Mrs Raymes, and 'e'll be very pleased to see 'er at re'ersal to-morrow mornin' at eleven o'clock After which I puts on my 'at and goes out for a bit of a walk, and leaves you to fight it out with Meg "

Ted disappeared, and Meg went over and put her arms round Gladys, who was looking quite frightened

"My dear, we did it, Ted and I I'll tell you all about it "

The plot was explained, and then Meg asked Gladys

"You'll go, won't you, my dear? Three pounds a week, you know That's a lot of money "

"Yes, I'll go, Meg dear, and thank you very much," said Gladys simply, for she knew that it was her duty to accept the three pounds a week "But all the same you're a wicked, cunning woman, and your husband is worse "

"That's all right," said Meg cheerfully; "there's nothin' like knowin' 'ow wicked we are 'Ere's Ted come back again, feelin' thoroughly ashamed of 'issel, I expect "

But he didn't He simply grinned, and at supper held up his glass and wished good health and success to the prettiest girl in London

## CHAPTER XVI

### ON THE STAGE

It was a strange experience for Gladys the next morning, to stand on a bare stage and to be inspected, along with twenty-four other girls, by a group of experts in dress and colouring

She, with the other girls, was to be the centre attraction of one scene They were of all colouring and types, they were all of them pretty, beautiful, in fact, in their various ways, and the experts decided at once that Hamborough was right and that Gladys should be the centre figure

They had nothing to say and nothing to do except look pretty, but when after a week's rehearsal the curtain went up on the first night Gladys felt most terribly nervous She had been instructed time after time, and knew that all she had to do was just to walk simply and naturally and look pretty and charming, and follow the movements which had been drilled into her

"Oh I can never, never go through it again, I'm sure I can't!" almost sobbed

Gladys, upstairs in the dressing room "It's awful to have all those thousands of eyes staring at one I know I shall do something foolish"

"Don't be a silly!" reproved one of the girls "You'll get used to it directly It's only what we call the first appearance funk I had it myself"

And as the nights went on Gladys did indeed become used to the stage, the glare of the footlights, the staring eyes, and was even able to laugh at herself and her former nervousness

One day in the shop parlour, before she went to the theatre, she wrote a little article—not in poetry this time—in a light frivolous vein, and, after casting about for a suitable title, called it 'A First Night Funk' She poked fun at herself and at one or two of the girls with whom she was friendly, and when she had finished it she sent it off to Mr Tarlton, the editor who had praised her poetry, and at the end of the week she received a note saying that he would print it, that she would receive a guinea for it, and that he would be pleased to see further articles

And with that acknowledgement, with the certainty also before her of well paid work at the theatre, and, above all with the knowledge that in a week's time her husband would be with her once more, the clouds of gloom were lifted from her brain, inspiration worked, and ideas for stories and articles came almost without being asked for She even took out of the drawer in old Claymer's desk some scribbled notes that she had made after that night when they returned from the theatre and she had told Harry that she was going to write a play When sorrow and trouble came she had put them on one side Now, on looking at them again—well they didn't seem half bad Perhaps a play might be made out of them When Harry was with her again, when she had her husband by her side once more, she would try and see what she could do as a play right

But now, although she had ideas, she could hardly put them on paper, for her mind kept flying off at a tangent to the delight, the joy of meeting her man again

At length the morning arrived, and she waited at eight o'clock outside the prison gates A foggy, chill morning it was Here and there were a few unfortunate people waiting for their friends and relations to come out, some slinking by with

faces lowered and shoulders bent But Gladys held her head high Her husband had certainly been in prison, but what of it? He had been in prison for her Yes, it was for her that he had been temporarily insane, and she was proud, proud to think of that

The clock over the tower struck eight, a little door at the side of the big gates opened, and out came the discharged prisoners one by one

Almost the last was Harry, and as Gladys looked at him her heart almost stood still before she ran towards him, for he looked so ill, so worn, he coughed and shivered as he bent from his height to take her to him and kiss her

'Here's your jailbird, sweetheart,' he said "And you, my queen, my queen—"

He broke off as a fit of coughing interrupted him and Gladys looked at him anxiously

'Oh, Harry, my Harry, my boy, my poor boy' Now here, put on this! You must, you must! Oh yes, Harry, I bought it for you all out of my own earnings Oh, I'm a very proud and happy woman this day! There dear old boy, everything's all right But oh, what a nasty cough you've got! There now, come on, that's all right!"

With her she had brought a thick overcoat bought ready made Measurements? Of course she knew her husband's measurements, she knew what would fit him, she knew what style of coat he would like

"You—you bought this for me out of your own earnings, my darling! Have you been working, working? Oh, I've been wondering about you so much, how you were living? where you were? and I couldn't hear a word inside there"

Again the cough stopped him, hollow, racking

'But Harry dear, that cough? You hadn't it when you went in It seems very bad But there now, don't let's stop talking in this cold air Come, we'll have a cab! There's breakfast waiting at home, and you can hear all the news then"

Once inside the warm sitting room Harry's cough seemed better, and a little colour came into his pale cheeks as he listened while Gladys told of what had happened to her Meg with the instinct of her sweet and kindly nature, had arranged that she should be out all the



morning, for she knew that husband and wife would want to be together

"You, sweetheart, you a writer? And you on the stage at three pounds a week? Oh, it all seems so wonderful! And I—well here am I come out of prison, just a helpless sort of log"

"How dare you, how dare you speak like that, Harry? But that cough, old boy? That's the first thing we must see to I don't like it at all"

"No more do I, dear" Harry smiled a little grimly "It came on after I had been in there about a week, and it used to keep me awake at night But I shall be better now that I've seen you, now that I'm back with you And I must get out after break fast and see if I can find some work"

"You will do nothing of the sort, Harry, you won't go out Look here, old boy, I'm getting three pounds a week at the theatre, and Mr Tarlton thinks he can take an article a week from me, for the present at any rate, and he thinks that I shall do quite well at writing by and bye So we've got plenty of money, and you're not going to get any work until you feel better"

"That's what you say dear, but I don't like to live on my wife, no man does Oh, I shall be all right directly"

He gave another cough and Gladys noticed how he seemed to have shrunk, how his clothes hung loosely on him, and how his poor heart was stabbed through and through as she saw his thin, wasted fingers, his general appearance of breaking down He seemed to breathe with difficulty, too She saw him nod in his chair after he had finished his breakfast—always a bad sign And in the afternoon he actually confessed that he was tired and would like to lie down

Gladys as she sat and watched him felt an awful fear She had got him back, but he was ill she could see that Would she lose him now?

"Oh, God, no, don't take him from me!" she pleaded silently "Oh, let me keep him! What can I do, what can I do?"

He would want attention, medical attention, she could see that Food? There would be expensive food and medicines to be bought And the Blackfriars Road was not the sort of place he ought to live in, he ought to be away in the South of France, or somewhere like that She could see that it was something worse than a cold, it might even be that his

lungs were affected And how could she do all that, find all that, on four pounds a week? No, that would be impossible And besides, she ought to be with him She took no interest in her stage work, it was merely the fact that it brought her in three pounds a week that kept her there Oh, if only she could get enough money to take him away, to look after him!

But it would never do to let Harry see her miserable, worried about him, she must keep up a brave heart before him, and when she started for the theatre she kissed him, ~~and she~~ <sup>with a</sup> smiling, cheerful face that belied her aching heart

"Now, I'll tell you what you can do while I'm away, sir," she said "Instead of sitting and thinking about your helplessness as you call it, you can make out a fair copy of that idea I had for a play You can see if you can improve upon it, and then we shall be collaborators together for the enormous fees we shall get Do you know sir that ten thousand pounds is nothing to make out of a play?"

"You'll look after him, Meg, won't you?" Gladys whispered before she left.

"Look after him as if he was my own, my dear," said Meg

And when Gladys came back from the theatre—the piece in which she appeared was over by a little after ten—she found all three still sitting up and Harry seemed to have recovered a little of his spirits

"You bad boy, you ought to have been in bed by now," said Gladys

"As an author, I claim the privilege of sitting up late to see my collaborator," replied Harry "And, do you know, some of this play of yours is quite good, Gladys," he went on, with mock condescension "In time I think you'll write fairly well"

"Thank you, kind sir," said Gladys "Praise from the king is praise indeed"

"Darling" said Harry, suddenly taking her hand and drawing her to him, "I think it's just ripping I've copied it out, and made it a bit more connected, as it were, and I've just read it through to Mr and Mrs Martin, and they're delighted with it"

"Delighted? I should think we was!" put in Ted "My, it 'ud make a fine play When's it goin' to be produced? When can we go and see it?"

"Oh, dear, you're getting much too far

ahead, Ted," cried Gladys. "It may be years before it's even finished. I have to write it all out yet. Now then, bad boy, to bed, to bed!"

"Harry," said Gladys quietly when they were upstairs, "we're together again, sweet-heart, you and I together again; and we're grateful for the happiness that God has given us again, aren't we?"

"Yes, yes," said Harry. "I was wrong to complain. But it's hard on a man to have to sit still while his wife does the work."

"But don't you think that the wife is proud to be able to work, Harry dear?" said Gladys softly. "You won't remind me of that again, will you? It hurts rather. Now, Harry dear, I said we were grateful, didn't I? Won't you—with me—?"

Gladys dropped to her knees, and, with her husband by her side, she sent up a humble prayer of thanksgiving, and one, too, of pleading that the man she loved might be spared to her.

(To be continued)

## INDIA AND FIJI

WHEN the announcement was made on March 12th 1917 that all indentured labour to Fiji was henceforth prohibited, the relief among Indians of all classes was very great indeed. It seemed as if a great struggle had been victoriously ended and a crying evil removed. And all this was true, patently true. But there was the danger, in the midst of victory, of losing sight of the further and deeper question, as to what should be done to improve the conditions of those Indians who remained in the islands after indenture was over.

It would not be enough to say that, after the removal of the greatest evil of all, —the indenture itself,—these Indians must look after themselves; and this for two reasons. First of all, it would not be fair; because, by having allowed the indenture system to go on for so long, the moral character of these Indian settlers had inevitably become weakened, and they now need every help to get back to a decent standard of life. Secondly, if they were left to themselves and in consequence became more than ever degraded, then the shame and disgrace would fall upon India herself, and India would be judged by the morals of these her neglected children.

To understand how very serious this latter point is, we have only to consider the place of Fiji in the Pacific. More perhaps than any other colony it is the eye of the Pacific Ocean. There is only one other place that can be compared to it, namely,

Honolulu, which is under American protection. These two are the great centres of call for nearly all the Trans-Pacific passenger traffic from North to South. If, therefore, the Indian population in Fiji were to remain in its present demoralised condition, the general opinion about Indian settlers on both sides of the Pacific, i.e., in Canada, in the United States, in Australia and in New Zealand,—would continue to be just what it is to-day. If, on the other hand, improvement were to take place, and Indians were to prove themselves to be worthy citizens, then the prejudice against Indian settlers, which, at present, is so very strong, would gradually die down. The best way of making clear this important point is to quote in full an article, published in a New Zealand paper, which runs as follows:—

"Mr. R. McLeod, a businessman of Fiji, who is at present visiting Auckland, in conversation with an Auckland 'Star' representative on May 26, expressed some very strong opinions on the menace to New Zealand from the increasing Indian population of that colony. He said:—

"The simple education test as applied in New Zealand is a danger only to be fully understood by those who have seen countries monopolised by foreigners. The countless numbers of Indians of an absolutely undesirable class who could pass this test need only an incentive to swarm these islands as they have done elsewhere.

"Take Fiji as an example, and you

every path of life, every trade, good bad, and indifferent, in the hands of the Indian. He is a milk vendor, planter, grocer, boot maker, tailor, hawker, in fact, anything and everything.

'An Indian is more clannish than the proverbial Jew and will deal and work for each other a benefit always making room for a fellow countryman. It is to be borne in mind that New Zealand will draw her Indian population from Fiji—bring the nearest place where they are to be found in great numbers. Taking this into consideration what class of Indian are we to expect?—the very lowest.

'The Indian immigration ordinance declares every woman the chattel of four men, and in consequence the moral life led by these people is depraved in the extreme, marriage laws according to our Christian belief being a thing unthought of. Their domestic habits are filthy beyond description, it being quite a common thing to find twenty to thirty, men, women, and children, sleeping and eating in one room. Sexual immorality is not a vice to be ashamed of in the eyes of an Indian, and, in consequence, children become acquainted with sin and shame at a very early age, talking freely and unchecked on subjects the average colonial youth of twenty would be ignorant of.

'Let these teeming millions of Indians once become imbued with the idea that New Zealand offers a good home, and it will not be long before they will silently but surely settle down in real earnest. Supposing a goodly section did settle in the Dominion are their children to come under the compulsory Education Act? And, if so, are they to receive their education at the same school as the children of Europeans? To contemplate such a state existing in these beautiful islands is an excruciating agony to anyone who has had an opportunity of studying the Indian as a citizen.

'Take Fiji as an instance again and look at the criminal court lists and fully 90 per cent of the crimes committed are Indian. The leper station in Fiji has three hundred patients, and again we find the Indians predominating vastly over all other races, and the three hundred lepers in the station by no means represents the number in Fiji not even by half. This is another pleasing feature New Zealand is inviting when she invites the Indian.

'Very decidedly New Zealand cannot afford to allow a single Indian to become a permanent resident, and should take immediate and drastic measures to prevent even their temporary residence. What could Fiji do to-day if she wanted white settlers? It would cost as much as the islands are worth to rid them of Indians, and all this has occurred in about twenty years or less. Fiji to-day is a queer mixture of Chinatown and India—a good mixture in their own country, but not what New Zealand wants.'

I have quoted this in full, with all its prejudice and racial bias, because it is necessary to face the hard facts—to consider what people are really thinking, and not merely to imagine what they ought to think. A paragraph such as this throws a flood of light on what is called the 'White Australia' policy, and it is necessary as quickly as possible to remove the causes of prejudice wherever they are due to ignorance, and not merely to cry out against the prejudice itself.

It may be well here to quote a concluding note from the 'Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji' (published by Mr Pearson and myself last year) because it bears so exactly upon the point in question. It runs as follows—

'The importance of Fiji in the Pacific has hardly yet been realised by people in India. Fiji has become an outlying naval base, a kind of 'Heligoland' for Australia and New Zealand. It is also a chief port of call for the great liners, which pass to and fro from America to Australasia. We do not wish to enter into the political question, namely, the danger of colonising such an important outpost with a weak and degraded population, though much might be said on that subject. But we cannot pass over the relation of the Fijian Indian population to the place which India itself holds in the eyes of the civilised world. For that question is more than political, it affects the moral intercourse of nations.

'Fiji is, at present, like a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific—'This is India. Each traveller from America and Australia goes home to spread the news about India which he has learnt in Fiji. We felt, more than we can express the terrible wrong that was being done to India by such a false adver-

tisement We found ourselves protesting everyday of our journey to our fellow passengers— This is not India But the potent fact remained The advertisement went flashing across the Pacific— This is India It was the only India which the travellers in the Pacific saw

If the fair name of India is to be saved from further disrepute it is abundantly evident that this degradation should not be allowed to go on for a day longer But there is a higher appeal still It is this By strange neglect and indifference in the past India has permitted these the weakest of her own children to sink lower and lower Now at last the wrong that has been done has been seen with clear eyes Humanity itself makes the claim that this wrong should be set right with all possible speed

All this was written in the Report before the indenture system was abolished and as long as that system was still going on it was almost useless to consider any other immoral conditions of Indian life because each fresh ship-load of Indian emigrants brought out in utterly unnatural sex proportions made any decent moral standard impossible But now that this root evil has been abolished and a healthy moral atmosphere in the Islands is for the first time brought within the range of possibility it would be a thousand pities if the advantage were not used to the uttermost and the remaining moral evils as far as possible eliminated There is no reason why the Indian population should not recover its character and become an example of what is good in the Pacific instead of an example of what is bad

The problem is not a difficult one after all In the first place Nature herself is a wonderful healer of disease moral as well as spiritual if only her claims and conditions are fulfilled Now that no more recruitments with their large excess of grown up men will be coming out from India it will be surprising if nature does not herself gradually set right the proportion of the sexes by an increase in the number of female children born over male This has been often noted before in other new colonies and it is likely to happen in Fiji Then further every inducement should be given to free Indians to get back to the land and away from the slums of the city life of Suva the capital A very large

and generous offer was made by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company which had this end in view namely to give to free Indians easy conditions of land lease and land purchase but the news has recently arrived that great opposition has been brought against the scheme by other sections of the community This settlement of the free Indians on the land is a matter of moral life and death and it is necessary to press forward with it at once and to disarm opposition by showing clearly the urgency of the need

Secondly the religious conditions of Indian marriage need to be finally and fully secured and such marriage sanctions as obtain in India to be upheld in Fiji Here, again is a matter of immediate moral demand It cannot be too clearly understood by officials in Fiji that marriage sanctity is the very foundation of the Hindu Social Structure Without preserving that sanctity Hindu ideals are impossible and inconceivable These Hindu marriage ideals have been rudely shaken in the past and in some cases even destroyed If this disruption goes much further the ideals themselves will vanish altogether There is still time but only just time to preserve the population from this final disaster But if another generation grows up under the present laxity of morals and bad marriage laws then restoration of marriage sanctity will become almost hopeless

Thirdly the Indian children in Fiji have been allowed to grow up unregarded and uncared for in the midst of an atmosphere of unspeakable degradation They have learnt impurity and vice and gambling from very early days They have had no schools—nothing but the coolie lines to go to and to live in It is clear as clear can be that all the hope of the future now lies with the children In aiming therefore at moral improvement there can be nothing more vital nothing more essential than a good and sound education system which shall make a school training easily within reach of every Indian child This might seem beyond the means of the Fiji government But with sugar at a very high premium and immense profits accumulating chiefly through Indian labour it is only just and proper that a proportion of those profits should go to the families of the labourers who make them It can be pointed out also that money well spent

on education, to-day, will mean a decrease in crime, and an increase in industry, among Indians later.

Lastly, the Indians, who have now become actual settlers in Fiji, will never be able to protect themselves adequately, unless they have their share in the government of the colony. A step in advance has been taken by the Fiji government, in accordance with the proposal which we made in November 1916, and an Indian settler has been nominated to the Legislative Council of the Colony. It is true that the first nominee of government is illiterate, and therefore, unable to take full part in the council deliberations, which are all conducted in English. But this very fact only shows the need of education being given to the Indian children of settlers. For it must be acknowledged that under present conditions it would have been difficult for Government to find a suitable educated Indian. But, however unfortunate, in certain respects, the present choice may be, nevertheless a great advance has been made in obtaining an Indian seat on the council at all, and it is fairly certain that, in future, suitable educated candidates will be forthcoming. As it stands, today, the greatest need of advance in citizenship lies in the recovery of the full franchise for Indian householders in Suva. This was taken away more than two years ago and has never been restored.

Here are, then, certain vital points to be gone into thoroughly and in detail with regard to Indian settlement on the land, Indian marriage, Indian education, and Indian citizenship. If these points are satisfactorily dealt with, then there is a good prospect that the present moral degeneration will rapidly diminish. But if these conditions are not satisfied, then the Indian population, which has already sunk so low through the evil system of the past, will hardly have strength to recover itself and gain a new and healthy lease of life.

The Indian issue, that has been here discussed in barest outline, should not be re-

garded as of minor importance compared with home problems because of the smallness of the Indian population concerned; for it has already been pointed out, how this very population gives to the great countries bordering on the Pacific the concrete immediate impression of what India really is, and what civilisation she represents. But there is a further and more cogent argument even than this. This same Indian population in Fiji is the only race, taken from the tropics, which is fertile and even prolific in the South Sea Islands. Indian children are not only born in large numbers but physically thrive in these islands. There is no malaria, and they seem almost immune from other diseases, such as measles which sweep away the aboriginal population by thousands and thousands. One single epidemic of measles, for instance, destroyed one quarter of the Fijian population, while hardly a single Indian perished. There seems, therefore, almost a certainty that the future population, not only of Fiji, but of the middle Pacific, will in time be largely Indian, and that a belt of people, of Indian stock, will stretch from one side of the Pacific to the other.

This will not mean any cruel uprooting or extermination by competition of the aborigines for, as we have seen, these appear to be dying out, and large and beautiful islands, with virgin soil and little endemic disease, are suffering from depopulation. Out of this present fertile Indian population new Indian races will spring up and multiply and replenish the earth. The seeds of the future are now being sown.

What shortsightedness, therefore, if at this early stage all possible effort is not made to make the soil suitable in which these seeds are to grow! What folly if now, at this critical period, good foundations are not laid! Each slight advance now, however small, will bear fruit later a hundred, nay, a thousandfold.

S S Mooltan

C. F. ANDREWS

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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## CHAPTER IX.

ON reaching his house Gobindalal strictly forbade the servants to go upstairs.

He led Rohini up the stairs, her hand firmly held in his, took her into his bedroom and closed the door. Then settling himself on a chair at his desk he bade her stand before him.

She obeyed.

"Rohini," said Gobindalal, surveying her with a gaze under which she quailed, for in his eyes there was an unnatural glow showing the rage and tumult which convulsed his heart.

There was a pause. He pressed his hand on his fevered brow as if to collect himself.

"Rohini," he said again, "what do you think of me? Am I not a fool, the greatest fool that the world has ever seen?"

She was silent. She dared not utter a word and hung down her head.

"Yes," he continued, "the greatest fool that the world has ever seen! I have sacrificed everything for you. My wife, poor artless creature—I have made her life miserable, I have blighted her happiness. With her I was happy as never a husband was happy with his wife. When I left her to go and live with you it broke her heart. I disregarded her tears and entreaties. The blow it gave to her heart—oh, it was a severe blow, severer than one can imagine."

He paused for a moment, and then went on, speaking more to himself than to her: "Poor innocent girl! I have robbed her of her peace and happiness, I have given her a heart-ache for life. And what are you, Rohini, that I should have given up all that I most valued on earth to go and become your slave!—your slave! What a fool I was to have yielded to the witchery of your fair face!"

He suddenly rose, and carried away by rage, grief and remorse kicked her down.

"Get up, woman," he growled, resuming his seat.

She obeyed tremblingly. She sobbed, but he cared not.

"Stand where you are," he said. "You wished to die once. You attempted to commit suicide by drowning. Do you dare again to die?"

"Death will be welcome to me," she said in a piteous wailing tone of voice, "after such treatment as I have received at your hands."

"Then stand still."

Gobindalal opened his desk and took out his pistol. It was loaded as it often used to be. Presenting it before her he said, "This is loaded, and I will give you what you say will be welcome to you."

She had once wished to die when she had her grief; but now her love of life was as strong in her as in any one. She quaked with fear to see the loaded pistol. She had a presentiment that her hour was come. "Do not kill me," she appealed, "oh, do not for your sake, for mine. Spare my life, do, and I will leave the house this instant never to show you my face again."

Gobindalal was deaf to her entreaties. His blood was up. He had no pity. He raised the pistol and took aim at her forehead. She uttered a terrified scream. The next moment she fell. There was a deep gash in her forehead, from which the blood gushed.

The servants heard the report and were alarmed. At first they did not dare to go upstairs, but when they did after a while, they stood aghast at the sight of their mistress lying in a pool of blood. The room was vacant. A pistol lay on the floor. The master was gone.

## CHAPTER X.

Murder, though it be committed in a secluded place, and under cover of the darkness of night, will out, and the public will hear of it. The village watchman, having come to know that a murder had

been committed at the 'old factory house', as it was called, hurried on the same night to inform the officer in charge of the police station of it. The police station was about twelve miles distant from Prosadpur, so this officer did not turn up until nine o'clock the next morning. On his arrival he examined the dead body. Then after securing the pistol he held an inquiry into the case, and sent his report to the higher authorities. He next had the dead body sent on sheeted and bound up, in a cart in charge of the watchman to the nearest hospital for post mortem examination. Afterwards having eaten his meal, he earnestly set to search for a clue that might lead to the discovery of the murderer.

Immediately after Gobindalal had committed the murder he threw down the pistol and escaped by a secret door at the back of the house without being seen by any one. He travelled the whole night and the day next to put many miles of distance between himself and Prosadpur. In the village of Prosadpur he had assumed the name of Chunilal Dutt. His servants knew not what his real name was neither where he had come from. The sub-inspector in charge of the police station, having gone about for a time in vain to find a clue, gave up the search and sent a report, saying that the culprit had absconded.

A few days afterwards a very capable detective inspector was sent up from Jessore to investigate the case Fichel Khan, for that was the name of the inspector, searched the house thoroughly and found some letters from which he came to know the criminal's native village and his real name, and the name also of the woman who lived with him. He went in disguise in search of him to Haridagram, but in vain, for Gobindalal had never gone there.

Leaving Rohini to her fate Nishakar returned that night very quickly to Madhabinath who had taken up their lodgings at a shop in the bazar at Prosadpur. He told his friend what he had done. "You have not acted wisely," said Madhabinath, "for Gobindalal might be induced to commit something desperate for which he would be certainly arraigned in court."

But what had been done could not be recalled. They, however, passed the night

in great anxiety. And what were their surprise and alarm when they heard the next morning that a man named Chunilal Dutt, who had lived for nearly two years at the 'old factory house', had murdered his wife for reasons not known to any one and decamped. They were very sorry to think of Rohini's fate, but they were a great deal more afraid and concerned for Gobindalal, whom they feared, the police would be sure to find out. From that day forward they began to live in the bazar very cautiously, and when they knew that the police had failed to find out any clue, they felt a bit easy in mind and returned to Calcutta.

## CHAPTER XI

Madhabinath was come home Bhramar was at her father's. There was an expression of sadness in her face, which no one could fail to see. Her father said no more to her than that Gobindalal was quite well for he feared that if she heard of the rash and violent deed he had done it would very seriously affect her health. However, as he had told this in confidence to his wife, who, wanting to unburden herself, had cautiously and secretly imparted it to their widowed daughter, Bhramar before long heard of it. The news, as might be expected was at first crushing to her, but finally she had learned to be resigned.

Her elder sister, Jamini, said to her one day, "It seems to me that Gobindalal will be safe to come and live at his own house now."

"What makes you think so?" said Bhramar.

"Why, he was not known by his real name while he was away. How then can the police know that he is the very man who lived at Prosadpur?"

"Didn't you hear that the police went in search of him to Haridagram? That shows that they are in possession of his real name."

"However, I think," said Jamini, "there is nothing better he can do than to come home, for then he can command his finance, and father says the police care for nothing but silver."

A tear sprang to her eye. "That's very true," she said, "but who is to give him that advice? Who knows where he is hiding?"

"Gobindalal, I trust, will himself soon

feel that he will be more safe to live at his own house at Haridragram than elsewhere."

"I doubt he will come."

"Oh, he will, I tell you. My prediction will come true, you will see."

"Well," said Bhramar, "if no harm could ever come to him at Haridragram, then I would a thousand times wish him to come, and would fervently pray God to bring him home. But if he cannot be safe to live at his own house, then may his instinct keep him away. God have mercy on him!"

"But, dear sister, I think you will do well to go and live at Haridragram, for who knows when he may come, being, as not very unlikely, short of money? If he hears you are not there he will go away."

"Oh, I can see that, but who will look after me there now that I am in such poor health?"

"Why, I shall most gladly live with you at Haridragram."

"Well, I will go. You need not go now. You may ask mother to arrange for my going to-morrow. But forget me not, dear sister, forget me not in the day of trouble when I shall expect you to come and stay with me."

"Oh, why do you talk thus, dear?"

Bhramar wept. "I wonder if he will ever think to come," she murmured.

"My mind tells me he will. He will return a very different man from what he was when he went from you. Come, dry your tears, dear, and think of the joy of the meeting that will be."

"Joy! Oh, this heart—"

The words stuck in her throat. She was too much moved.

Jamini could not see, as her sister did, what the consequence of that most unfortunate act would be. She did not seem to think of the murder committed by Gobindalal, which Bhramar could never for a moment forget, being ever and anon tormented with the horror of the punishment which invariably followed such a rash and violent act.

## CHAPTER XII.

Bhramar went again to her father-in-law's. Day after day, and week after week she waited and waited, poised between hope and doubt, the coming of her husband, but Gobindalal never came. It was now the

third year since he left home; and that year passed away, and also the next, at the end of which she was ill again. For months she had been going into a consumption, and she was now troubled with a hacking cough. Day by day she was getting worse till it seemed to her that her end was not far away. Then the fear that she might have to go off without seeing her husband haunted her night and day.

The fifth year was in. At the commencement of it news reached Haridragram that Gobindalal had been found out, arrested and brought over to Jessore. It was heard said that he had been living away at Brindaban in the guise of a mendicant, and the police, having got scent of it, had traced him and brought him over from there. It was said that he was to receive his trial in Jessore.

Bhramar soon heard of Gobindalal's arrest. She had the dreaded news from her dewan, who had got a letter from Gobindalal. The letter ran as follows—

"I am going to jail. If it could be thought fit to spend a few thousands for my sake—a favour which, I know, I do not deserve, there is no time to be lost. I have no wish to live, but I cannot endure the thought of dying the death of a felon on the gallows. I expect I may not be allowed to be hanged if it could be helped. Make no mention of this letter to my wife, but tell her that you have had the information from a reliable source."

When Bhramar heard the news, she immediately sent information to her father, asking him to come at once. Madhabinath came without delay, and she put fifty thousand rupees in currency notes and Government paper into his hand. "O father," she exclaimed, weeping, "exert your utmost to save his life. Spend any sum. Nay, I will fling our whole fortune at the feet of the police to save him."

Madhabinath comforted his daughter as best as he could, and started for Jessore that very day. On leaving he urged his daughter to bear up, saying that as there was no evidence he had committed the murder he earnestly hoped that he would be able not alone to bring his son in law home, but also a considerable part of the money he was taking with him.

When he arrived at Jessore Gobindalal was in jail. But what he heard was very discouraging. The inspector, Fichel Khan,



had sent up witnesses to be examined after thoroughly investigating the case. He had failed to find out Rupa and Sonu, who were in the employment of Gobindalal. Knowing that in the absence of any witnesses it would be difficult to bring the charge home to the prisoner the inspector had sent up three men, bribed by him and tutored, to give evidence against the accused in the magistrate's court. When the case came up for hearing before the magistrate the witnesses declared upon oath that they had seen Gobindalal Roy alias Chunilal Dutt shoot Rohini dead by firing a pistol. This happened they said, immediately after their arrival in the old factory house at about nine o'clock at night. On being questioned why they went there, they said they went as on other previous occasions, to hear the girl sing. They had heard they said, that the girl was in the prisoner's keeping for over two years. The magistrate was easily convinced, and committed the prisoner to the sessions.

Madhabinath had procured the address of the witnesses. He saw them at their houses and got them to come over to his lodgings. "What you have said before the magistrate," he said to them, "you are not to mind. Before the sessions judge I would have you say that you know nothing about the case. If you will agree to say as I propose I will give you a thousand rupees each. To each of you I will pay in advance five hundred rupees now, and the rest when the prisoner has been released."

"But we shall be imprisoned," said they, "if we bear false witness."

"Fear nothing. I will prove in court by witnesses that Fichel Khan compelled you by cudgelling and threats to ruin you if you refused to say what he wanted you to say, to give false evidence before the magistrate."

The witnesses who had never in their life seen a hundred rupees together were easily tempted by the offer of ten times the sum. They agreed to do as they were asked, and they were paid five hundred rupees each in advance.

The day fixed for Gobindalal's trial soon came. The prisoner was in the dock. The witness first named was called up. He took his stand in the witness box and was sworn. He was then examined by the Government pleader who questioned him,

saying, "Do you know Gobindalal Roy alias Chunilal Dutt?"

"No, I am sure I do not know any one of that name," he said.

"But you have seen him when he was living at the Prosadpur factory house?"

"Never."

"Were you ever acquainted with Rohini?"

"Rohini?"

"I mean the girl who was murdered, and who lived at the Prosadpur factory house."

"I never knew her."

"How did Rohini die?"

"The rumour is that she committed suicide."

"Don't you know anything about the murder?"

"None at all."

The Government pleader then read out the evidence given by the witness in the magistrate's court, and said, "Did you not say these words before the magistrate?"

Yes, I did."

"Why did you make such deposition as that if you do not know anything about the murder?"

The witness here made a show of crying. "Fichel Khan compelled me by thrashing," he said, to give false evidence before the magistrate. He threatened to ruin me if I refused to say what he wanted me to say."

And he bared his back and exposed to view some black marks which he had got from a recent fight with his brother, as the marks of Fichel Khan's beating.

The Government pleader looked somewhat disappointed. He ordered the next witness to be called up.

After he had been sworn he was examined. And he answered exactly after the manner of the first. He had got up a sore in his back, which he showed as the result of the cruel treatment to which he had been subjected.

The last witness called only echoed the words of the two who had been examined before him. He said that had it not been for his great dread of the inspector who swore he would do him material harm if he durst refuse to say what he would have him say nothing could have induced him to perjure himself.

The judge for want of evidence, ordered the prisoner to be discharged. And as he was greatly displeased with Fichel Kha-

he ordered the magistrate to inquire strictly about the conduct of the inspector in connection with the case.

During his trial Gobindalal was wondering what could make the witnesses say what was quite conflicting with what they had said before the magistrate, but when he happened to cast his eyes on Madhabinath he understood the whole affair. After his discharge he was once more taken to the jail where he had to await the order for his release. As he was

about to be removed Madhabinath went up and whisperingly told him in his ear where he was putting up, and to see him without fail after being let off from jail. But after his release Gobindalal never saw him. And Madhabinath, after waiting for him a few days, was at length obliged to return to his daughter to Haridragram.

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## THE RISE OF SHAHJI BHONSLA

(A corrective of the legendary history current among the Marathas)

### True Chronology

- A.D.  
 1594 Shahji born  
 1600 Ahmadnagar captured and Bahadur Nizam Shah imprisoned by Akbar  
 1601 Burhan Nizam Shah set up by the nobles as king at Parenda. Becomes puppet of Malik Ambar about 1609  
 1604 Shahji married to Jija Bai  
 ? 1609 Malik Ambar recovers Ahmadnagar, loses it in 1617  
 1623 Shambhaji born  
 1626, 14 May Malik Ambar dies, Fath Khan succeeds as wazir  
 " 22 Sep Ibrahim Adil Shah dies, Muhammad Adil Shah succeeds  
 1627 Shivaji born  
 " 29 Oct Jahangir dies  
 1628 Shahji raids Mughal Khandesh unsuccessfully  
 ? April 1630 Nizam Shah imprisons Fath Khan, Hamid Khan becomes wazir  
 ? June " Lakshji Yadav murdered  
 ? July " Shahji conquers Puna and Konkan. Is attacked by Bijapur  
 ? Dec " Shahji joins Mughals  
 ? Mar 1631 Mughals besiege Parenda and successfully  
 ? Dec " Burhan Nizam Shah releases Fath Khan  
 ? Feb 1632 Fath Khan murders Burhan, and crowns Bahadur Nizam Shah  
 ? June " Shahji deserts Mughals  
 ? Nov " Fath Khan offers submission to Shah Jahangir. Shahji joins Bijapuris  
 1633 February, Mughals besiege Daulatabad, Shahji attacks them.  
 " 17 June Daulatabad (with Bahadur Nizam Shah) capitulates  
 " Aug. Murari weighs an elephant at Tulapur  
 ? Sept. Shahji sets up Murtaza Nizam Shah II  
 " Nov. Shahji raids environs of Daulatabad and Bidar, is pursued back.  
 1634 February, Shahji besieges Parenda. Raises the siege in May

- November Shahji creates disturbance near Daulatabad. Is expelled and chased by Khan-i-Dauran in Jan—Feb. 1635  
 1635 Civil war between Khawas Khan and other Bijapur nobles  
 " Oct-Nov ? } Khawas Khan murdered  
 " } Murari Pandit executed  
 1636 Feb-May Shahji attacked by Khan-i-Zaman and Shaista Khan. He besieges the Mughals in Junnar city  
 " May Treaty of Peace between Shah Jahan and Bijapur  
 " June-Oct. Final Mughal campaign against Shahji, who makes surrender of Murtaza and forts and enters Bijapur service.

THE rise of the Bhonsla family is closely connected with the dissolution of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, within whose territory lay their homes, Ellora, Chamargunda, and finally Poona, and to whose service belonged Shahji, his father-in-law Lakshji Yadav, and many of their relatives. The declining fortunes of the dynasty greatly added to the value of able and enterprising leaders of mercenary bands and gave them splendid opportunities of winning wealth, power, and large estates for themselves.

In August 1600 Akbar had captured the capital Ahmadnagar and sent its king Bahadur Nizam Shah (a nephew of the famous Chand Bibi) to a State prison. But the entire kingdom was far from being conquered or even nominally occupied. That task required 36 years more. Soon after the fall of the capital, the Nizam Shahi nobles retired to the provinces, to

which the Mughals were not yet strong enough to penetrate and one of them set up Burhan Nizam Shah (called Murtaza II by Firistab ii 160a) a son of Prince Shah Ali as king with Parenda in the south as his capital. This was done late in 1600 or early in 1601. In a few years an Abyssinian slave named Malik Ambar got possession of this puppet king, defeated his rival nobles and made himself regent and *de facto* ruler of the whole kingdom. Great in war and civil administration alike, Ambar defeated the Mughals, recovered the fort of Ahmadnagar (about 1609), waged successful wars with Bijapur and brought nearly the whole of the old Nizam Shahi kingdom under his sway. He had three long wars with the Mughals in the reign of Jahangir in the second of which (1617) he was defeated and forced to restore Ahmadnagar and after the third agreed to live on terms of peace with Delhi. In the meantime he had transferred the capital and the puppet king to Daulatabad.

Lakshmi Nadas was an important general under Malik Ambar and Shahji first saw service probably as the commander of the small contingent of his family in the service of Malik Ambar. He must have been a petty captain during the regency of Malik Ambar who died on 11 May 1626 when Shahji was only 31 years old and he first rose to independent and high command only under Fath Khan (the son of Ambar) who was evidently his first patron. From 1620 to 1630 Lakshmi Nadas was on the side of the Mughals and therefore Shahji could not have fought as a member of his father in law's force.

Malik Ambar died at the ripe old age of eighty on 14th May 1626 and was succeeded in the warship by his son Ith Khan, an extremely haughty, incompetent and bloodthirsty man. He made the mistake of alienating his friends by an invasion of Bijapur shortly after the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah (on 22 Sep 1626) \* and the succession of his son Muhammad Adil Shah, a boy domineered over by his minister, Khasas Khan Khan, Jahan Lodi, the Mughal governor of the Deccan was heavily bribed by Nizam Shah (Khasi Khan, 354) says by Hamid Khan the Abyssinian (minister) and treacherously gave back to him all the

territory that Akbar and Jahangir had wrested from the dynasty with so much loss of men and money. Only the commandant of Ahmadnagar fort refused to obey the traitor's order and loyally held the fort for the Mughal Emperor.

This happened at the troubled close of Jahangir's reign. On the death of that royal voluptuary (29 Oct 1627) Shah Jahan succeeded and in a few months firmly seated himself on the throne and then turned to restore his authority in the Deccan. Nizam Shah was called upon to restore what Khan Jahan had without proper authority ceded to him.

11c Nizam Shahi minister tried to play a double game. He professed willingness to restore the disputed territory, but secretly instructed his officers to resist the Mughals. The result was disastrous. First Mughal armies under able generals entered the Deccan. Shah Jahan secured the neutrality of Bijapur by offering its king a slice of the Nizam Shahi territory. In 1628 when the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan advanced to take possession of the fort of Bir Path Khan treacherously sent Shahji and a party of *soldiers* with 6000 cavalry to make a raid in East Khundesh and create a diversion in the rear of the Mughals. But an imperial officer, Dariya Khan Rubela, who held a large jagir there, attacked the raiders, slew many of them and expelled the whole party from the Dakhn of the Tapti and the Purna (*Padi shahzadah* I A 251).

The war with the Mughals went against Ith Khan and all the misfortunes of the kingdom were ascribed to his incompetence and ill-luck. His master seized the odium excited by the minister's administrative failure to get rid of him. The whole court had been alienated by Ith Khan's overweening pride and jealous monopolization of power. Besides Ith Khan's rival, Hamid Khan (another Abyssinian noble) had worked his way into Nizam Shah's heart by presenting him with his own wife, a woman of marvellous craft and fascinating power (Khasi Khan, 384). At the instigation of Hamid Khan Nizam Shah treacherously arrested Ith Khan and threw him into prison at Daulatabad (*Basatin-i-salat* 276). This event took place probably early in 1630. Hamid Khan signalled his accession to the warship by sending an expedition against Bijapur which according to the

\* H. S. p. 32 Sep. 1622. As the date of it is not known other parts of the same work.

the gossip of Khashi Khan (c. 385) was commanded by his wife. But the adventure was a failure (B S. 274).

The imprisonment of Khashi Khan threw Nizam Shahu's affairs into worse confusion than before. All the other nobles took alarm and began to devise plans for safeguarding their own lives and family honour. Lakhji Yadav Rao, who was one of the chief nobles and highest officers of the State, for self-preservation began to think of fleeing and taking refuge with the Mughals. Nizam Shah got scent of the matter and took counsel with Ikhlas Khan and Hamid Khan, saying 'Yadav Rao is old and experienced and knows all the secrets of our State. If he joins the Mughals, he will cause us harm beyond repair.' They advised him to imprison the Rao. Nizam Shah ordered Farhad Khan, Saidar Khan and Moti Khan Khashala to arrest him. Shortly after, when Yadav Rao came to the Audience Hall, Nizam Shah after a few minutes withdrew from it. The three Khans all together fell upon Yadav Rao and his son Achaji and snatched away their swords. Yadav Rao and Achaji then drew daggers from their belts, faced the enemy, and fought desperately. At last Yadav Rao was slain by Saidar Khan, and Achaji, and some of their comrades also fell in the struggle. Lakhji's brother Bithoji (or Nathuji), who had dismounted at the cistern of Qutlugh Khan immediately after the affair fled to the Mughals. Lakhji's son in law Shahji who was then stationed near Paranda, on hearing the news, hastened towards Sangamner, and thence reached Puna plundering on the way (*Basatin-i-salatin* 276-277).

The Mughal official history briefly tells us that Lakhji Yadav Rao had at first been a high mansabdar of the Empire, having deserted Malik Ambar for the Mughal service in 1620, and received for himself and his kinsfolk a total *mansab* of 24,000 cavalry, and had next (about April 1630) gone over to Nizam Shah, who during an audience at Daulatabad murdered him with his two sons, Achla and Raghu, and his sons' son Baswant (Bishwanath?) Rao. But his brother Jagdev and his son Bahadurji fled to their home Sindhkhed near Jalna. And so also did his heroic wife Girja (Bar), who, on hearing of her husband's death, did not lose time in shedding womanly tears but quickly

gathered together her property and the remnant of her family, and with great skill and daring made her way to safety (*Pad.* 1308-310, K K 1427, (M U 1520)).

From Sindhkhed they sent petitions to the Emperor Shah Jahan, who received them into his protection and favour. Lakhji's brother, son, and grandson were given *mansabs* in the Mughal army, with jagirs, (July 1360). The murder must have taken place early in June (M U 1521-523).

We now turn to the history of Shahji. Retiring to Puna (June 1630) he raised a great disturbance, plundered and took forcible possession of the Nizam Shahi country around and some Adil Shahi territory in the neighbourhood. Khawas Khan, the *wazir* of Bijapur, on hearing of these disorders and acts of usurpation, sent Murari (Pandit) from Bijapur with a large army to chastise and extirpate him. When Shahji found danger threatening him from all sides, he made friends with Srinivas Rao, the *sarnayak* and governor of Junnar, and took refuge with him. Murari burnt and plundered Puna, Indapur, and other villages and abodes of Shahji, totally desolated them, and founded a fort named *Daulat Mangal* on the hill of Bhilar 32 miles from Puna, posting Raya (? Rama) Rao with 2000 troopers there. He then detached Chandra Rao, Dalve and other captains of his army with their own contingents to conquer Tal Konkan, sending them towards Dabul, and himself returning to Bijapur (B S 277).

As Shahji was now living under the protection of Srinivas Rao in Junnar, and had no strong place of his own for a home, he built a new fort, named *Shahgarh*, on Bhimgarh which was lying ruined and deserted for a long time past. Making it his stronghold, he assembled five or six thousand troopers and set to conquering the country and forts in the neighbourhood, he brought within his grasp all the *Balaghat* (upland) country from Junnar and Sangamner to Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad and attained to great power (*Ibid.* 278).

Baji Dalve and others whom Murari had sent from his encampment to conquer Tal Konkan, entered the country by way of Dabul and seized Mahad, Ghodgaon, Nizampur, and some other productive places on that side, (now in ... productive

District) Siddi Marjan Inayatullah Khan, the Nizam Shahi Subahdar of Talkonkan, issued from Chaul and opposed them. He was slain, his army defeated, and the Adil Shahis got possession of the whole country including the rich port of Chaul. War continued—fresh Nizam Shahi army arrives—Baji Dalve slain near Kolar—Nizam Shahis finally victorious, but their general, Siddi Saba, appropriates the conquests to himself! At this time many nobles urged Nizam Shah to restore Fath Khan to the wazirship and thus strengthen his government, as the dreaded Mughal enemy was only waiting for an opportunity to crush him and his State was in utter confusion. He agreed, released Fath Khan from prison and made him wazir again, saying 'Guard my life and kingdom like your great father' (About December 1631). The change was followed by a reform of the administration for a time and people hoped for the best. But a few days afterwards, Burhan Nizam Shah was seized with insanity. Fath Khan brought him out of the palace to his own house (formerly the mansion of Salabat Khan) for treatment. But the king died in two months and Fath Khan was universally suspected of having poisoned him (BS 278-280 276, *Pad* I A 442). This happened about February 1632.

Before this Shahji has petitioned the Emperor for permission to enter his service. On receiving a favourable reply he came over to the Mughal viceroy's camp (November or December 1630), with 2000 cavalry, and was created a Commander of 5000 with two lakhs of Rupees as his bounty, his brother Minaji became a 3 hazari and his son Shambhaji a 2 hazari (*Pad* I A 327-328). After a short time he was deputed by the Mughal viceroy from Talang (near Pandharpur) to occupy the districts of Junnar and Sangamner, (which had been given to him as jagir), and Bezapur (*Ibid* 331, 357). A little later he was ordered to stay at Nasik which was in the jagir of Khwaja Abul Hasan a Mughal officer (*Ibid*, 367). About May 1632 the mahals of Fath Khan's jagir which had been granted to Shahji, were transferred to Fath Khan by order of the Emperor, and Shahji at once left the Mughals (47).

With the murder of Burhan Nizam Shah the last stage of the fall of the once glorious Ahmadnagar kingdom. Fath

Khan set up a puppet on the throne, Husain III, the son of the murdered king, a boy of seven only (BS 286). At once the provincial governors and commanders of forts refused obedience to the king-maker and his crowned prisoner. Shahji seized this opportunity of making himself great by imitating the example of Fath Khan. He deserted the Mughal service (about June 1632), seized the districts of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangamner and Junnar, as well as parts of Northern Konkan (*Pad* I A 442, BS 292).

The Nizam Shahi *qiladar* of Galna (in Western Khandesh) rebelled against Fath Khan's government and negotiated with Shahji for the sale of the fort to him. But the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan heard of the matter and by heavily bribing the *qiladar* induced him to sell the fort to the imperialists instead. It was delivered to them on 7th Oct 1632, after Shahji's agents had been sent back in disappointment (*Pad* I A 443).

We shall here conclude the story of the death agony of the Nizam Shahi monarchy. The Mughals had got possession of most of its strong places—Bir in 1628, Dharur on 17th June 1631, Galna on 7th Oct 1632. But their military career had been chequered. A Mughal advance under Asaf Khan against Bijapur in Dec 1631-Jan 1632 had ended in failure, retreat, and patched up peace. Their siege of Pandharpur under Azam Khan, was unsuccessful, the Bijapur sent a contingent under Murad Pandit to assist the garrison, the fort was provisioned, and Azam Khan finding that no fodder was available for 40 miles round the fort, abandoned the siege and retired to Dharur (about March, 1632). A terrible famine desolated the Deccan throughout 1631 and 1632, causing irreparable suffering and loss of life (*Pad* I A 342-364, 410-17 BS 287).

Fath Khan after the murder of Burhan Nizam Shah (about Feb 1632) was universally detested by all parties in the Deccan, and saw that the only means of saving himself was to seek the Mughal protection. For this he petitioned Shah Jahan (about the middle of 1632). The Emperor took him under his wing, and restored to him that portion of his old jagir which had been bestowed on Shahji during the Marathas' temporary submission to the Mughals (*Ibid*, 497). At once went over to Bijapur, a

Adil Shah sent an army to aid the Maratha chief in wresting Daulatabad from Fath Khan's hands. Fath Khan wrote to the Mughal viceroy, Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan, "Shahji is coming against me; there is no provision in the fort and it cannot hold out for a day. Come quickly and take it and save me: I shall become a servant of the Emperor." Mahabat sent an advanced force by rapid marches, and himself set out for it (on 1 January 1633) with 40,000 troops. Meantime the treacherous Fath Khan had repented of his offer to the Mughals, made terms with the Bijapuris. Muhammad Adil Shah decided to aid Nizam Shah in his last hours against the common enemy, the insatiably ambitious Emperor of Delhi, and sent a vast army under Raudaula Khan to reinforce the Nizam Shahis. The allies barred the path of the Mughals near the village of Khirki (now Aurangabad, and the Adil Shahis introduced into the fort 3 lakhs of *hun* and provisions. Fighting took place round Daulatabad and in the neighbouring district for five months, and in it Shahji, acting as a lieutenant of the Bijapuris, took a conspicuous part on many occasions. Khan-i-zaman, the son of Mahabat, drove Shahji away from Nizampur (February). (Pad. I. A. 496-520; B. S. 287-289.) But the latter and other Bijapuri officers continued to hover round the Mughal camp and cause constant harassment and loss to them. Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan himself arrived on the scene on 1 March and after severe struggles invested the fort closely. Fath Khan made a despairing appeal to Adil Shah to send him food and reinforcements, promising to yield the fort to him. Adil Shah sent a large army and vast quantities of provisions and other needments to the fort under Murari Pandit, about May. (Pad. I. A. 496-520, B. S. 287-289.)

begged him to send the provisions in, Murari replied by calling upon him to cede the fort to him first. Fath Khan had no help but to make terms with the Mughals, and at last on 17th June 1633 surrendered the impregnable fort of Daulatabad with all its treasure and war material to Mahabat Khan. Husain, the last of the Nizam Shahi kings, thus fell into the hands of the Mughals and was sent to Gwalior to end his days in the State-prison there. (B. S. 290-291; Pad. I. A. 528-540.)

The Adil Shahi troops now left the environs of Daulatabad, covered with failure and humiliated in their master's eyes. Murari was severely censured by Khawas Khan, as the blame for this miserable result was laid entirely on him. (B. S. 293.)

The Nizam Shahi dynasty was now extinguished. Its local officers set up for themselves: Srinivas Rao at Junair, Siddi Saba Saif Khan in Talkonkan, Siddi Ambar at Jinjera-Rajapuri, Siddi Raiban at Sholapur. (B. S. 294.) Shahji Bhonsla retired from the walls of Daulatabad to Bhingarh (July 1633), and seized all the Nizam Shahi dominion from Puna and Chakan to Balaghat and the environs of Junair, Ahmadnagar, Sangamner, Trimbak, and Nasik, and collected a force of seven or eight thousand cavalry, with which he plundered all sides. The new Mughal commandant of Daulatabad, Iradat Khan, wrote to Shahji through Maloji Bhonsla to join the Emperor's side, promising him very high *mansabs* for himself and his sons and the granting of every one of his demands. He knew that if Shahji could be enlisted in the imperial service and the Nizam Shahi territory could be occupied by the Mughals through Shahji's help, it would greatly enhance his own credit with the Emperor. But Shahji, who was one of the cleverest, most energetic and most

Murari Pandit to assist Shahji. The Maratha chief took out of fort Judhan, on the top of the Ghats, some 30 miles west of Junair [or fort Anjrai, acc to *Pad I B 36*] a Nizam Shahi prince named Murtaza, aged 10 or 11 years, who had been kept there as a state prisoner and crowned him at Shahgarh (formerly Bhimgarh) with the assistance of Murari about September 1633 (*BS 296-297*). But the Mughal official history suggests that this puppet was set up as king about July 1632, which I cannot accept (*Pad I A 442*).

In the name of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, Shahji carried on the government for three years, seized districts and forts and levied troops. He and Murari wrote to Siddi Saba Saif Khan, who had got possession of Tal Konkan and was residing at Kalian, to come and pay his respects to the new king, and co-operate with Shahji. The Siddi declined and decided to live at the court of Byapur, ceding the whole of Tal Konkan to Shahji—so that the whole of Jawar with the exception of the forts, fell into Shahji's hands. Murari left Shahji as regent and virtual ruler of Murtaza Nizam Shah, with a contingent of 5 or 6 thousand Byapur troops under Ambar Khan for his assistance, and himself returned to Byapur. On the way he halted at Pabal near the point of junction of the Bhima and Indrani, (now called Tulapur, north of Poona) for a holy bath and *tula* (weighing one's self against gold &c., to be given away in charity). Shahji, who hated Saif Khan for his refusal to co-operate with him, attacked him while he was coming to Murari with his 2000 cavalry with a view to accompany him to Byapur. [Shahji's plea was that Saif Khan had seized the Nizam Shahi elephants in fort Khuj.] A bloody battle was fought between the two near Khed, 12 miles due west of Pabal, and Karus, many were slain and wounded on both sides, Siddi Ambar Atish Khan, the commander of Saif Khan, was wounded and taken prisoner by Shahji's men while the Khan himself was invested at Khed for two days. Murari relieved him and took him to Byapur in safety (*BS 297*).

After this Shahji proposed a marriage between his eldest son Shambhaji and the daughter of Srinivas Rao, the governor of Junair, treacherously imprisoned the Rao and thus made himself master of the forts

of Junair, Judhan, Sunda (?), Bhor, Parasgarh (?), Harsgarh (?), Mahuli and Khuj (?).

He next removed the puppet king Murtaza from Bhimgarh to Junair, and lived there himself in great wealth (seized from the property of Srinivas Rao and other rich men of the place). Some twelve thousand of the dispersed old troops of the Nizam Shahi kingdom now gathered under him. Mahabat Khan found that the capture of Husain Nizam Shah III and his capital had not finished the business, but Shahji had revived the trouble. So war was declared against Shahji and Adil Shah. A large Mughal army was sent under Prince Shuja to besiege Parenda (24 Feb 1634), which Adil Shah had gained by paying its Nizam Shahi *qiladar* three lakhs of *hun*. But Murari brought relief to the fort, and the siege was abandoned by the Mughals in May (*BS 298, Pad I B 36-45*).

Meantime that is late in 1633, Shahji having assembled his troops near Ahmadnagar, had been looting the environs of Daulatabad and Bidar and closing the roads to grain-dealers and other wayfarers. A Mughal detachment was therefore sent to ravage Chumargunda, the home of the *Whonslas* and then take post at Sangamner, about December 1633 or the next month (*Pad I B 36*). The Mughal failure was due to quarrels among their generals.

Next, Shahji seized the opportunity of the death of Mahabat Khan, the viceroy of the Deccan (26 Oct., 1634) to lay hands on the villages near Daulatabad and collect the revenue. But as soon as Khan-i-Dauran, the new acting viceroy, arrived near the scene of the disturbances, (middle of Jan 1635), Shahji and other troublemakers of the public peace, at the news of it, fled away from the neighbourhood of Daulatabad towards Ramduda. Khan-i-Dauran himself arrived at Ramduda on 28th January, and then pursued the enemy through Shivgaon, Amarapur, and the pass of Muhri. Meantime, the fugitive Shahji had sent his baggage by the pass of Manikduda towards Junair, but it was intercepted by the Mughals, its guards were defeated and dispersed with slaughter. On this occasion the Mughals took all the property of Shahji's camp, 8000 oxen loaded with grain, some other oxen carrying arms

rockets, and about 3000 men as prisoners. The victorious Khan Dauran returned to Ahmadnagar (February) (Pad I B 68 69)

Next year, Shah Jahan himself arrived at Daulatabad (21 Feb 1636), and launched a vast force of 50 000 troopers, to overawe Golkonda, invade Bijapur (if necessary) and crush Shahji. One division of the army, under Khan Zaman, was to ravage the home of Shahji at Chamargunda and then wrest the Konkan from him. Another 8000 strong, commanded by Shaista Khan, was to conquer Junair fort, Sangamner, Nasik, and Trimbak (Pad I B 135 137)

The division under Khan Zaman carried on a successful campaign against Shahji during March, chasing him through Paragaon to Lauhgarb in the parganah of Puna, then belonging to Adil Shah and situated across the Bhima. Shah Jahan's orders having been not to pursue Shahji if he entered Bijapur territory, the Khan stopped there. One of his officers captured the walled village of Chamargunda. At this time Khan Zaman was recalled to join the invasion of Bijapur (160 162). Shaista Khan arrived at Sangamner on 8 March 1636, and wrested the parganahs of the country from the hands of Shahji's son and other owners, expelling the enemy from the district. Leaving Shaikh Farid as *thanahdar* there he went in pursuit of the enemy to Nasik. The Marathas fled from Nasik to the Konkan. Shaista Khan detached 1500 men to occupy the Junair region and punish the enemy. At this time an imperial order recalled the general to the defence of Ahmadnagar. A detachment from his army had taken the town of Junair from Shahji's servants and another had gone towards Mahuli where the enemy was reported to be present.

At this time Shahji's son [Shambhu?] joined him near Chamargunda, and then with a party as escort set off for the fort of Junair, where his family was living. When [Shambhu] arrived near Junair, the Mughals sallied forth from the city and attacked him, many being slain on both sides. Immediately after hearing the news, Shaista Khan sent 700 men from his side to reinforce the Mughals at Junair. These men cut their way through the Marathas who barred their path, entered Junair (city) and strengthened its defence. In fact, the Mughal force in Junair was closely besieged

and driven to sore straits by shortness of provisions and fodder. Shaista Khan at once hastened to Junair, beat and chased the enemy back to the bank of the Bhima river. Baqar Khan was recalled from the Konkan to the defence of the city of Junair, and Shaista Khan set out to meet the Emperor at Daulatabad, 21 May (Pad I B, 148 151)

The campaign against Shahji was thus brought to a premature close, because Bijapur had defied the Emperor and the main Mughal forces had to be diverted against that kingdom. However, in May next Bijapur made peace with the Emperor, one of the terms being that Shahji was not to be admitted to office under Bijapur unless he ceded to Shah Jahan the forts of Junair, Trimbak and some others still in his hands. (*My History of Aurangzib*, I 40)

The Emperor was now free to turn his forces against Shahji. The campaign was reopened in July and proved a complete success, as I have described in detail in my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol I pp 46-48. Shahji capitulated in fort Mahuli (which he had some eight months before secured from its *qilidar* Minaji Bhonsla), he entered Bijapur service, gave up to the Mughals the shadowy king Murtaza Nizam Shah, together with Junair and six other forts still held by his men (Pad I B 225 230)

From the above facts of Shahji's early history it will be clear that he received a crushing blow to his fortunes in the fall of his patron Fath Khan and the murder of his father-in-law Lakhy. Yadav Rao about June, 1630, and that though he afterwards asserted himself in the Puna-Nasik region, it was only as a petty plunderer, and his rise to power and prestige, as a king-maker and wielder of the legal authority of the Nizam Shahi State, was due entirely to the support of Khawas Khan and the resources of the Bijapur kingdom. Murari Pandit, the favourite and right hand man of that Bijapur *wazir*, played a most important part in the early life of Shahji. He had first met Shahji as an enemy (Aug 1630), but soon came to cherish a personal affection for the young Maratha chief and a high opinion of his ability and intelligence. The story of Shahji having taught Murari (August 1633) how to weigh an elephant, is well known.



history of the rise and fall of Khawas Khan (and of Murari with him) is therefore an inseparable part of the life story of Shahji.

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah had a favourite slave of the Maratha race named Daulat-yar (created Daulat Khan and commander of the capital), whom he instructed, just before his death to place the crown on the head of his second son, Muhammad Adil Shah. Daulat accomplished this change of succession (22 Sep 1626), blinded the eldest Prince, Darvish, and confined his son Ismail in fort Udgir, (B S 272, *Part I* B 219). Thereafter Daulat Khan, now entitled Khawas Khan, ruled Byapur as regent and virtual king. His policy (like that of his old master) was to prop up the Nizam Shahi kingdom as the only barrier between the dreaded Mughals and themselves. For this reason Adil Shah and his *wazir* forgave a thousand acts of ingratitude and wanton aggression on the part of Nizam Shah and helped him with men, money and provisions every time he was attacked by the Mughals. Mustafa Khan, the rival of Khawas, was the only noble of Byapur who advocated a policy of alliance with the Mughals for dividing the heritage of Nizam Shah (B S 281-283). At last, after seven years of virtual dictatorship, Khawas Khan provoked a civil war in the State by his haughtiness, greed of power and incapacity. He suddenly imprisoned his rival Mustafa Khan in Belgaum. All the other nobles who were smarting under the ill treatment of Khawas and his creature Murari, were instigated by the Ling to overthrow him. They wrote to Khawas to dismiss Murari, who was universally unpopular. Khawas refused. Immediately a civil war broke out. Khawas intrigued with Shah Jahan for help, sending his envoy Shaikh Muhiuddin Dabir to Agra. His enemies gathered to

gether at Gulbarga under Randaula Khan, who was soon joined by Raihan from Sholapur. The main army of Khawas was sent under Murari to suppress Raghu Pandit, but after attacking Raghu at Dewalgron it was routed, and Murari took refuge with the Naikwar of Dharwar. Adil Shah instructed his petition bearer, an Abyssinian named Siddi Raihan (not Malik Raihan, the governor of Sholapur), to put an end to Khawas. When the hated minister was coming out of the court, the conspirators fell on him and stabbed him (late in 1635). The wounded man made his way home, but his doors were broken open and his head cut off. Mustafa Khan was now released and restored to the premiership. [He had been the *titular* *wazir* even during Khawas's usurpation of power.] (B S 299-302.)

Murari lost all his power after the death of his patron. He was arrested by the local officer of Halihal, and sent to court in chains. There he opened his mouth in foul abuse of the Sultan, who ordered his tongue to be cut out, the prisoner to be paraded in a cart through the city, and then his joints to be hacked off one after another. This happened one month after the murder of Khawas Khan. (B S 302.)

The history of Shahji after he had entered Byapur service and the part he played in the conquest of the Karnatak for his master (from 1646 onwards), are better known and will not be treated here.

JADUNATH SARKAR

[*Query* Murari's father was named Jagdev, and his son was most probably the Venkatadri who about 1678-80 took an important part in Byapur affairs as the right-hand man of the regent Siddi Masaud. Does the family still survive anywhere in the South Maratha country?]

—J S]

## SONG OF THE ARYAN SETTLERS

Plains of the Panjab ' blue as the sea,  
Land of the Five Rivers ' turn we to thee  
Leave we Himalaya, Home of the Snow ,  
Indus hath called us , gladly we go

Plains of the Panjab ' shimmer and shine  
Silently roll those blue billows of thine  
Silently break 'neath thy mountains, sun kissed,  
In foam of the white cloud, in spray of the mist

Plains of the Panjab ' Silver and gold  
Wander and wind thy Five Rivers of old ,  
Threads for the brooder laid on the gown ,  
Five Milky Ways in a heaven dropt down

Plains of the Panjab ' High is the rim  
Of the cup that enfolds thee distant and dim  
Lie thy five waterways We are afire  
To slake in their bounty our thirst of desire

Plains of the Panjab ' blue as the sea,  
Land of the Five Rivers ' turn we to thee  
Leave we Himalaya Home of the snow  
Indus hath called us gladly we go

M. YOUNG

Palwal, Panjab

## ECONOMICS OF BRITISH INDIA\*

WELCOME this new edition of Mr Sarkar's well known work. In this edition the book has been enlarged largely rewritten and brought up to date. A short but illuminating chapter on the economic effects of the war upon India at the end of the book will be found useful. The Preface which used to be such a noticeable feature of the earlier editions has been omitted but the general get up of the book has been much improved. It speaks well of the publishers that in spite of these improvements and the exorbitant rise in the price of paper and printing materials the price of the book has not been enhanced.

The work is based almost entirely on the syllabus prescribed for the Third Paper of B. A. Economics in the Calcutta University. It is mainly intended to help the University undergraduates to pass the

B. A. degree examination in Economics, and it would not be fair to judge it by any other standard than its utility to students which is incontestable. But Mr Sarkar frequently makes use of his own powers of observation and analysis and this raises the book far above the level of an ordinary cram book. To the general reader the main value of the book (apart from its value as a compendium of much valuable and trustworthy information) lies in the fact that in it are embodied Mr Sarkar's views on some of the widely discussed politico-economic questions of the day, such as the nature of the Indian land revenue, Protection, Home Charges, gold currency etc. Mr Sarkar has the courage of his convictions and is an extremely able exponent of his views. The reader will not feel inclined to withhold admiration from him for the masterly way in which he supports his own positions, though he may not see eye to eye with him in everything. This also makes it very difficult to argue against. We shall now proceed to examine his views on subjects in some detail.

By Prof. Jadunath Sarkar M.A. Fourth Edition  
1917 Messrs M. C. Sarkar and Sons Pp 374  
Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Sarkar considers the discussion regarding the nature of the Indian land revenue merely a 'profitless war of words.' He quotes with approval the view of Campbell—which seems to be also his own view so far as it can be traced through the mass of divergent opinions cited—that the distinction between a tax and a rent is merely a matter of amount; if the land revenue assessment is so high as to absorb the whole of the economic rent, then it is a rent, otherwise it is a tax (p. 354). This is merely shirking the real point at issue and can hardly be called a scientific explanation of the phenomenon. The Indian land revenue may not satisfy all the canons of taxation, and it may not, in practice, conform to all the requirements of the theory of rent. But it is hardly accurate to call it both a rent and a tax—for the distinction between the two is not one of degree but of kind. An assessment may be a rent though it does not "absorb the whole of the economic rent." In fact, it is only in countries where there is no friction to free competition in land—and such countries are rare—that the payment demanded for the use of land equals the economic rent. In the same way, an assessment may be a tax, if a heavy one, though it takes away the whole of the surplus profits. Of course we may get rid of the difficulty by saying with Bastable, that the Indian land revenue belongs to neither class but resembles the dues of a feudal lord. But apart from the fact that such a medieval conception of the Indian land revenue is not likely to meet with the approval of either the Government or the people, it is not strictly in harmony with the actual facts. As we know that feudal dues were more often levied in services of various kinds than in money or the produce of the soil, and when these services came to be commuted into money payments in the later middle ages rent emerged.

The discussion of the question of the Indian land revenue is bound up fundamentally with another question, viz., who is the ultimate owner of the land. If the question of the ownership of the soil could be decided, the problem would have been solved once for all. Rent is the payment made to the owner of the land by the person who uses it for the service which it renders—it is the surplus over the total expenses of production. If the Government were the owner of the land in India, land revenue would be a rent, no matter whether the assessment amounted to the whole (as some Indian economists say) or only a part (as Government apologists say) of the true economic rent. If, on the other hand, the people are the actual owners of the land which they cultivate, land revenue is a tax, it cannot be a rent, as a tax is an assessment levied by a Government upon the property of others, while a rent is a receipt from one's own property. But unfortunately the question of the ownership of land in India is not capable of easy solution; there is no universally recognised custom or tradition, and the two schools of Indian economic thought—one of which we may, for want of a better name, call the official school, and the other, the non official school—generally hold diametrically opposite views in the matter.

In the absence of this supreme test, we must try to decide the question by reference to the character and policy of the assessment itself. It seems to us that the discussion is not one of mere academic interest, as Dr. Haverjee says (*A Study of Indian Economics*, Second Edition p. 213), or "a profitless war of words," as Mr. Sarkar puts it (p. 354), but has great practical value, as on the true scientific

solution of this question will depend whether the Indian Government can fairly and without undue hardship claim the whole of the economic rent as land revenue. If the land revenue is really a rent, the Government is not only entitled to the whole surplus produce of the soil—the deductions for the expenses of cultivation, including the remuneration of the cultivator himself, being made on a liberal scale—but *should* take it. For the cultivator, unless he holds the land he cultivates in his own right, can lay no claim to this surplus produce, and to allow him to have any share of it would be to put an extra burden in the shape of additional taxation upon the shoulders of the non agricultural classes of the community, for which there can be no justification.

In our own humble opinion, the land revenue should, from the point of view of economic theory, be regarded as a tax rather than as a rent, and for the following reasons.—The land revenue in India has always (even from long before the days of the British occupation of the country, vide the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IV) been looked upon as a first charge upon the produce of the land. Now, rent cannot be a first charge upon the produce, it is rather of the nature of a last charge. It is a surplus, and rent does not emerge unless this surplus occurs. It is, as we have already said, what remains over after all the other expenses of production (including the remuneration of the farmer for his own labour) have been met. If nothing remains over, no rent can as a rule be paid. But in India cultivators have always to pay the land revenue whether the land yields any rent or not, whether custom or free competition is the dominant feature of the locality. This shows that from the point of view of economic theory, the Indian land revenue is not of the nature of a rent which is a last charge upon the produce, but is a tax which is a first charge.

From the universal character of the imposition it also follows that the land revenue becomes, as it were, a part of the general expenses of the cultivation of land and enters into the price of agricultural produce (vide, Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*). Now, a tax generally enters into and raises the price of the commodity upon which it is levied, if not by its full amount, at least by a part. But true rent can never do so. Economic rent is governed by the price of the agricultural produce, the price of the agricultural produce is not governed by rent. The Indian land revenue, by entering into the price of agricultural produce, also establishes its kinship to rent. Besides, the fact that the Government does not by its own admission, even when hard pressed for revenue, demand the whole of the economic rent as land revenue—though as already pointed out it would be justified in doing so and would inflict no hardship upon the people—but resorts to devious and wasteful methods of taxation to make good the deficit, seems to indicate that the Government itself does not, at bottom, regard the land revenue as a rent but as a tax upon agricultural profits or income which should not ordinarily exceed a certain well-defined maximum.

We shall now bring this part of our review to a close with an extract from Baden Powell, by universal recognition the greatest authority on the land tenure systems of British India. "The British Government has everywhere," he says, "conferred or recognised a private right in land, and in large areas of the country—Bengal, Oudh, and the whole of Northern India, for example—it has expressly declared the proprietary rights of the landlord."

village owners. It is then impossible to say broadly that the state takes a *rent* from the landholders regarded as tenants. The Government is certainly not the owner. The utmost it does is to regard the land as hypothecated to itself as security, in the last resort, for the land revenue assessed upon it. He continues 'After the Government has so distinctly conferred proprietary rights in land any later use of the term 'universal landlord' applied to Government can only be in the nature of a metaphor. The only function of a landlord that the Government exercises is the general care for the progress of the state, making advances to enable the cultivator to sink wells or effect other improvements, advancing money for general agricultural purposes, suspending or remitting the demand for revenue owing to famine or calamity of season.' And he concludes thus 'The land revenue cannot, then, be regarded as a rent, not even in the Kayasth lands. I should be inclined to regard the charge as more in the nature of a tax on agricultural incomes' (Baden Powell, *Land Systems of British India* Quoted by Dr Banerjee in his *Study of Indian Economics*).

Passing on to the subject of Protection we find that Mr Sarkar is an out and out Free Trader. He would not even have a modified system of Protection for Indian industries. We ourselves are not in favour of Reciprocity, Imperial Preference and other such devices of the Imperialist School, which, we believe would do more harm than good to Indian interests. The present system of Free Trade would be preferable to any such new fangled scheme. But we believe that a moderate system of Protection, graduated to the needs of Indian industries spread over a number of years and reduced gradually so as to leave the country again free of all trade restrictions save those required for revenue purposes after a few decades, would benefit many of the Indian industries. We know the practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of such a scheme, but they are not of a kind which a paternal government like that of India could not overcome. History teaches us that Protection once adopted is very difficult to shake off, vested interests are created and they clamour against any return to the old system of Free Trade. But history also teaches us that few countries have been able to develop their industries without some form of state aid, and that the temporary loss to a country is compensated many times over in the long run by the rapid growth of wealth under a protective system. We do not agree with Mr Sarkar that the Indian generally is so conservative in his habits, or so great an exception to the general run of human beings, or so spiritually minded or indifferent to his own interests that he will not know a good thing when he sees it, nor is he, we believe, so inefficient or slovenly a worker—and in this belief we are supported by the independent testimony of many foreigners who have come into daily contact with him in his work—that he will not be able to turn any system of Protection even partially to his own advantage. Almost all of us are familiar with one or two industries in which an extra 5 p. would make all the difference between extinction and vigorous life. It is true, as Mr Sarkar says, that Protection often exercises a benumbing or cramping influence upon industries, but as a rule only when the protective duties are so high as to be almost prohibitive and the manufacturers are confident of their continuance at the same high level. This and to a certain extent the scarcity of coal and iron, the two essential requisites of all modern industry, were the main cause

of the decadent state of many French industries before 1860 (A protective duty of 100 p. was not at all a rare thing in the French tariffs of the middle of the 19th century). Contrasted with the French industries before the sixties of the last century, to which our attention is drawn by Mr Sarkar stand the German industries of to-day, whose development under a moderate protective system since the seventies of the last century has been phenomenal. Of course we do not mean to imply that the entire credit of this development is due to protection. The Germans are a very resourceful and enterprising people, with wonderful powers of organisation, and we may be sure that even without Protection German industries would have been in a flourishing condition to-day. But very few people will deny that Protection has substantially helped this development. Mr Sarkar says 'List wishes to continue a moderate protective duty till his country has reached the highest degree of wealth and power and can compete on equal terms with the most advanced industrial nations of the world, that is to say, till the millennium arrives!' (p. 326 The Italics are Mr Sarkar's, not ours). But has not this millennium for which whose arrival List is so blandly ridiculed, already arrived in Germany? Has not Germany reached the highest degree of wealth and power and cannot she compete to-day on equal terms with the most advanced industrial nations of the world? The interminable miseries of the present war only make us wish that this were not the case!

Mr Sarkar's main arguments against the adoption of protection in India at present seem to be two in number. First, our largest and most flourishing industries, such as cotton, jute, tea and coal, he says, can no longer be called *young* industries and do not require protection. Protection to them now will be an encouragement to slack effort and decline of efficiency (p. 322).

Mr Sarkar seems to have missed altogether the real significance of protection. Protectionists do not advocate Protection for all industries pell mell, but only for those which are unable to compete without Protection with foreign manufactures in the home market (Subsidies, bounties, rebates, etc., have often other ends in view, but they are different from true Protection.) Now, three of these Indian industries, viz, jute, tea and coal, have already a practical monopoly of the Indian market. Even without protective duties foreign producers of these articles cannot compete with them in India. Protection to them would be superfluous. As a matter of fact, the Government of India could not protect them even if they would, for in the absence of imports where would such protective duties be levied? But cotton stands on an entirely different footing. Here foreign competition is not only present, but strong, and we believe that a small duty on imports or, what comes to the same thing the removal of the countervailing excise duty, would materially benefit the cotton industry. It would not slacken effort, but rather encourage the growth of cotton mills outside Bombay and Ahmedabad where the industry is now principally localised.

Mr Sarkar's second argument against protection is that certain other smaller industries, such as the manufacture of sugar, paper, candle, soap, cigars, etc. suffer from such organic defects that the removal of these defects rather than protection is what is necessary to foster them (p. 323). It is true that many of these industries are carried on

under very crude and primitive conditions of manufacture which would in many cases give place to modern and more scientific methods if the manufacturers could be tolerably sure of making a good profit out of the change but the fear of foreign competition stands in their way. It is a well known economic fact that small industries cannot be carried on as efficiently or economically as comparatively large ones many of these organic defects are such as are inherent in the system under which the production of these commodities is carried on, but would vanish if protection by guaranteeing to the manufacturers the prospect of good and regular profits for a number of years enabled them to introduce the necessary reforms. If protection is withheld from these industries till they have proved their fitness for it by removing all their organic defects, we should have to wait long indeed. And when the organic defects have at last been removed supposing they could be removed the manufacturers would probably turn round and ask us to keep our protection to ourselves as they no longer required its blessings.

Mr Sarkar's last point is that protection, to be effective must be directed against British goods since in normal years these constitute about two-thirds of our total imports, and no reasonable man, he says, can expect a politically dependent country like India to be allowed to impose protective duties on British goods. But we expect such a thing, unreasonable as we may be considered to be, and what is more, our expectation is being slowly but surely fulfilled. No one can say that some of the recent duties imposed by the Government of India without any countervailing excise duties (such as the tobacco and the cotton duties) are pure revenue duties, or that they have not mainly hit the British manufacturer. These measures should have knocked the bottom out of Mr Sarkar's belief.

We now come to the question of the Home Charges. Here we are glad to find ourselves in general agreement with Mr Sarkar's views. The problem of the Home Charges is at bottom a very simple one; a good deal of heated controversy that has raged round it in the past has been merely the result of confusion of issues. We borrow certain sums of money for the construction of our railways, irrigation works and for other purposes from time to time in England, we engage every year the services of a number of Europeans to carry on the administration of the country in its various branches and for its military defence. We purchase annually a certain amount of goods abroad to meet the requirements of our administration. Now, as long as we continue to purchase foreign goods and to requisition the services of foreign men and money, we must be prepared to pay their due price. Foreigners will not let us have these things for love, and our payment if it does not exceed the market price of the commodities cannot properly be regarded in the nature of a drain. It is a fair price for a fair service rendered. Where then does the question of drain come in? First it is said, that we have been too long dependent on foreign countries for men, money and materials. The Government should have long ago taken active steps to have these things produced in India. A national Government like that of Japan, for instance though at first dependent like India, on foreign countries for supplies has by strenuous exertions succeeded in a few years in freeing itself very largely from such dependence. India, a country of much larger natural resources would certainly have suc-

ceeded in doing the same in course of a few decades or generations if her Government had followed a similar policy. And the payment which she has now to make annually to foreign countries for this mistake or neglect constitutes a drain. Secondly, it is said that the price which India has to pay for services received is in some cases (e.g., in the case of the foreign administrative agency), higher than their lowest market price, and this extra payment, too constitutes a drain.

But would it not be more proper to look upon it as Mr Sarkar says as a price which British connexion inevitably entailed, a price which we must pay to get a regular and uninterrupted supply of the best ability from abroad?

To point to the excess of India's exports over imports and say that the whole of this amount constitutes an annual drain from the country as it sometimes done because we get no visible return for it is simply puerile, and the only way to look upon such a statement is to regard it as a relic from the old by gone days of classical Political Economy when economic goods or wealth were not infrequently identified with tangible material objects. Nevertheless there is this element of truth in the statement that a permanent excess of a country's exports over its total imports (including precious metals) is a sure index of national poverty.

If the industries of India had been properly nursed and attempts made to train up a local administrative agency, it is possible that many of the stores which are obtained from Europe might now have been procured locally and an indigenous administrative agency could also have very largely taken the place of the costly foreign agency, especially in the lower administrative posts without any perceptible sacrifice of efficiency in the country's administrative machinery. The industrial development would also have increased the country's wealth and resources, enabling it to contribute more substantially to public and railway loans. The portion of the Home Charges which represents payments for such services (whether of men, money, or materials) is a true economic drain. But its amount is quite indeterminate, what proportion it bears today to the total volume of the Home Charges cannot be ascertained *a priori* for the conditions which would have made its payment unnecessary have not been realised.

If  $x$  represents the total Home Charges and  $y$  the portion of the Home Charges which constitutes payments for services which we could not have reasonably expected to obtain in the country at this moment then the annual drain  $= x - y$ .

That there has been a drain from the country in this sense for a considerable number of years past, there can be no reasonable manner of doubt. Referring to the portion of the Home Charges which represents payments for stores and for interest on loans contracted abroad, Mr Sarkar says, 'This portion of the expenditure could have been avoided only if all our public and railway loans had been raised in India and English made stores replaced by things manufactured in India both of which suppositions are impossible' (p. 281). It is one thing to say that India could not have raised all her loans in India (few countries are able to do this) and that things manufactured in India could not have wholly replaced—for that is what we believe, Mr Sarkar's meaning—English made stores (no country today is altogether self contained) and quite another thing to say that she could not have shown any advance

at all in these directions. If the Indian Government had not followed a policy of drift, we verily believe that her many defects notwithstanding India would today have given a much better account of herself.

On the subject of a Gold Currency for India Mr Sarkar's views have to be gathered mainly from his criticism of the arguments of the opponents of the measure, and here we are compelled to pose, much against our will, as critic's critic, where we happen to differ from him. The first objection urged against the introduction of a gold currency in India (we give the arguments in the order in which they appear in Mr Sarkar's book, pp 304 et seq) is that the great majority of the Indian monetary transactions are for very small sums the people being so poor, and consequently gold coins are unsuitable as a currency for India. To this Mr Sarkar says, "sovereigns cannot be a popular currency of daily use in our country, because a sovereign represents Rs 15, which is too large and inconvenient a unit for the needs of ordinary Indians. Gold coins can come into popular use only in small 5 rupee pieces" (p 306). At the very next page, however, we read "Inquiries made by Government in 1911 showed that in the Panjab and Bombay sovereigns are freely accepted by the peasants as the price of their crops and remain in active circulation as currency." If sovereigns are "freely accepted" by even peasants and "remain in active circulation as currency" among them how can Mr Sarkar say that "gold coins can come into popular use only in small 5 rupee pieces," that is to say, when they are so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye? It may be said that the peasants of Bombay and the Panjab who freely use sovereigns are comparatively well to do people, but so are also Englishmen at home who use sovereigns in the daily transactions of life. The gold sovereigns is not "a popular currency of daily use, even among 'ordinary' Englishmen, though the English people are the richest in the world. The mass of the English people, such as working class men earning wages of from £1 to 30s a week, always prefer to have their wages paid in silver, and the gold sovereign is to them an object of almost as great a luxury as it is to the ordinary Indian. But that has not led England to demonetise gold. The various kinds of mohurs, pagodas, etc., which used to circulate pretty freely in India before the East India Company made the 1835 silver rupee the sole unlimited legal tender coin, had not, most of them, a less intrinsic value than the English gold sovereign. The extensive circulation of the ten rupee note also leads us to believe that the sovereign is not a coin of too high a denomination for circulation in India. In fact, it was largely the fear of the sovereign proving too strong a rival to the ten rupee note that led the Chamberlain Commission to oppose the introduction of a gold currency in India.

The second argument of the opponents of the gold currency has reference to the hoarding habits of the Indian people. It is said that in the event of the adoption of a gold currency much of the gold would thus pass out of circulation altogether. There is a deal of truth in this statement, but it applies with almost equal force to the existing silver currency. Besides there is plenty of evidence to show that the popular passion for hoarding is passing away, and with the opening up of new opportunities of safe investment, whether in banks

or in industrial undertakings, it may be confidently expected that very soon it will be a thing of the past. "Moreover," as Mr Sarkar very rightly points out, "it is a mistake to suppose that hoards are for ever withdrawn from circulation; the money is often drawn out and used in time of need." The melting down of the gold coins for the making of jewelry, etc., might be stopped, or at least considerably reduced, by punitive legislation.

Thirdly, it is urged that gold coins will not be an addition to the existing volume of the country's currency but will merely replace notes in active circulation, which would be no gain but rather a retrogression from the ideal currency system. Mr Sarkar says that this view of Messrs. Lush and Keynes "follows Ricardo" and is "very sound" (p. 308). One wonders how a man of Mr Sarkar's sound scholarship came to overlook the fallacy underlying the argument. Ricardo nowhere says that an ideal currency is a paper currency representing a *token* silver coin like the rupee (for that is what the rupee really is). His view of an ideal currency was very different, as everyone who has read his writings on currency questions knows. According to Ricardo the best currency was a paper currency which represented an *equal value* of gold or silver bullion. Let us quote one or two passages from his book. "A currency is in its most perfect state," says he, "when it consists wholly of paper money, but of paper money of an equal value with the gold which it professes to represent. The use of paper instead of gold substitutes the cheapest in place of the most expensive medium, and enables the country, without loss to any individual, to exchange all the gold which it before used for this purpose for raw materials, utensils, and food, by the use of which both its wealth and its enjoyments are increased." Again "Experience shows that neither a state nor a bank ever have had the unrestricted power of issuing paper money without abusing that power, in all states, therefore, the issue of paper money ought to be under some check and control and none seems so proper for that purpose as that of subjecting the issuers of paper money to the obligation of paying their notes *either in gold coin or bullion*." The currency system of India must pass through many stages before it can hope to reach the ideal of Ricardo's dream. First, the country must have a standard gold currency in place of the present token silver currency, secondly, the paper currency of the country must be made to represent the standard gold coins instead of token silver rupees, lastly, the paper currency reserve to back this paper money must be held in gold or bar silver (preferably the former) and not mainly in rupees as at present. It is only when these reforms have been introduced that the popular suspicion of the paper currency is likely to vanish entirely and paper can be expected to take the place of metallic currency to the extent that it has done, for instance, in the continent of Europe or in U S A.

The next argument says that a gold currency would involve the immediate conversion of crores of silver rupees into gold and the cost of this conversion would run the Indian Government. Mr Sarkar's reply to this argument (p. 308) is rather feeble. He says, "MacLeod has clearly shown that no government is under an obligation to convert its subsidiary token coinage into gold to an unlimited extent on demand." This is quite true if large quantities of token coins, which are not full legal tender are presented for conversion at a time. But

personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first ex-President I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and solely to look after the interests of the Indian students and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian non-partisan, and non-political body.

The Association is not only promoting the educational interests of Indian students in the United States but it is doing a splendid missionary work in fostering cordial relations between America and India. To this end the local chapters give public programs and enlighten American audiences on the present day conditions in Hindusthan. Sometimes the representatives of the Association visit other clubs and societies and discuss Indian culture and civilization from the angle of an Indian. Moreover, the central organization of the society which has its own printing plant publishes a monthly periodical known as *The Hindusthanee Student*. Just now the enterprising editor of *The Student* A. C. Chakravarty has published a useful pamphlet known as 'Education in the United States of America.' It gives valuable information on such subjects as American system of education the best way to come to America, cost of living leading American colleges and universities medical education dress and equipment, and other related topics. The book can be had from the editor of *The Student* Urbana, Illinois for 2As 6P. Publications such as these help to interpret India to America and America to India. They inevitably tend to roll away misanderstandings and pave the way to mutual appreciation of Indian and American life.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthanee Students' Convention held under the auspices of the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The Convention which had a three-day session met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride

to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high-class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis, but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians India was made to appear as a tail to somebody else's dog. In the Panama Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account and as a fitting recognition of the role played in this great festival of nations the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such in brief are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiqdin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston is a tireless worker for the welfare of the Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking.

The Hindusthan Association is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of tomorrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students and yet more students, there is room for them all in American universities.

SUDHINDRA BOSE M. A., PH. D.

Iowa City  
U. S. A.

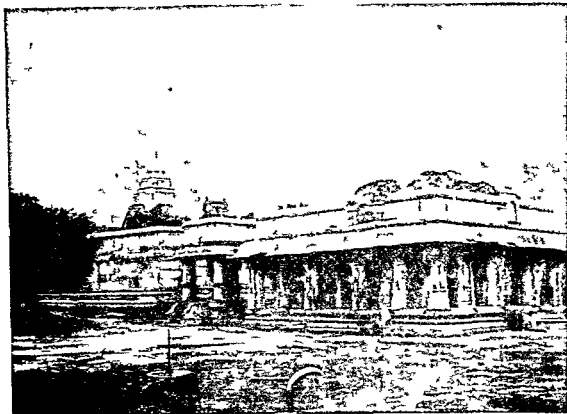
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## RUINS OF VIJAYANAGAR

By SHIRLEY

IN the neighbourhood of Bellary, South India, there stand the remains of what was at one time the largest and most powerful empire under the Hindu kings, that of Vijayanagar. Of its grandeur in the days of its power we have very descriptive accounts by the old embassies from the European courts, Paes, Nuniz, and others. Abdur Rassack an ambassador from Persia, says, "The City of Vijayanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there ever existed anything to equal it in

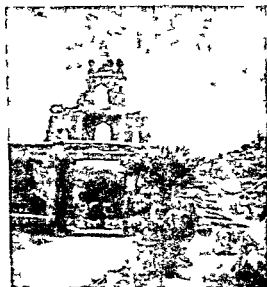
the world. Another account states, "The streets and squares are very wide, they are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds. There is infinite trade in the city." Paes, a Portuguese who visited Vijayanagar in 1520 gives a picture in his chronicles, of the city at the height of its power under Krishna Deva, the greatest of all its kings. "What I saw seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight, there were many groves of trees within it, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are



The Temple of Raganatha

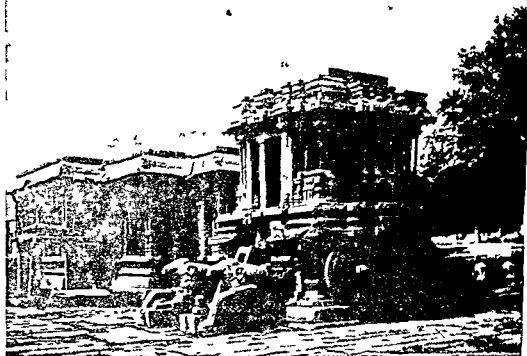
lakes and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich bearing trees. The people in this city are countless in number so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous.

The royal state of the king is a constant source of wonder to these visitors and while we are bound to take the numbers they give with some reserve we are obliged to accept their combined testimony to the wonderful grandeur of the kingdom. The king is more powerful than all the kings of India. He takes to himself 12000 wives of whom 4000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number more handsomely equipped ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters of whom 2000 or 3000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they shall voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered a great honour for them. His army is said to have numbered over one million footsoldiers and



A Ruined Gateway





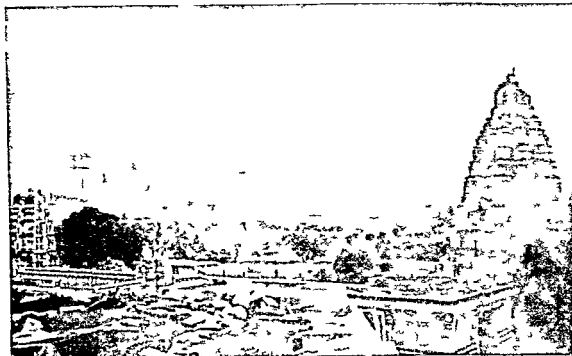
The Stone Car

one thousand elephants' in their size resembling mountains and in their form resembling devils "When the king went into battle he was dressed in most elaborate armour riding on his golden saddle he wears a habit embroidered with sapphires and on his pointed head dress a large diamond, he also carries a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires and three swords mounted in gold

During the period of 250 years the hordes of the Muhammadans were prevented from overrunning Southern India by the forces of the Hindu power, united under the Vijayanagar kings Previous to the existence of this Empire Southern India had been dominated by the ancient Hindu dynasties, the Cholas, Pandiyans and Hoysals The foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1336 was the result of the combination of three states Warangal Dwarasamudra and Anegundi, and quickly developed into power as the near approach of the Muhammadans de-

manded an united front on the part of the Hindu kingdoms Under Mahmud the Muhammadan kingdom had become a great power and threatened to add the kingdoms of the South to their conquests The History of Vijayanagar is the history of a brave attempt to stem this almost irresistible tide

After its foundation by two brothers Harihara and Bukka, the city rapidly developed until it included practically all the kingdoms of South India In 1566 A D the decisive battle of Talikote was fought and the power of Vijayanagar was completely broken Rama Raja raised an army of one million men and 2000 elephants At a discharge of copper coins from the guns of the allied Muhammadan kings hundreds of Hindus fell dead while an infuriated elephant dashing near the king caused the bearers to drop the palanquin in which he was seated He was taken prisoner and his head was struck off his body Tirumala, the sole survivor of



Pampaputi Temples

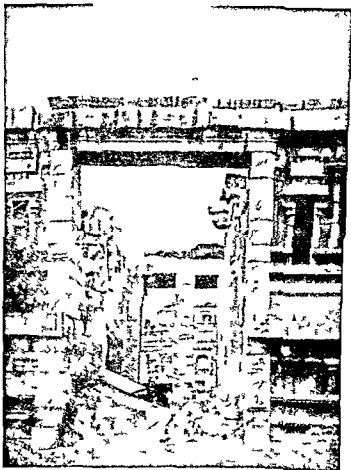
the three brothers fled with 500 elephants laden with treasure equal to one hundred million sterling. The next day the place was looted and within five months the whole was a mass of ruins. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly on so splendid a city, teeming with a wealthy and industrial population one day and the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.

There is a notable temple on the outskirts of the city proper, Anantasayana Temple, having a peculiar inner shrine oblong in shape with a corresponding lengthy platform for the reception of the idol. The idol never took up its residence here and a story is told to explain this somewhat extraordinary event. The temple was built by one of the kings of Vijayanagar for the image of Anantasena. A man was sent to conduct it to its home but the god agreed to go only on condition the man did not look back to see if the idol were following. But the man's curiosity was too great to be overcome; he looked back and the idol refused to go

further and has remained at Holulu ever since.

The Palace Buildings were erected on a large scale and evidences are still to be seen of their former grandeur. The Elephant Stables, the Council Chamber, the Public Offices are still in a good state of preservation and give the visitor some idea of the state of the Royal Household in the days of their power. Several watch towers were built to overlook the enclosure and were doubtless used as a means of defence.

The Dasara Dibba or Mahanavami derives its name from the fact that the platform was used at the nine days feast called Dasara when the king viewed the festivities in the grounds below. The mural carvings round the basement are of great interest representing the shooting of black buck, ladies dancing in diaphanous skirts, rows of elephants and other animals. In one of the panels showing a hunting scene a cross is carved, clearly a later addition. It would be interesting to know whether this emblem of Christianity is due to the Portuguese who at this time were so powerful at court. In the near vicinity of the palace



Anantnag Nagudi Temple

enclosure is the Hazara Ramaswamy Temple with its famous stone carvings of scenes from the Ramayana.

Evidence of the destructive power of the Muhammadan kings can be seen on every side. But in no place is that seen more than in the beautiful temple of Vittala swami. This temple was so beautiful that the image of Vittoba for whom it was

prepared would not take up his habitation there owing to its grandeur being of so overwhelming a nature. It has been described as the most ornate of all the religious edifices of the kingdom. There is now scarcely a carving that has not been defaced. The stone car in the enclosure of the temple is of particular sacredness and not a few devotees repair to it and turn round the wheels hoping thereby to gain merit. It is believed that the car is cut out of solid stone.

Of especial interest are the Sati stones which are to be seen near one of the temples. For ages it was the custom of the widows to immolate themselves on the death of their husbands thus satisfying that craving for sacrifice which has in all ages characterised Hindu womanhood. A Christian Government has wisely abolished the practice and made such self-destruction illegal.

As the traveller visits these ruins and casts his eye over the scattered remains of this once glorious city the lessons of history are forcibly impressed upon him. A united nation was able to hold its own through a long period of stress and to gain almost unprecedented wealth. The abuse of that power caused her downfall. The truth that *Righteousness alone exalteth a nation* is the lesson of this great empire to the world for the neglect of these laws by which God has ordained nations shall be ruled was the primary factor in its downfall.

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG  
THE INDO-ARYANS

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A. B. L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR

## XIII

## SECTION V (CONTINUED)

## D (ii)

## THE FIRST GROUP OF INSTANCES CRITICIZED

NOW, as to the first group which comprises two instances viz., a person among the Dinkas of the Upper Nile became the richest and the most esteemed and dreaded chief of the kič tribe through his skill in ventriloquism, by which roars of fierce animals were made to emanate from a cage testifying to their stay there to guard the house of the ventriloquist. The other instance relates that the rain maker almost invariably becomes a chief in the Lendu tribe of Central Africa.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Frazer appears to argue from the premises that because the ventriloquist and the rain maker have risen to chiefships in two particular savage societies at the present moment, the public magicians of whom they are types must have done so in the particular stage of revolution of human societies when monarchy came into existence giving rise to a theory applicable by its logical extensions to a good many civilized societies of modern times also. It is a far cry from the conditions of two savage societies of the present time to the many societies brought within the application of the theory, separated as they are by ages and in some cases, by extensive spaces. Before making an application of this sort, we should note the following points —

## D (ii) a.

DOES THE COLLOCATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PRESENT SAVAGE SOCIETIES REPRESENT THE SAME OR SIMILAR COLLOCATION THEREOF IN A PARTICULAR EPOCH OF THE REMOTE PAST?

Is it certain that the present savage societies, or even the lowest savages now noticeable, represent the same or similar

collocation of sociological elements as those of remote antiquity, and in the present case, of that particular epoch when the primitive political organizations were being replaced by monarchies? I do not mean to say that the aforesaid savage societies do not preserve in them customs and institutions that had their origin in the remote past, I want it to be clearly understood that what I desire to be sure about is can it be asserted that the customs or institutions, beliefs or superstitions of the existing aboriginal societies, to whatever spheres of mental or sociological activities they might belong, and in whatever state of development or degeneration they might be, are in the same or similar state of relative progress or decay as they were in a particular epoch of antiquity? Is it not possible that some of them though now seen side by side did not come into being at all in the particular epoch, though the others were then existing? Is it not true that the societies though now comparatively stationary were at one time more changeful and dynamic?

IT DOES NOT AND PUBLIC MAGIC MAY NOT HAVE BEEN EXISTENT AT ALL WHEN KINGSHIPS FIRST CAME INTO BEING

If this be conceded, we should admit that though in the two cases now under discussion, the ventriloquist, and the rain-maker are reported to have risen through public magic to chiefship, the practice of this class of magic as a profession may not at all have developed at the time when the political organizations of the savages were being replaced by monarchies through the non-magician methods of kingship. It is one thing to assert that the customs and institutions of the extant savage societies are old or very old, and another to make, as in the present case a particular political phenomenon dependent upon and synchronous with a particular socio-magical phenomenon.

<sup>1</sup> See the first group of instances in Sec. III, supra.

## D (ii) b

DR FRAZER'S MAGICIANS ARE NOT MAGICIANS  
PROPER BUT CONSCIOUS DECEIVERS

Are the so called magicians of Dr. Frazer, who at last become successful in competition with their fellow practitioners in their endeavour to rise to the throne, really magicians? There are *bona fide* magicians in primitive societies who honestly believe in their own supernatural powers. But they lag behind in the competition. The persons who aspire to the throne, and are likely to meet with success, or ultimately do so, are of quite a different stamp. They are "conscious deceivers," and "intelligent rascals," their success varying with the roguishness they can bring to bear upon their clients.

In the first of the two illustrations noticed before, the 'magician' is nothing but a cheat imposing upon and terrorizing his credulous fellows principally by ventriloquism. The successful "magicians" are not magicians proper but impostors, who take to public magic as a convenient cloak to conceal their real character and acquire pelf and power from behind the disguise. If mere deception be the central principle that ultimately procures kingship for the men through whom it operates, and public magic be but a make shift to guise its evil nature and make it

IF DECEPTION BE THE CENTRAL OPERATING  
PRINCIPLE AND PUBLIC MAGIC A MORE  
DISGUISE, THERE CANNOT BE A THEORY  
OF KINGSHIP UNTIL CERTAIN  
QUESTIONS ARE SATISFACTORILY ANSWERED

appear decent and respectable, it need not have taxed Dr Frazer's genius and industry to convince us of the existence of the principle, access as it has to all quarters, perhaps at all times, in some of the primitive aspirants to kingship. But even here the question is whether it operated as the only dominant force, or mixed with other forces which occupied the principal position, and whether it could be incarnate as the aforesaid dominant force in the public magician whose very existence at the time of the origin of kingship is doubtful. Until these questions are satisfactorily answered, deception cannot be made into a theory

1 See Sec. III

SO MANY CASES OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE  
ROGUISH MAGICIAN KING,—AN IMPOSSIBILITY

## D (ii) c.

It appears unnatural that in so many cases, the roguish nature of the 'magician' would be transformed into its opposite on his accession to the throne. Such transformations may happen in exceptional cases but cannot be the general rule. In confirmation of the above view, Julius Caesar and Augustus are cited by Dr Frazer as two of the most conspicuous examples. To be thus transformed presupposes that the better side of the character should be exceptionally strong though kept in abeyance for a while and that it would be able to assert itself at the very period when stronger and additional influences come into operation by the obtainment of the royal office with all its attendant allurements. The higher nature instead of being able to rise up is very likely to be drawn down to the lower depths of evil. Caesar and Augustus may have had their better side strong in them, but they as examples of the peculiar combinations of good and evil are rare at all times and all places. Character of their stamp cannot be expected in every chief that developed out of a so-called magician among the savages, and such chiefs were not a few according to Dr Frazer.

A MAGICIAN PROPER NEED NOT ASPIRE TO  
KINGSHIP

## D (ii) d

A magician proper need not aspire to kingship, his own supernatural powers in which he himself believes are to him a kingdom much greater perhaps than that of a king. He has effective powers over all things on earth and heaven, he can therefore make and unmake kings at will. Mentally he is a lord of much more than what earthly kingship can bring. It is an anomaly, and, indeed, it is smudging him of his character as a magician to impute to him a non-magicianly aspiration as Dr Frazer does.

A MAGICIAN PROPER UNFIT FOR KINGSHIP  
BY HIS VERY NATURE.

## D (ii) e

A genuine magician would most likely, by his very nature, be unfit for the performance of the civil, judicial, military duties attached to royalty. He has perhaps to bear

the joint burden of all the aforesaid classes of duties combined, differentiation not having commenced yet. Though the community or the state over which he rules be small, the personal attention he has to pay to all sorts of public affairs does not make it perhaps an easy task even for one who wears the crown in a primitive society. The primitive king has to decide upon all matters of public importance settle disputes among his subjects, maintain internal peace, inflict punishments, regulate trading transactions, defend his own kingdom against external invasions, attend to many such serious and important works that presuppose the existence of serious intellectual and moral qualities in him. A magician who lives more in an imaginary world of his own fabrication, who is given perhaps to trances and hallucinations, who busies himself with spirits and demons than with the prosaic things of this earth is not likely to have the capacity to be a king and keep on as such.

Dr. Frazer's magician theory of kingship, therefore, is not a theory concerned primarily with the magicians properly so called, but with cheats and rascals, and in the latter case, as I have already said, there cannot be a theory of the principle of deception operating as the dominant force through the disguise of public magic for elevating a cheat to the throne until certain questions are satisfactorily answered.

#### THE DEIFICATION OF KINGS IN WAYS OTHER THAN THROUGH PUBLIC MAGIC.

##### E

The public magician according to Dr. Frazer, attains divinity. He becomes a chief then a sacred king, and lastly a god incarnate. It can by no means be contended that public magic is the only road to divinity. We have noted the various other ways in which supernatural powers may be attributed to the sovereign. It is but a step from these supernatural powers to his godhood, and the former easily leads to the latter. Thus from the divinity of the kings of present savage societies, it can be inferred that it owed its origin to nothing but public magic.

### SECTION VI

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE INDIAN APPLICATION OF THE HYPOTHESIS.

We have seen that a supernatural power

attributed to the king of a modern civilized country cannot be indubitably taken as a relic of such powers possessed by his primitive predecessors who had attained to kingship through their careers as public magicians. Dr. Frazer draws an inference of this sort when, from the supposed power of the English sovereign of healing scrofula by touch, which he looks upon as a relic of the aforesaid kind in the face of the tradition of its derivation from Edward the Confessor,<sup>1</sup> he comes to the conclusion that the sovereign's primitive predecessors were public magicians. He appears to draw the same conclusion in regard to France and many other modern civilised countries. He quotes the *Laws of Manu* as an evidence of the supernatural powers of the ancient Hindu kings whose predecessors appear to be regarded by him as coming within the application of his hypothesis along with the first kings of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland.

EVEN IF THE PRECEDING OBJECTIONS BE  
IGNORED FOR THE PRESENT AND THE  
HYPOTHESIS GRANTED FOR SOME  
SOCIETIES REASONS AND EVIDENCES  
ARE NEEDED FOR  
EXTENDING IT TO  
OTHER SOCIETIES.

Even if we ignore the preceding general objections and assume for the present that public magicians are becoming kings in some modern savage societies and also in their prototypes in the particular epoch of the remote past, is it not reasonable to expect that before applying the assumption to other societies, sufficient reasons and evidences should be given to show that they also come within its range. The concession that the present savage societies, in which public magicians are seen to be becoming kings, had also seen similar elevations to the throne in the past, does not involve any implied admission that in whichever country do we notice any supposed supernatural power associated with kingship, we must conclude that its kings, in the epoch when monarchies were coming into being had also similar origins. The remark of Max Müller made in a different connection is, with slight necessary alterations, very opposite in the present context and in regard to the application of the above assumption to

<sup>1</sup> See *U. R. I.*, vol. I, p. 370

India. "We know," says he "from the languages and from some of the complicated customs of uncivilized races that these so-called sons of nature have had many ups and downs before they became what they are now yet no one has attempted to prove that their ups and-downs were exactly the same as the ups and-downs of the Aryas. Granted that the Aryans must have been savages does it really follow that all savages, any more than all civilized races, were alike or that the Aryan savages acted exactly like other savages (in a particular field of human activity)? Even modern savages differ most characteristically from each other. Even if we were to admit that all human beings were born alike their surroundings have always been different and (the results of their influences upon actions) must have differed in consequence!"

THE INDIAN EXAMPLES HAVE BEEN COLLECTED BEFORE THEIR VALUES SHOULD BE WEIGHED.

It therefore lies on Dr Frazer, as I have already said to adduce reasons and evidences before extending his hypothesis to India while dealing in the different chapters of his works with the premises that make for his final conclusion, he adduces Indian examples which appear to supply the evidences and arguments upon which the Indian application of his hypothesis is based. These evidences have been collected, and put in their proper bearings as consecutive links in the chain of argument in a previous section. I shall now proceed to weigh their values *seriatim*, and see what they amount to.

#### THE INDIAN INSTANCES CRITICIZED.

The instances<sup>1</sup> under public magic do not refer to it as a profession pursued by magicians for the good of the community. The Brāhmana student who performs the

<sup>1</sup> For the reference see sect on III *supra*.  
RE. PUBLIC MAGIC THE SHAKTARI VOW

Shaktari vow for mastering the *Mahānāms* verses of the *Sāmaveda* is regarded by Dr Frazer on the authority of Prof Oldenberg as a public magician who is preparing himself for his profession. This con-

clusion is very far from what can be gathered from the passages which lay down the rules for the performance of the vow. Some of its observances may not be explicable. It is better to leave them as such without forcing any interpretation upon them. The *Gobhila Grihya Sutra* says that the performance of the rules procures rain at the asking. Be it so where is the evidence that the student utilized this power as a rain-maker for earning money and influence? The duties of a Brāhmana are hard and fast, comprising only the following—(i) study (ii) teaching (iii) performance of sacrifice, (iv) officiating at others' sacrifices, (v) making gifts, and (6) acceptance of gifts from proper persons. There may have been exceptions to this rule, which however do not negative the rule itself. How could then a Brāhmana student become a professional rain-maker? The accomplishment of vows is said in a good many Sanskrit works to confer upon their observers many powers which may offer lucrative openings to the seekers of money and influence but the inference that those powers were made into professions is as delusive as the powers themselves may have been visionary.

A few other points should be noted

(i) The *Gobhila Grihya Sutra* mentions the aforesaid power of rain making as a result of the performance of the vow; but it appears only as a by-product of the performance, the principal object of the vow maker being the mastery of the *Mahānāms* verses and not the acquisition of the power.

(ii) The *Sankhadyana Grihya Sutra* does not refer to the power at all. Had it been a principal object to be achieved by the vow it would not have been omitted.

(iii) The *Gobhila Grihya Sutra* makes the observance of the rules regarding the wearing of dark clothes and eating of dark food optional, which would never have been done, had the object been the development of the power of rain making in the student, assimilating him to the dark clouds through his garments and food of the same colour.

(iv) In the story of Kishya-sringa in the *Rāmāyana*<sup>1</sup> no sooner did the sage enter Romapāda's domain where there had been a long standing drought than rains poured down in torrents. Here the power of rain-

<sup>1</sup> F. Max Müller's *Contributions to the Science of Religion* (1897) vol. II, pp. 441-442. The following is the extract in the present

making was in the sage, but was dissociated from money making.

We should therefore be on our guard against supposing that the power of rain making was always utilized by its supposed possessor with an eye to the main chance.

(V) So far as I see, the *Mahanaṁ* verses themselves are not spells for causing rain but relate to different matters altogether.

#### RAIN STOPPING AT MUZAFFARNAGAR

The next example comes from Muzaffarnagar where the people stop rain by drawing the figure of Agastya on a loin cloth or the exterior of the house. It does not obviously speak of the existence of public magic in the locality as a profession. The people who use the charms are not professional magicians, and the ends for which the rain is stopped may not be public.

#### RAIN MAKING AT CHHATARPUR.

The same objections apply to the next instance of rain making at Chhatarpur.

#### A BRAHMANA'S MORNING OFFERING

The example from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* merely expresses a belief as to the offering made by a Brahmana in the morning. The object for which the offering is made is more for the nourishment of the 'Sun child' than for the good of the people to be derived from sun shine while the Brahmana himself is not a public magician properly so called.

#### THE CONFUSION OF MAGIC AND RELIGION AS THE SECOND STAGE IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE FORMER

The object of the next illustration is to show the mixture of magic and religion in India and mark it as the second stage in the evolution of the former. It is not however certain as already shown what should be the ordinal number of the stage which the confusion of the two represents. There are differences of opinion as to the number and nature of stages that preceded it. It is therefore not at all sound to take the aforesaid mixture of magic and religion as the second stage and regard it as an witness of the first.

#### OBJECTIONS TO TWO SIDE ISSUES —

The magical character of many of the ancient Indian practices may not be denied but it is objectionable that many of the religious rites and ceremonies should be

classified as magical through the loss of the synthetic view in the analysis.

#### (I) MANY RELIGIOUS RITES CLASSED AS MAGICAL.

If a ritual be detached from a sacrifice and dissected it may appear magical, but if it be borne in mind that it is but a portion of a ceremony pervaded by the intention of propitiation of the higher powers, it cannot be classed as such.

#### (II) DR CALAND GRATUITOUSLY SHOCKY

I do not appreciate Dr Caland's shrugging of shoulders at what he calls the shamanism of the Vedic Hindus. If it is a fact that the remote ancestors of all the present civilised nations were at some time or other in the past tainted with aberrations of belief more or less, a sober statement of facts would have been seemly and ungratuitous.

#### (III) THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD BRAHMANA

Dr Frazer derives the word 'brāhmaṇa' from 'brahman' — 'a magical spell' from which he concludes that the Brāhmaṇa had been a magician before he was a priest. The root, according to Monier Williams means 'swelling of the spirit or soul' from which the signification of 'pious effusion or utterance' may be derived. There is nothing in it to show that the utterances were magical and that the Brahmana had been a magician before he became a priest. Again, if the root be taken as indicating the special work that was coming to be marked as the Brāhmaṇa's own and none others' or in other words, if it be regarded as pointing to the beginning of the caste-system which was relegating to the brāhmaṇa the monopoly of the pious utterance (which according to Dr Frazer were magical) it should be remembered that the same caste system was precluding him from kingship and making the throne the monopoly of the Kṣatriya (the warrior caste).

#### RE THE DEDICATIONS OF KINGS — NOT A SURVEY INDEX TO THEIR ELEVATION FROM PUBLIC MAGICIANS

The dedications mentioned next are not, on Dr Frazer's own showing, the exclusive possession of kings elevated from public magicians. If every body, who is some body with a measure of powers more than the ordinary, run the risk of being a deity



in India, if General Nicholson can become a god and Queen Victoria a goddess and if such instances can serve as an index to the mental proclivities of the ancient Hindu mind, it is obvious how difficult it is to infer from the divinity of an Indian king that he or his first predecessor in the past had been a public magician the profession not being the only road to Indian divinity

#### WHAT THE INDIAN EVIDENCES AMOUNT TO ?

Thus the evidences adduced by Dr Frazer for the Indian application of his hypothesis do not establish his point. To England he seems to apply his hypothesis merely on the ground of the English king's supposed power of healing scrofula by touch, which he regards as a relic of the supernatural powers of the king's magician predecessors. I am not in a position to speak of England, but Dr Frazer's method of arrival at the afore-said conclusion *per saltum* appears at the very first sight faulty. If more of belief than reasoning be the basis for the extension of the hypothesis to the Aryan races from India to Ireland, or to other peoples, an assertion in its favour is as good as another to the contrary.

### SECTION VII

#### CONCLUSION

Thus this hypothesis has been subjected to the texts. It assumes that magic precedes religion in the evolution of human thought. Its *a priori* grounds have been met by other such grounds of opposite tenor. Its inductive proof from the activities of the lowest savage societies is by no means firm in view of the differences of opinion obtaining on the subject. Again, as there should be differences in the times of origin of private and public magic, the latter might be much later. It has not been shown that private magic must always be followed by public magic, and hence a place where there may be private magic may not see the emergence of magic of the other sort followed as a profession. If again religion be a psychological necessity of the savage it is to be seen how far magic had become differentiated from religion in the epoch when kingship emerged. If the two were yet inextricably mixed up it is also to be seen whether the so-called magician was not also a priest, or more a priest than

a magician, and whether in the latter case the priest had any chance of gaining kingship. The priest as we have found in regard to India, may be precluded from kingship altogether or may not aspire to it at all, for which we should be on our guard against fixing an unpriestly or unmagicianly aspiration upon them respectively. The inference of the magician-origin from the supernatural attributes and functions of the present kings either in savage or civilized societies is not sound, for these attributes and functions may have various possible origins and hence cannot invariably be imputed to the only origin accepted by Dr Frazer viz, that the kings or their primitive ancestors were public magicians in the present savage societies actually rising to chiefships do not also carry us far, for the collocation of sociological elements in those societies is not a sure index that the same or similar collocation existed in the particular epoch under consideration of the remote past. If it is so public magic may not at all have been existent in the epoch when the first kings came into being. Then again Dr Frazer's magicians are not magicians properly so-called. They are conscious deceivers, and the worst cheat defeats his rivals and becomes a chieftain. The hypothesis therefore reduces to one that really contemplates deception as elevating a deceiver to the throne. It is not for all kinds of deception that the result is claimed but only for that particular kind that works under public magic as its disguise. If so, there is difficulty in the way. The practice of this deception supposes that public magic plied as a profession existed in the place or the race in which it operated. Its existence in the particular place or race at the time of the emergence of the first kings has to be shown before the above alternative to which the hypothesis is reduced can be accepted. A few other difficulties have also been noted: cheats and rascals who are supposed to become kings have their roughish nature transformed into its opposite in so large a number of cases that it amounts to an impossibility. Finally, a magician proper need not, as I have already said, aspire to kingship and may, besides, be unfit for the arduous duties of a primitive king. Again, as dedications of human beings or kings may take place in more ways than one, it has to be proved in

every case that no other than supernatural attributes acquired through public magic were responsible for the divinity of a particular king before it could be admitted.

Even ignoring the above objections, and assuming that a public magician could become a king in particular primitive societies we do not see sufficient grounds for applying the hypothesis to the primitive Indo-Aryans. The Indian illustrations of the various links of Dr. Frazer's argument have been subjected to scrutiny and found wanting.

Let us now see what other hypotheses previously noted may apply to the Indo-Aryans. The hypothesis of the "attribute"—origin of kingship has no obstacles in the way of its application to the aforesaid people or perhaps to any other. The mental and physical qualities enumerated are as old as man himself and might have operated to elevate one or many of the first kings. Of course, the particular combination of personal attributes that worked in any particular case cannot be determined. Deception is not mentioned by Spencer as operating by itself as a dominant force to raise a cheat to the throne. There is nothing impossible about it, but the hypothesis need be framed with grounds therefor before supposing that it operated as such. Wealth by itself has been

mentioned as a factor, but it should, in my opinion, be subject to some limitations.

As to the patriarchal hypothesis of kingship, the Indo Aryans are one of the peoples to whom it has been applied. So far as evidence literary, philological or otherwise within our reach can point to a conclusion, it is to this that the families of the primitive Aryans rose into clans, clans into tribes, and so forth. That these assemblages of kinsmen were put to the necessity of self protection and performance of administrative duties cannot be denied. As a sense of kinship pervaded the whole collection of kinsmen it is likely that the burden of the political duties may be vested in one of these kinsmen and that deference to the particular line to which he belongs may influence the convergence of power on him. It must not be thought that personal attributes may not at all come into operation in the elevation of a particular kinsman as the political head of the community; but the sense of kinship, deference to the purity or seniority of a particular line, may operate along with them, to bring about the centralization of the supreme powers. The application of the patriarchal hypothesis of kingship to the Indo-Aryans appears therefore to be justifiable.

## GLEANINGS

### A Laboratory in a Suitcase

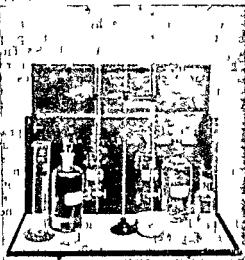
A "Suitcase" Laboratory, has been devised by the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, in Pittsburgh, Pa., for the use of laundrymen in testing the materials that they use. Says the *Pittsburgh Sun*:

"The miniature laboratory . . . is one of the most recent results of a research into the methods and materials of the laundry industry, instituted in the Mellon Institute under the auspices of the Allegheny County Laundrymen's Exchange."

The new laboratory may be operated by any laymen who will follow the terse directions which accompany it. When closed, the device closely resembles an ordinary suitcase. It may easily be carried without danger of breaking the glass equipment. Raise the handle side of the "suitcase," lower the side which forms the lid of a normal suitcase, and the laboratory is ready for operation. The lowered side provides a table for experiments. A metal base is fixed in its center. Into

this a metal rod is inserted and to this affix a clamp, made to hold the long glass tubes, or burettes, in which the tests are made. A graduate glass for measuring solutions, four bottles containing standard solutions for testing the hardness of water, the presence of chlorine, of alkali, and of acid; and three small bottles, containing respectively potassium foidid, phenolphthalein, and methyl orange, complete the equipment.

"This device, according to Mr. Elledge [the designer], has been made to guard laundrymen against possible misrepresentation of laundry materials by merchants. It permits the laundryman to assure himself, without the expense of a formal chemical analysis, that everything used in his establishment for cleansing goods is of a sort that will do no harm to the goods entrusted to him. The result of the use of the new laboratory, it is predicted, will be a higher standard of laundry work. Damaging impurities by this means will be detected and eliminated, and the wear of washing on linen and other fabrics will be minimized."



THE SUITCASE LABORATORY

zed As a result of the work done in the Mellon Institute similar activities are to be launched in Canada under the auspices of the Canadian Government.  
—The Literary Digest

### A "Hellenist" Sculptor

The flight of Artists and art-dealers from the war-stricken art-centers of Europe to the peace of New York is compared by one fanciful writer to a similar flight from Byzantium to Florence after the Turks occupied Constantinople in the fifteenth century. Strangely enough some of the earliest arrivals were men representing the newest departures in European art—the Futurists and such. One not to be classed in any of the labeled categories is Elie Nadelman the Polish sculptor. The sculptor was born in Warsaw in 1885 and studied art there but it would seem that his early education conferred only irritation upon him and he went to Paris where he lived until the debacle. Whether the East and West of Europe failed to fuse or not Mr. Burnbaum writing in *The International Studio* does not venture to suggest. He cannot however conceal his mild bewilderment in the presence of the master and his work when he says:

Beside a serenely calm mask on the lips of which in strange smile lingers there are distorted figures in impossible postures, and curious drawings which when examined superficially show no trace of obvious or delicate beauty. The average person will hesitate to laugh at these grotesque works having recently heard of so many brilliant experimentalists whose creations should be approached with respect and even reverence and if one understands Russian Polish

or German Nadelman who is always ready to flame up with enthusiasm will soon convince you of the essential simplicity of his enigmatic designs. He has a charm of way of modulating his caustic with expressive gestures and you quickly see the logical relation of the geometrical forms to those beautiful sculptures which in the first flush of unexpected pleasure are compared with Greek masterpieces and arouse



A SYMPHONY IN CURVES

This statue of Elie Nadelman's may at first glance seem artificial but study reveals it to be an interesting creation of synthesized curves

the hope that here at last we have a man who has found at least a spark of the buried life of the ancients. Nadelman's explanations are indeed, so clear that they serve not merely as a vindication of his theoretical drawing and sculptures, but he even enables a layman mentally to transform the intricate curves and shadows into the subtle play of light on his polished marble, bronze, or mahogany statuettes.

One of his most interesting artistic doctrines deals with the respect which an artist owes to the peculiar nature of the material in which he works. A rough stone Nadelman says will refuse all the positions we may wish to give it if these are unsuited to it. By its own will it falls back into the position that its shape in conjunction with its mass demands. There is a wonderful force in life that plastic art should express and if the life of the material is not destroyed but is cultivated and ennobled by the artist, it may acquire a wonderful power of expression that will stir the world. A piece of sculpture, therefore should be created like a crystal—physical laws should govern its fashioning, and the more of art there is discover-



LA MYSTÉRIEUSE

Regarded by Nadelman the Polish sculptor as the flower of his achievement

able in the work the less the individuality of the artist becomes apparent

Nadelman's drawings and his researches in sculpture might entitle him to a place within the vague group of artists known as Post Impressionists, but this designation Mr Birnbaum finds hopelessly confusing in the presence of his extraordinary portraits and the beautiful heads which for want of a better word we shall describe as Hellenistic. The artist declares that noble abstractions like *La Mystérieuse* are the flowers of his achievements. Nadelman as contrasted with Rodin has not displayed such constructive powers nor such wealth of imagination but in comparing the smaller sculptures the higher praise does not always fall to the lot of the older artist. In fact the obvious difference here is the romantic emotionalism of Rodin as contrasted with Nadelman's intellectual calm or his purely decorative quality. His work often suggests a mood of masochistic melancholy but we do not find here the quivering flesh the ecstasy of desire the grappling men and women the insatiable longing and force of sex which are always present in Rodin's palpitating figures. The creatures of Nadelman's fancy are indeed often strangely sexless. *Beaute plastique* according to him should not be a



SERENITY

A tranquility which suggests the sculpture of the Greeks is found likewise in the plastic studies of Elie Nadelman. His work is usually devoid of emotional interest

matter of emotion. A sculptor must never be sentimental or didactic. He may, indeed arouse your feelings—and Nadelman is often humorous and even witty on occasions—but primarily plastic art is not concerned with love or patriotism or kindred feelings and you find accordingly that his loftiest conceptions are almost cold in their austerity and severe simplicity. Even some of the fine mahogany sculptures which have the advantage of rich color lack the warmth of living flesh. Nadelman seems to put his keen intelligence and acquired Gallic taste rather than native passion into his work. His art savors at times of mathematical formulas and like the work of the great Belgian, George Minne, it is occasionally pure architecture in miniature. If however, these art shortcomings it is nevertheless refreshing to find a comparatively young man with such strong convictions taking his position in spite of Rodin's supremacy, in the popular mind. The intellectual note and aloofness are intensified by the extraordinarily high polish which he gives to his surfaces and which he claims enables his works to acquire tone without dirt, after the manner of antique marbles.

—The Literary Digest.

Nadelman is called a poet of the plastic curve. Some of his statues of dazzling white marble are symphonies in curves curves contrasting and conflicting with each other yet combined into rhythm and



A BULL BY NADELMAN

harmony Nadelman has deliberately cut himself off from the popularity which comes to sculptors who bestow upon their statues an interest that is emotional and literary but not plastic.

The impression which this artist makes upon Forbes Watson the art critic of the *N. Y. Evening Post*, is that he has a head on his shoulders.

In any case Mr. Nadelman is neither mushy nor sentimental. He is one of the many artists of the present time whose intellect has discovered that mere literalism is not art. He is also one of those who believe that art cannot be divorced from nature. In finding the happy medium—happy in that it expresses his own personal vision—he belongs to a still smaller group.

Mr. Nadelman has done more than think out the happy medium which should prove his own best vehicle of expression. He has thought a great deal about what might be called the spirit of his material. He thinks as it were in marble and in bronze. He has very decided ideas about each material. And the perfect union of the spirit of his own idea with the spirit of the material is his intellectually artistic aim.

This artist believes that where there is no mystery there is no charm. Shining marble heads thoughtfully simplified smile quizzically at the onlooker. The hand reaches out involuntarily to touch the smooth material to feel an impersonal curve the curve of a woman who seems to have seen Greece to have used the beauty of Greece for her own adornment and then to have turned away, slightly satirical. For Mr. Nadelman is a satirist and a wit. He can smile at a promiscuous man wearing only a derby hat, at a marble lady on the beach with a most graceful bronze attendant drying the lady's marble foot. He can smile at a clown or at a very chic sea horse. Mr. Nadelman can smile smoothly and mysteriously. And nothing in his sculpture—shining marble or wonderfully patinated bronze—is driven on the stormy wings of emotion to forget itself.

In the realm of portraiture of living people Nadelman is an acknowledged master. Says the art critic of the *N. Y. Times*:



ELIE NADELMAN IN HIS STUDIO

Visitors who enter here are astonished at the apparently conflicting works which greet the eye.

It is in the region of portraiture that Nadelman gains his great triumph. Nothing more natural than his little figure of a child can be imagined. It is childhood and the individual child a monument to the fleeting moment and the indefinable and evanescent charm. Yet the artistic convention is ardently observed resulting in a logic as complete as one finds in the noble abstract heads. Here however it is a logic touched with emotion and warmed to human expressiveness.

—Current Opinion

### 'The Cell as a Conscious and Intelligent Being

After a series of investigations extending over some years and a study of the latest laboratory investigations by contemporary biologists, Doctor Nels Quetelet has put forth a theory that the cell is endowed with intelligence. The cell is conscious. It has will judgment. The cell learns from experience, as organisms in general may be said to do. The cell, then is a complete animal made up of still smaller individuals and organs just as a larger animal is. It has a head or directing center which seems to direct the action of other parts. This directing center is



AN INTELLIGENT ACTION

In these diagrams we have illustrated the first stages in the act of cell division according to the illustrations of Edmund Beecher Wilson. The resting stage of a cell showing passivity, is followed by a beginning of division. The Centrosome divides until a nucleus or crowd of workers as one theory has it, begins in turn to divide, and at last we have what one theorist calls the skilled worker lined up for division.

called the centrosome. The cell has a series of subheads located in the middle of the body of the cell. They seem to be the part of the cell which contains power, knowledge and skill to perform the different kinds of work which the cell is required to do in order to exist. These subheads of the cell taken together are called the nucleus and they appear to be not one individual but a colony of individuals. That this part of the cell called the nucleus is the part which has the power and knowledge of how to build the different structures in life is shown by the fact that if this is destroyed the cell cannot do any more work nor reproduce itself nor feed itself. In the same manner an animal is made helpless by the removal of its head.

The cells are not all of the same size. Some are more highly organized than others and seem to contain a larger number of the primordial cells of which they are composed, and other special cells differentiated for various functions not yet all understood. The smallest cells are the bacteria. Then come the fungi and plant cells. The largest are the animal building cells and those similar to them which lead separate lives in the water and do not build colonies like plants and animals.

All living things are either cells living singly and alone as separate individuals which we call single cells like bacteria and others or else a colony of cells numbering up into the billions like plants, animals or trees where the cells all work together for the benefit of all. As long as the tree or animal lives they all live but if the tree or animal dies it is the cells in the tree or animal that die. By reason of the high power microscope now made it has been shown that the cell is made up of still smaller cells. These smaller units of life which I would call primordial cells have been described by various authors under a number of different names.

Intelligence in an animal consists apart from definition of the work of two departments of the individual the sense organs and the brain. The sense organs must gather the information from the outside world and transmit it to the cells in the brain and the brain cells must act on such information. These are the requirements and the only requirements for the performance of an intelligent act by an animal. An intelligent act will be based on every other intelligent act and upon a power which we call memory. Memory is the ability to take and keep a record of past events and use it as a reference and guide to future acts. This power of storing away memoranda of different transactions that have taken place in the past we find is possessed by all cells or living beings. And three things are necessary to make up the mental machinery of an individual—to receive to think and to direct. Those three things make up the processes of the mind practically, apart from theory.

In the past the subject of mind had been studied as the human mind, animal mind and child mind, but of late it has been recognized that all living beings have a mind. Now this question of mind can be studied in two ways first by examining your own mind and the actions arising from it and, secondly by observing the actions of others.

From late investigations it has become clear that the mind of man is the result of the minds of the individual cells working together in his head which we call in the aggregate his brain.

The real thinkers are the brain cells. They are there for that special purpose. The minds of men are not all alike because they have not all received the same information from the outside world. The cells of the brain can only act on such information as they get from the outside world.

Again there was no work in the development of organic life that requires such accurate knowledge and faithful execution at all times as does the work of keeping the body in repair. This work is done without the knowledge of the upper brain cells. Disease germs or bacteria are everywhere watching for the slightest opportunity to enter the body. These lodge in the throat, nose and mouth and are known as a cold or catarrh or as pneumonia germs. They must be destroyed before they multiply and get into the blood. Who looks after this work?

The cells of the body which we call the white cells and cells that have not taken upon themselves any particular work like the cells of the muscles and nerves, but live as separate beings in the body in the same manner as the amoeba now lives in water. These cells have the work of destroying invading armies of other cells such as disease bacteria of all kinds and also of repairing broken parts. If you cut your finger they will rush to the spot in countless numbers and commence at once to close up the cut. To do this they will sacrifice themselves if necessary, in destroying and fighting germs trying to enter the body through the cut. In the struggle for existence it is necessary at times under certain circumstances for one individual to sacrifice his life for others. It is done by an intelligent being exercising his intelligence and judgment in the matter on the theory that it is the best that can be done under those particular circumstances. Here we might also consider the fact that the body has to do the best that can be done in each particular case—for instance if for some reason a broken bone in an animal cannot be healed it will proceed to make a joint at the place.

When the white cells rush to the place like a wrecking crew to a railroad wreck and proceed to clear away the wreckage and build it back into a useable condition every act must be done with a purpose to effect certain ends. Every move must be intelligent, just as in the taking care of a railroad wreck. The

correct size of the artery and other blood vessels must be determined upon proper materials provided, and so on in every detail of the work.

Man's intellect proud as he is of it, is not justified then in denying mere intelligence to the cell—the cell which alone has produced all the wonderful structures that have existed in the past history of our planet. The idea of a true intelligence outside of ourselves and especially in a microscopic being seems absurd only because we have never looked into the evidence. We have not duly weighed the fact that when we study the actions of the cell swimming in the water or the cell in the human brain during man's thinking we are studying the same individual but in different situations. We have not followed to their logical conclusions experiments some of them classical repeated almost daily in the laboratory and showing that intelligence is everywhere in the body, the brain being by no means the only place in which it is to be found. Thus Doctor Quevedo has repeated many times the experiment first described by Professor James, that of the decapitated frog which cannot of course see or feel and cannot consciously perform any movement.

Yet if a drop of acid is placed on the lower surface of the thigh of the frog in this state it will rub off the drop with the upper surface of the foot of the same leg. If this foot be cut off it cannot thus act. After some fruitless efforts it gives up trying in that way seems restless as tho it was seeking some other way and at last it makes use of the foot of the other leg and succeeds in rubbing off the acid. Notably here we have not merely contractions of muscles but combined and harmonized contractions in due sequence for a special purpose. These are actions that have all appearances of being guided by intelligence and instigated by will, in an animal the recognized organ of whose intelligence and will has been removed."

—Current Opinion

## A Detroit Woman and Her Work in India

By REV. WILLIAM F. HOFF

The other day I met Sister Christine. It was at a lecture on Lao-tse given under the auspices of a society which meets for the study of the history and philosophy of religion. After I had conversed with her for a short time I realized how it is that all who know her speak of her in terms of affection. Her personality, her face, her voice are unusually sympathetic and spiritual. She can speak with a charm so touching that one can listen for hours to her impersonal tales of the people of India, their ideals and strivings, their hopes and aspirations.

It was noted by all those who heard Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Lala Lajpat Rai, the two noted Hindus who visited Detroit lately, that their voices were unusually sweet and melodious. Sister Christine's voice is also full of music and tenderness and one wonders whether this voice was always hers or whether it is one of the gifts India has presented to this American woman who gave of her life to the people of India and made that country her own. Her conversation shows a rich intelligence. When she spoke of the philosophy underlying the religion of the Vedanta she dwelt on the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Schlegel and Kant, who she said were influenced in their systems of thought by the philosophy of the Vedanta. She can speak intelligen-



SISTER CHRISTINE

tly on Hindu architecture, archaeology, history, the different languages of India and her political and economic conditions. Above all she delights in speaking of the philosophy and the religious life of India.

India has lived its religion more truly than any other country, she says. "While the people speak little of their religious ideas they always live them sometimes unconsciously. It is the greatest thing I have ever seen."

Although Sister Christine speaks with great modesty of her work in India, her noble and compassionate heart cannot hide its life. It was her spirit of unselfishness and helpfulness that led her to give up her home here, her work and her friends to dedicate her life to the service of India.

I have gleaned this brief sketch from talks with friends who knew her long ago and who have kept in touch with her all these many years; from the books of Margaret E. Noble, who worked with Sister Christine in India; and lastly from the lips of Sister Christine herself.

The man whose influence altered in a short time the whole current and purpose of Sister Christine as she was known in Detroit was Swami Vivekananda. He appeared unknown and unheralded before the Parliament of Religions which was held during the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. With American

hospitality he was welcomed and given an opportunity of speaking. His theme was "The Religious Ideas of the Hindus," and he said that he had come to the west because he believed that the time had come when nations were to exchange their ideals as they were already exchanging their commodities of the market. The breadth of his religious culture, the great intellectual newness and interest of the thought he brought, attracted Sister Christine. He did not advocate any specialized form of religion, but preached the great truths which underlie all creeds. His concern was the realization in the individual of the Divine.

"What the world wants today," he said, "is twenty men and women who can dare to stand in the street yonder and say they possess nothing but God. If God is true, what else could matter? If He is not true, what do our lives matter?"

Sister Christine had believed for some time unreservedly, that God is omnipotent, that He is omniscient, that He is omnipresent and that therefore, God having created all things, nothing could be bad or out of harmony with God. She believed that all forms of evil are unreal, although to human sense they appear to be very real. She had been trying to base her life upon these points. When Swami Vivekananda came to Detroit to deliver a course of lectures she was impressed by the fact that he, too, emphasized those points which had meant so much to her. He said that God is knowledge absolute, Existence absolute and Bliss absolute. Evil and all inharmonious he called Maya, i. e., illusion, a nightmare a bad dream. The more the Detroit teacher heard him, the more she was impressed with what he said.

In Detroit Vivekananda was a guest at the home of Senator Palmer and later at the home of Mrs. Bagley, the wife of Governor Bagley. At drawing room meetings held at the Bagley home Sister Christine was a frequent visitor and gradually became a disciple of the Hindu sage. The following summer Vivekananda spent his summer at the Thousand Islands and it so happened that Sister Christine, too, had decided to spend her vacation there, not knowing that again she would meet the Hindu teacher. Again she sat at his feet and drank from his lips the wisdom of Hindu philosophy.

Two years passed. Vivekananda had returned to India and Sister Christine had realized more and more the beauty and truth of the teachings of the Swami. Then one day came an invitation from Mrs. Ole Bull, the wife of the noted violinist who at that time lived in Calcutta, that Sister Christine come to India for a visit. Something of the missionary spirit had always asserted itself in Sister Christine. She wanted to be of help and she knew that India in this respect offered great opportunities. There was also in her heart the desire to learn more of that philosophy which had won her heart. So she went. One year she lived at the home of Mrs. Bull. But when the time came for Mrs. Bull to return to America Sister Christine remained in India. She had been admitted to the Order of the Ramakrishna Mission and now she wanted to enter more fully upon her work of service.

While she had been living in the European quarter of Calcutta until now, after the departure of her friend she took up her residence in the Hindu quarter and became known among the Hindus as Sister Christine. Together with Margaret E. Noble, known as Sister Nivedita for some 12 years to multitudes of people throughout India, and to America and England through her numerous books

on India, Sister Christine took possession of a half ruined cottage, built near the bank of the Ganges. It was here that she and her English colleague entered upon the special work marked out for them by Swami Vivekananda, who at that time was the head of the Order of Ramakrishna.

Vivekananda, while glorifying the Indian past and the ancient contribution of his people to the intellectual wealth of the world, was a man of modern outlook, incessantly planning for the social regeneration of India. His order, which gave the greatest liberty of movement and thought to all its members, he designed not for contemplation alone, but for social service. He would, if he could, have commanded vast resources for educational enterprise, and he was resolved to initiate some definite agency for the education of Indian women. It was in this branch of the work of the order that Sister Christine found her mission in life.

For reasons which everyone who knows a little of the world of orthodox Hinduism will appreciate, the opening of a school for Hindu girls and women by Sister Christine was attended with much difficulty. But the American teacher and her English colleague entered upon their work with a strong purpose so that it was soon necessary to enlarge the scope of the school.

Sister Christine in her school in Rose Para Lane, Bagh Bazar was now indeed a teacher, applying the principles which she had learned in America. It was her aim to make this school, held in an Indian home, one where the methods and ideals of the modern educator might be brought within the cloistral domain of the eastern woman and girl.

The school, which had begun as a kindergarten, grew steadily until it had large attendance of little Hindu girls up to the marriageable age, and a still larger number of married women and of widows. As conducted by Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita, the school involved no uprooting from familiar surroundings. Neither child nor woman was taken from her home into a foreign world. There was no attempt to convert her to any religious or social system alien from her own, but rather by means of her own customs and traditions, to develop her in harmony with Indian ideals, the teachers themselves following those ideals as far as they could be made practicable.

To the Indian woman the modern revolution has brought a narrowing of her lot and has wrought havoc with the traditional skill in handicraft. To day every Indian woman can cook, but she cannot sew and she has little wherewith to occupy her leisure. Hence Sister Christine found it necessary to teach the wives and widows needlework of various kinds. But the Sisters as Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita were called, learned more of the irresistible movement of the modern spirit in the orthodox world of Hinduism when they found themselves met by an insistent demand from the young wives to be taught English so that they might become in some real sense the companions of their husbands.

The school in Bagh Bazar was only prevented by the narrow means possessed by the Sisters from developing into a great institution. Its influence, however, could never have been measured by the number of its pupils or the amount of regular teaching done within the modest rooms and courts which are described by Sister Nivedita in the opening chapters of her book, *Studies from an Eastern Home*. Sister Christine with her gentle spirit conquered the spirit of aloofness in the quiet, proud and intensely



self-respecting people of Bagh Bazar. She came to be accepted by the Hindus as their neighbor. The House of the Sisters was known to all not as a school merely but as a center of unflinching friendliness and succor. During the plagues Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita joined with the brethren of the Order of Ramakrishna in a crusade of selfless helpfulness.

It is Sister Christine's conviction that the woman of the west can work fruitfully in India only upon the basis of perfect co-operation with the children of the soil. So she made the great renunciation. The land to whose service she has devoted herself has made an overwhelming appeal to her. She understands its history and thought, its people and their life, its present state of subjection and social transition.

The House of the Sisters was a meeting place of the great men of India. As Jesus loved to spend

hours of rest in the house of Mary and Martha in Bethania, so the masters in India delighted in the hospitality of the Sisters in Rose Para Lane, Bagh Bazar. There would come members of council and leaders in the public affairs of Bengal, Indian artists, men of letters, men of science, orators, teachers, journalists and students. Rabindranath Tagore, Lajpat Rai, Dr. J. C. Bose, the scientist and other Hindus well known in America were among the visitors.

So Sister Christine lived and worked in India, at first with her English colleague. After 1911 when Sister Nivedita died she worked alone. She has temporarily relinquished her work that she might visit her friends in Detroit and take a needed rest. But as soon as possible she will go back to her school in Bagh Bazar, where Hindu girls and women are awaiting the return of their teacher and friend.

—Detroit Saturday Night

## ART, RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

**A**LTHOUGH the notion of personality is an essential product of modern life, which, with its insistent individualism, has brought it into relief, it must not be supposed that this conception was non-existent in the ancient world, or at the most, existent in only a rudimentary form. We, in modern times, are in the habit of arrogating to ourselves most conceptions and problems of thought which have acquired a value and a currency in our life and which hold a powerful sway over our minds and we forget that these same conceptions and problems had been rocked and nursed into gradual maturity in the past ages in the cradle of ancient humanity. In art and in religion, the conception of personality is very ancient and dates as far back as to the Vedic times almost, but like most other life conceptions, there has been a gradual development of it corresponding with gradual phases and forms of experience evolving out of the sense of personality, experiences which artists and religious seekers have utilized in their respective spheres.

Scholars in Indian antiquities have faced a great difficulty in ascertaining the history of the origin of Indian art-conceptions. In the early Vedas, in the concepts of Nature gods they discover the same impulse of primitive man, as is seen everywhere else, to attribute those

powers which he sees in the visible universe to a being like himself, when he seeks to trace them to their ultimate and hidden sources. Of course, the difference between Vedic gods and the other tribal gods of savage tribes consists in this: that there was an underlying idea of the unity of a Being in the Vedas, the different forces of Nature having been conceived of as different manifestations of that Being. Hence Vedic religion, in spite of its being obviously anthropomorphic, has yet refused to come under any fixed category of religion. This idea of the unity of a Being was later developed into the soul philosophy of the Upanishads, the idea that the soul is the one and the undivided, undifferentiated entity in the universe all else being illusion.

Thus, in the early Vedas and the Upanishads, although we get both personal and abstract conceptions of God, yet we get no remotest conceptions of art in them. The Upanishadic mantra—"The Supreme Being is without sound, without form, without touch and without mutability"—sums up the concept of the metaphysical god of the Upanishads. We shall dwell, later on, on this aspect of the development of the idea of personality in religion, when we shall come to talk of religion.

It is the accepted theory of the scholars that the non-Aryan Dravidians had

developed certain forms of fine arts and architecture long before they came in contact with their more civilized Aryan conquerors. There are constant allusions to their sculpture and architecture in the ancient Hindu literature but there is hardly any allusion to their art ideals or art philosophy, which must have developed much later when the fusion of Aryan and non Aryan peoples was accomplished and a mixed type of civilisation arose.

In a recent Bengali article on Indian art and art canons which appeared in the 'Pravasi' for January the writer Mr Kshiti Mohan Sen traces certain art conceptions to the Atharva Veda which he surmises to have been partly moulded by the Non Aryan Dravidian mind. His reasons for putting down Atharva Veda as a non Aryan work are that firstly there is an unfailing apotheosis of the *Itarya* the unconventional and the socially ostracised man and secondly, that there is a constant praise of the Mother Earth instead of the praise of the luminous gods of the sky which would be more in keeping with the spirit of the Rig Veda the purely Aryan Veda. There is much that is suggestive in this thesis. This Man sense and Earth sense in the Atharva Veda according to the writer form the chief constituents of art. From another post vedic scriptural work he quotes one significant canon of art which says 'The true function of art is to beautify and purify the spirit and all art is the imitation of the Divine art. This indicates and strikes out the line taken by all later Indian art in the Buddhist and post Buddhist times and explodes the theory that the ideals as well as the materials of Indian art sprang from the Graeco-Roman school of Gandhara sculptures. Archaeologists naturally predisposed to attribute to anything Greek a supreme importance in the world of art forget the fact that even in the crude Gandhara sculptures the Greek genius strove to express something foreign to their cherished traditions—the dream of a life of peace and illumination attained by renunciation of desires. The Greek was unsuccessful in his attempt for in the type of the Buddha which Gandhara sculpture evolved there is a trace of Apollo. But the real importance of the introduction of the Greek element lay in this that it gave rise to a conception of personality by making a distinction

between the physical and the spiritual man. Henceforth man was a self conscious complexity of actual and potential. Buddhist psychology with its wonderfully scrutinizing analysis of human desires and motives helped to make explicit this notion of personality. But all this analysis all the disputations on the nature of desire and the means of emancipation from them would never have healed the breach made into the organic idea of personality and would never have helped the artist to fashion it into art forms in sculpture. For to start with an abstract idea and then to attempt to embody it in plastic designs was not favourable at all to the free development of art. There was therefore the necessity of the introduction of the Greek factor the Greek interest in form for the sake of form the Greek love of the sensuous in order to vitalise the abstract moral concepts of Buddhism.

Therefore the sculpture that succeeded the Gandhara School in India and that travelled to China and Japan sought to evolve an evermore perfect image of the completeness of moral personality, the personality emancipated from all desires and passions serene yet compassionate, free yet bound in sympathy to the miseries and afflictions of the world. It evolved the well known type of 'Avalokiteshwar' the 'Kwan-yin in Chinese and 'Kannon' in Japanese and this type of sculpture in China and Japan reached its most triumphant expression. No words can describe the superbness of the effort of these artists to concentrate in figures all that the self emancipated spirit of man can conceive of the peace and repose of an intense, cosmic life.

Of course in China and Japan sculpture gave way to painting and in India also we had paintings and frescoes of a remarkable order. But the theme remained much the same only the stiffness of form was broken into the flow of living colours and a fuller sense of the real life possessed the spirit of the artists.

In the 15th century in China we read in Mr Binyon's book the sect of Zen or Dhyan sect of Buddhism created a new school of artists in China and Japan. It was a kind of renaissance. We read also that the doctrines of Lao tzu had given fresh inspiration to the thought of the Zen Buddhists. Fluidity and sympathy were the two notes ever harped. 14

the great sage—he preached what Wordsworth has enunciated as 'wise passiveness.' Nothing could inspire artists better than this doctrine and, therefore, art in China and Japan, soon rose to an atmosphere of unconventional freedom and liberation of the spirit and without consciously symbolising, touched the very heart and soul of Nature. Indian art, although it never attained to such heights, became more and more symbolic in the Pauranic and post-Buddhist times, for symbolism suited the Indian mystical and metaphysical temperament better. However, the essential art conception that 'the true function of art is to beautify and purify the spirit' remained unchanged. The reference of art was not to any outward object but to the spirit, which was the observer and the creator. In China, in Japan and in India, this was the conception that ruled art. It was believed that a work of art would lead its spectator straight to the vision of the artist and through that, again to the Divine vision of the Divine Artist Himself. In other words, that underneath all art is personality, human and Divine. Therefore, it was considered as vitally important by artists that the spectator must fully prepare himself for the contemplation of a work of art. He must not be distracted and sensuous and loud when he contemplates a picture, a statue or a temple. For, in his mind, the real spirit of the artist flowers, he is the picture, the statue, yea, the temple of the artist. The outward form is nothing, the inward idea is everything. The effort, therefore, of all Eastern artists is to suppress material and to communicate, by hints and innuendoes, the ineffable in life and in the universe.

To think, therefore, that in such a type of art, the personality of the artist would count for little would be a mistake. Rather, in such a type of art, the personality was all important, was everything. The real personality consisted not at all in the abundance of things which a man did or which a man was, but more. It consisted in the abundance of a man's possibilities. It verified in art, the attitude towards personality adumbrated by Browning in his famous poem, "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

The Eastern artist really counted more on his "instincts immature and purposes unsure," on feelings and intuitions which

came to his mind he knew not whence, for these were the fertilising seeds which were sure to blossom in the minds of the beholders. What he was and what "he could never be" must appear in his art. Most often, therefore, the very slightness of his sketches would be vindicated by the elevated mood of the spirit of the artist behind them.

It ought, here to be admitted that Christianity, like Buddhism in Asia, with its principle of self-analysis, also gave rise to a conception of personality. It also made a distinction between the man bound in 'flesh' and the man free in 'spirit', and henceforth man was no longer the agent of a list of deeds. He was what he was and what he wished to be, but "never could be." Christianity dwelt more than any other historic religion of the world on the potential aspect of personality. And Christian art also was worked out on almost parallel lines with Indian, Buddhist and Chinese art.

But, it will be urged that these conceptions of personality lack one predominant element, which is the marked feature in the modern conception of personality. It may be expressed in terms of a paradox that for our consciousness in modern times the conception of personality has grown fuller but for modern philosophical and scientific thought it has grown more and more elusive. We feel that we have different selves, we are different at different times. And these selves of ours are not in harmony. Our real self, if there be any such thing is swallowed up in the swirl of divergent tendencies. We also feel that the old organic factors of religion and philosophy are quite inadequate to comprehend such variety and unite the multifarious interests of life into a co-ordinated whole of vital purpose.

Then again not only does modern psychology teach that individuality is not a single simple thing and that its borders shift in an indefinable manner, and that we, each one of us, are not one personality but many or "multiple personalities" in our different moods, but it also brings out that the personality which we do recognise as our one personality blends so imperceptibly into and is so inextricably linked on to outside things that when we try to bring ourselves to determine where an individual begins and ends, we are baffled. The distinction between

the self and the not self, therefore, becomes hard to maintain. Biologically, individuals link on to each other through animal life, plant life and inorganic life. Common sense view dictates that personality is really an emergence out of oneself, an expansion of oneself into the world. Are not a man's surroundings parts of himself and if you attempt to cut off this or that element, is not the personality more or less circumscribed and cut down thereby? How then do we explain that when two men have much the same environment, their personalities are as the poles apart? These differences of reaction upon the same experience can hardly be explained. We, therefore, fail to explain personality but we can recognise it by a certain persistence and identity of its character.

Therefore, one would in vain seek for all this complexity of the conception of personality as we understand it in modern times, in art creations and art ideals of ancient times, whether in the East or in the West. For the process of old art was more or less unconscious, the process of modern art is more or less self-conscious, sometimes becoming rather hyper self-conscious, if I may be allowed to say so. The enjoyment of the ancient artist was in the merging of his self in the current of life and nature. The enjoyment of the modern artist is in the self-conscious enjoyment of *himself*, his own varying moods and emotions, intuitions and instincts, in the clash of his multiple selves, in the pursuit after the central core of Being, where the clash may be resolved into a harmony. So, how can old art ideals constituting conceptions of personality agree with modern ideals?

Recognising fully all the claims of the modern, I do not think that the ancient and the modern ideas of art and personality are altogether irreconcilable. But in order to establish my position, I shall have to fully consider the conception of personality as it developed in religion, for the unique interest of ancient Indian, Chinese or Christian art is the complete fusion of the artistic and the religious temper. Many of the noblest masterpieces of art in Asia and in Europe have been of religious inspiration. Art, in ancient times, was the devout servant of religion. Therefore, any estimate of art conceptions would be vague and inadequate without a corres-

ponding appreciation of religious ideas which influenced art and moulded it into form.

Selfhood has two outstanding characteristics: intuition and identity. Intuition is the intuition of self as self. And identity is the unchangeableness of self. These two characteristics were wonderfully worked out in the *atman* or soul philosophy of the Upanishads where the soul was designated and defined as the unchangeable something among the changes and divergences of the phenomenal life of the limited self. The soul is, therefore, the '*Nitya Anityanam*', the unchangeable among all that changes, and this soul, it was postulated, was only to be apprehended by intuition or '*Atmapratyaya*'. That a line could be drawn between life, animal, vegetable and inorganic, was denied, the Upanishads regarded matter as alive. In the objective world, God is life, '*Prana*' and the objective god indwells in all his creatures—He in them and they in Him—'*Sarvabhutatantaratma*'. The universe is the body of God, '*visvarupa*', if God is the 'soul of the universe', '*visvratma*'. Hence the objective world is illusory, though real illusory in so far as it is phenomenal, and real, in so far as it is the 'living garment of God'. God is the subject and is the person or '*Purusha*', and the individual is one with him. The individual soul enjoys himself, '*Atmakara*' '*Atmarati*' so this enjoyment is verily his creation. Therefore is all art, '*Atma sanskriti*', the beatitude, the perfecting of the soul. And all art is the imitation of the Divine Art, for the Upanishads did not hesitate to say that God Himself is '*karibh*' or the poet, and that whatever becomes manifest, is His form of joy, '*Anandarupam*,' and His love, '*Amritam*'.

We have seen that behind all Eastern art lies the conception that art is a communication between spirit and spirit and that therefore, in art, the personality of the artist is all important. From the Upanishads we gather that the personality is self-participating in its own experience, it enjoys its own self amidst the joys of life and the joys of nature. And inasmuch as, it is in process of growth and change, it must seek to establish the identity, the imperishableness of its own self and co-ordinate all its discrete consciousnesses and multifarious experiences and emotions.

into one living whole into one vital or  
 grism into one perfect synthesis And  
 when the ego centric personality of the  
 artist is transformed into the God centric  
 personality or the Divine personality it is  
 then that the artist can proclaim that all  
 art is the imitation of divine art or as  
 Ruskin has said all great art is praise  
 But for this wedding of the highest reli-  
 gious experiences with the highest in-  
 tuitions of art art could never have risen  
 to such heights as we have already seen it  
 to have risen in ancient times

But the capacity of the personality to  
 participate in the world of experience must  
 increase The greater ideal of self realisa-  
 tion is that participation is realisation  
 The self does not realise itself in self isola-  
 tion in the confines of egotism however  
 magnified and enlightened that may be  
 It realises itself in sharing the life of other  
 selves In their bondage is its bondage in  
 their emancipation is its emancipation  
 And modern psychology simply adds that  
 this participation becomes possible because  
 each self or personality contains within it  
 multiple selves or multiple personalities

This aspect of participation and identi-  
 fication with worlds of personalities was  
 however not absent in ancient thought  
 In Christianity and Buddhism it was quite  
 pronounced not in the Upan shads how-  
 ever Christianity enlarged the scope of  
 man's participation with other selves to  
 all humanity and Buddhism enlarged it  
 still further to all life sentient or insen-  
 tient In certain forms of Vaishnavism it  
 was also equally pronounced even God  
 was conceived of as realising Himself  
 through such realisations of the human  
 soul It is therefore not unlikely that  
 these ideas should find their embodiments  
 in art

Therefore the difference between modern  
 and ancient ideas is mainly in a matter of  
 degree Only the traditional base of per-  
 sonality has been shifted now and person-  
 ality is found to consist not in identity  
 alone but in the power of sharing fully in  
 the world of experience This world of  
 experience has of course vastly increased  
 for artists and religious seekers in modern  
 times But the old base of personality  
 consisting in self participation still exists  
 for there is a distinct separatist emphasis  
 laid by the individualistic thought of the  
 modern age and the large output of liter-  
 ature of the present day bears witness to

it for instance G K Chesterton and  
 H G Wells are profoundly egotistic  
 writers They are keenly self analytical  
 and all their interest in the problem of  
 personality lies in the possibility of per-  
 sonal reaction upon the social environ-  
 ment They leave no room for the uncon-  
 scious working the slow up building of  
 things they must needs shape and adjust  
 and fit everything into the moulds and  
 categories of thought they create for them-  
 selves It cannot be denied for a moment  
 that this sort of self conscious election in  
 place of the old unconscious natural selec-  
 tion has a peculiar charm and fascination  
 for the human mind which feels a stirring  
 up of its dormant creative impulses when  
 it comes across such an attempt at re-  
 construction of society art morals and  
 religion But besides this the uncon-  
 scious processes the workings of the sub-  
 liminal self as well as of the supra liminal  
 self must count and count at a consider-  
 able value And when they will be reckon-  
 ed and fully ~~altered~~ the ancient art con-  
 cepts and religious concepts of personality  
 will no longer be at variance and conflict  
 with modern notions It may then be  
 apprehended that what we call intuition  
 and instinctive movements of unconscious in-  
 telligence may after all belong to a wider  
 synthesis of consciousness reserved to be  
 discovered by poets and seers and that the  
 congeries of self the sundry aspects of  
 ourselves may belong to a more funda-  
 mental unity which becomes manifest to  
 the clarified vision of spiritual idealists  
 How large a part of life may be uncon-  
 sciously conscious staggers imagination

It is therefore just possible that we  
 will have to alter the mechanical theory of  
 science of the universe and accept the theory  
 ever cherished by poetry art and religion  
 that life and consciousness extend through  
 heredity in the past over the whole uni-  
 verse and hence that there is no indivi-  
 duality or personality in nature is a mere  
 assumption of human intelligence The  
 mechanical qualities of the objects of na-  
 ture may exist but for purposes of utility  
 only But it is reserved for poets artists  
 and mystics to discover the *individualities*  
 of the sky and the breeze of the sun and the  
 rains of flowers of every individual flower  
 and of every individual atom in the  
 universe Is not modern poetry tending  
 towards it? This tendency explains why  
 Wordsworth Shelley Blake Whitman and

Maeterlinck are more read and admired than mid Victorian idyllists and realists like Tennyson, Rossetti and Victor Hugo. It explains why Rabindranath Tagore has had such fabulous fame and acceptance within such a short interval. It also explains the resurgence of mediæval mysticism, the awakening of new interest in schools of ancient mystics, the founding of the Celtic revival school of literature. It explains many other things. We now read myths, fables and nursery tales invented by poets in the infancy of the human race and find them to embody parables of nature. Our world is a fairy world and we can say with Mr Chesterton that the telescope makes the world smaller and the microscope makes it larger but neither can reach the ultimate

And we can say with Maeterlinck's hero 'Tytyl' of the 'Blue Bird' that personality is involved in all differentiated being, in fire, water, bread, stone and dust. Personality can never be finished and finite and determined, for in its very act of self determination there must be a certain indeterminateness. For, as Bradley says, there are degrees of reality, so modern art and poetry and philosophy too must say that there are degrees of personality also and that perhaps the ultimate personality is God, to whom all other personalities are referred and related. Personality is the one reality in the universe. It is at the bottom of all art, it is at the bottom of all religion.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY.

## TRADE AND TECHNIQUE

### OUR NEEDS OF SUGAR

**D**URING the year ending March 1917 Statistics for imported sugar (16 Dutch Standard) gives the amount for total imported sugar into India at 1 crore and 21 lakhs of mds, valued at 14 crores and 58 lakhs of rupees. Of this quantity Bengal has the greatest share of import. Bengal imports come upto about 75 lakhs of mds., valued at 6½ crores of rupees. Molasses Saccharin etc that come under the heading of sugar and also other lower grades of Dutch standard sugar are not included in this. Besides these imports quite a big quantity of sugar in its various forms are obtained from local crops.

### WATERPROOFING LEATHER BOOTS AND SHOES

Various forms of preparations are in use and sold in the markets for effective means of waterproofing boots and shoes and all such leather wares. Most of these preparations however have been more or less useless. An American chemist has lately invented a process and he claims it to be positively effective. The substances required for the purpose are very handy too. A gummy base and a dissolving liquid are the main points. This waterproof mixture is prepared by melting rubber into a pan of boiling grease or tallow. Pieces of rubber from old boots will do. The rubber pieces are burned over the grease and the molten matter allowed to fall into the pan. Gum from ever green trees may also be used. By applying the mixture hot positive waterproofing effect is obtained.

### PLANT GROWTH MEASURING INSTRUMENT

The life of the plant in its various forms is the subject of investigation by many scientists of the world of the present century. Dr J C Bose's reputation in this special branch is now world wide.

We come to know from an issue of *The Scientific American* that Dr D T McDougal has invented a new auxograph for registering changes during the organic growth of plants. The apparatus consists of a delicately balanced compound lever carrying tracing pen on one free end and with an arrangement by which the movement to be measured may be applied at various intervals in the other free arm. The recording is obtained on ruled paper wound around a clock driven cylinder. It is claimed that by this machine it is possible to detect and register changes in size as small as 0.004 inches.

### JAPAN'S FLOURISHING TRADE CONDITIONS

Since the outbreak of the war Japan's trade with India has undergone a great development. During the past year the port of Kobe alone exported about 5½ crores of Rupees worth of goods to British India. During the same period Kobe imported raw materials and commodities from India to the value of about 18 crores of Rupees. It is a very happy sign to note that along with the expansion of trade between Japan and India there have been an increased number of Indian merchants doing business in Japan. Quite a number of Indian merchants and companies are now on the list of exporters and importers in Japan. Most of these concerns however are owned and managed by our brethren of Western India who are practically the greatest enterprisers in trade in all India.

### CALCULATION OF INK FOR PRINTERS

In printing establishments calculations should be easily and quickly made regarding the amount of ink required for different forms. Experiments of high authorities in the line show that a pound of good grade of black will cover approximately one hundred

square inches of surface on 1000 sheets. One pound blue, 90 sq. inches, one pound red, 80 sq. inches, one pound yellow 70 sq. inches. When one colour overlaps another the quantity of ink of the overlapping colour is relatively but two third of the quantity required to cover a clear surface. Of course very much depends on the grade of ink colours and quality of the stock to be printed upon. A rough stock requires 3 times the quantity required for a smooth stock. Inferior inks are seemingly cheap but a costly investment in the long run.

#### COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY

An interesting process of colour photography have been invented and patented by an American as is recorded by the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry of England. The methods of the process are thus. The negatives are taken through screens of complementary colours (e.g., red and green). A print is made through one of the negatives and toned to a colour complementary to that of the taking screen. A second print through the other negative is then superposed in register on the first print and stained by mordanting and dyeing to the colour complementary to its taking screen.

With the improvements in colour photography we will be nearing the goal of a true reproduction and image of objects. Much of the charm of a photography is lost without the true and faithful reproduction in all respects and specially colour. Features without true colour do not appeal.

#### UTILISATION OF COTTON STALKS

Cotton stalks have long been known to yield excellent fibres suitable for paper pulp and also for spinning purposes. The knowledge of this utilisation had been up to now remained in its experimental stage. The present war with its effect of rigid economy on all matters is now causing further investigations into the matter of profitably utilising the cotton stalks which are wasted or used as fuel. The

southern states of America alone is said to be producing about 50 millions of tons of cotton stalks annually. This quantity is supposed to yield half the quantity of bleached fibre. For paper making the treatment of digested cotton stalks pulp would be similar to that of wood pulp. If the fibre is to be treated for spinning purposes the digested stalks should be washed and passed through steel rollers to crush the stalks and separate the fibres. Experiments and estimates are being made to work the systems in big commercial scales. Indian production of cotton stalks would also come up to a fairly large quantity and may be utilised by paper making concerns. Now it is generally used as fuel and the ash as fertilisers. It needs however to be found out as to which system of utilizing the stalks would be productive and economic.

#### METAL SOLDERS

Various processes for making solders are used. The following processes for making solders for aluminium and other metals have recently been patented by a London firm. The different grades of solder specified are 'hard' consisting Zn 69, Sn 25, Al 6, 'medium' Sn 2, Zn 5 and 'soft' Sn 2, Pb 1, Zn 6 parts by weight. The metals after being melted separately are mixed together. These operations are carried out in covered graphite crucibles lined with a mixture of alumina and charcoal in the proportion of 7 to 2.

#### POWDERED EGGS

Various foods are now being used in powdered and concentrated forms. Milk powders are already in the market. The latest development in this line in America is the production of powdered eggs on a commercial scale. Whites of eggs are separated from the yolks stirred until of uniform consistence, sugar is then added and the mixture dried at a temperature below 100°C and then powdered and packed.

ANANDA PROKASH GHOSH

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### The First Cinema-film Manufacturer in India.

In the May number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Guba writes why India should have a motion picture industry. He is not aware that there is already a Bombay man in the field and he is working successfully—the first to manufacture cinema films in India. In Western India his films have been shown at very many places and elicited admiration. Mr. D. G. Phalke first exhibited his film 'Hans bandra' in Bombay in 1913. Since then he has produced over twenty films—The Hindusthan Cinema Films—and they are being exhibited at the cinema theatres in Western India.

Mr. Phalke began to manufacture films at Dadar near Bombay, but having to rely on natural scenery for the setting of his scenarios he soon transferred his studio to Naik where he finds the surrounding hilly landscape admirably suited to his work. Here

now he and his company are busy turning out stories from Puranas into films. At present he is engaged on filming the burning of Lanka by Ravana and hopes to present it shortly.

Mr. Phalke is a versatile man and indeed in the vocation he has chosen one need be of such a character in India if one is to be successful. In India a cinema film producer must combine in himself the characters of a business man, camera man, 'Movie' director, poster arranger, negotiator for his films, scenario writer, trainer of histrionic talent, manager of publicity campaign and what not. He must be everything and anything before he can hope to achieve success. In Europe a cinema film producer can bring together these men and if he has not sufficient capital can float a company. In fact as a pioneer Mr. Phalke has to do a lot of work that is quite distinct from film production. And from the first he is quite handicapped by want of sufficient funds. When we take all these things into considera-

tion it is a marvel that Mr. Phalke has been able to manage these things at all.

Mr. Phalke arranges his own scenarios. For the plots he has recourse to our Puranas. He believes that in our Puranas there is an inexhaustible mine for the film producer and it is his experience that films which depict stories from the Puranas are more popular with the cine goers than his other films of scenes of Indian life. The Puranic stories are familiar to all, the incidents need little explanation and the films that incorporate these stories grip the audience no other film will do. They become popular with Europeans also. To them these films interpret India and its legends—the mystery, the glamour, the romance of the East.

S B ARTE.

### Comment upon Dr. Sudhindra Bose's Article on 'The American Woman'

Will you permit one who has long been a subscriber to your Review, and is at the same time an American to offer a word of criticism upon Dr. Sudhindra Bose's article re 'The American Woman' appearing in your last issue.

To begin with I am prepared to admit that there doubtless are in America many such women as Dr. Bose describes, though I have personally never met them. At the same time I would remark that it is dangerous for a foreigner to attempt an essay on American womanhood based upon experience gained from a residence in what Americans call 'the Middle West' and 'the North West'. The latter section many of us would call 'the Wild West'. It must be remembered that types, ideals and customs differ widely in various parts of the country, and certainly the characteristics of the people he describes—their attitude toward marriage, the relations between husband and wife, their attitude toward divorce—are not typical of the best American life.

Doubtless in the more recently settled sections of the United States—and within the memory of the parents of many of us Illinois and Iowa were wild tracts of wilderness and prairie uninhabited save by wandering tribes of Red Indians—there will be found such conditions as Dr. Bose describes, also in every town and city is to be found a large and non-descript section of the population, only a generation or two removed from ignorant immigrant ancestors, who have prospered more or less in material things and have acquired the speech, outward habits and peculiarities which foreigners have been pleased to describe as "American," yet who have never assimilated the true spirit of American home life and in fact may be said never to have come in contact with it.

Yet such a spirit exists, and it is only just to recognise in it the true type of the American ideal in the various aspects in which it expresses itself. I repeat that it is fitting to accept it as the only true American ideal, for it is the ideal which made America. It is that which eight or ten generations ago led our ancestors across the Atlantic to suffer hardship and often death for the sake of freedom to worship God and to bring up their children to worship them, in the manner which their consciences dictated. It was this ideal which gave them strength to overcome all difficulties and to carve out for themselves a home in the wilderness. It was this ideal which demanded of them simplicity of life and though they lived simply, the old books and letters which they have left behind them show that they thought high thoughts

and lived nobly. Divorce was hardly known among them, parents loved their children, and children honoured their parents, and treated their elders with respect.

Again it was this inherited ideal which gave the descendants of the founders of our nation the courage to fight for their own freedom in 1776 and 1861, to fight for five years for the freedom of the slaves, and which from the foundation of the nation until this day has stood for all that is highest and best in the life of the American people.

During the last century multitudes came to America from every part of Europe to share in the privileges of the national life which our ancestors had evolved so bravely and in the face of so many difficulties. In numbers they soon came to be more than we some portion of the ideal upon which our ancestors had built the foundation of the nation's life they grasped and made their own, other aspects of the ideal seemed to escape them. They failed among other things to grasp the fact that freedom means freedom from tyranny—not freedom from discipline. The results have been terribly apparent in a variety of ways, and the great internal moral struggle of the future in America will be between the conception of life and its obligations upon which the nation was founded and which still expresses all that is highest and worthy of respect in our national and domestic life on the one hand, and on the other the blatant vulgar and shallow conception of life's meaning which has been largely evolved during the last half century by those who had no part in the evolution of our national ideal.

It is sad that most people, no matter how long they dwell in a foreign land, find it quite impossible to enter into really intimate touch with the best and deepest currents in the thought and life of its people. The best does not lie upon the surface anywhere, nor does it tend to display itself for the inspection of strangers. The homes where the highest ideals of family life and mutual obligation obtain are not inclined usually to spread before the eyes of those outside of them the things which next to religion they hold most worthy of reverence and respect. This is so in India and in every other land. In consequence the restless pushing, assertive mass of mediocrity will deceive a foreigner, unless he be most wary, into thinking that he sees in it the embodiment of the spirit of the land in which he resides. In every land the homes which contain the greatest treasures of beauty in thought and life are rarely open to the foreigner, and even more rarely is he permitted to get a glimpse of the things which his hosts value most. This being the case it is astonishing that so few people recognise the magnitude of the task they set themselves when they attempt to describe the characteristics and ideals of another race. Indians write about America and England and Americans and Englishmen write about India or each other, and yet how little of what is written is really worth while! When even a great man like Sir Rabindranath Tagore utterly failed, as his addresses in America clearly indicate to get below the surface of things there, how can others hope to succeed?

Of Dr. Bose's article I would repeat that there are doubtless great numbers of such men and women as he describes—especially in those sections of the country in which his work has lain, also that divorces and poverty of home life and its ideals will be found to be somewhat common in the class I have referred to above. On the other hand I emphatically repudiate the idea that these things are characteristic



of that great section of the American people who are themselves not only the descendants of those who evolved the nation, but they whose inherited ideals form the mighty moral force which sustains and guides America whenever any great moral issue arises.

To give a concrete example showing how little Dr Bose's description would apply with such I would cite my own family. We have been settled near a great American city since its foundation nearly 240 years ago. During this period the ramifications of the family have been considerable and they have kept in more than usually close touch with each other consequently there are a great number of members from whose lives I can draw my inferences among all these relations—hundreds of whom I knew either personally or by report—there is not one single case of divorce. Among all my friends belonging to various families I cannot recall a single case of divorce and only three cases where the man and wife lived separately. In one of these the wife on account of her husband's cruelty was for the sake of her child to live apart from him yet she never applied for a divorce and came back to nurse him in his last illness, in another case the wife having been left without support by her husband and being forced by his treatment to live separately, has been working for years to support herself and her children, yet she never has applied for a divorce.

Dr Bose's article would seem to imply that an American girl marries with reference to what her husband can give her. The true American girl not only does not marry with reference to what her husband can give her, on the contrary, the thought of being his helpmate in his struggles and difficulties, and his companion and helper at all times, thrills her and is the inspiration of her life. Dr Bose also says that American husbands and wives live apart. Many do I know but the fault usually lies with the man who is so absorbed in his business that he makes such a state of affairs inevitable. Here again, however I have no hesitation in asserting that such men are the exception among true Americans. Among my own relations and acquaintances there are cases where the interests of husband and wife lie apart but in the vast majority of cases the husbands and wives find in each other's company their greatest happiness and are never so much pleased as when together. In this connection I naturally think of the mutual absorption of my own parents in each other and their unwavering devotion extending over nearly forty years of married life—and this in spite of the fact that my father was a more than usually busy man of affairs.

I shall close with the life story of two girls in my own city. One lives in my own home there. She is an old lady of over seventy now. When a young girl she was engaged to my father's older brother. He died about a week before the marriage. She decided that she would devote her life to his memory and so that time has lived in our home devoting herself to the care of those he loved, catering into their needs and cares. To this day she is never so happy as when she can sit and talk of him, and in her prayers and meditations the memory of him forms the largest part, and she looks forward to her death as the day when she will again be with him.

The other story is of an intimate friend of my own. He was a splendid fellow, a man of high education and a great athlete, and was engaged to

a girl living near us. Shortly before their marriage he was stricken down with a terrible ailment which made it certain that he would never be able to rise from his bed again, though he would probably live for years as a complete invalid. He was a man of no property, and immediately wished to set the girl free. She however insisted that she should be allowed to devote her life to him, begged to be permitted to become his wife, and finally having obtained her wish supported both him and herself by the work of her hands at the same time caring for him through all his lingering pain. I heard only last year of his death.

Space does not permit me to give more instances here, though from the immediate circle of my relations and friends I could fill a dozen more sheets with examples of the devotion and loyalty of American women, and hundreds of thousands of Americans could do the same all over the country. Yet these are the very things of which one outside would not be apt to hear. We Americans do not as a rule speak about such things except with those we have known long and well.

I hope, for the honour of American women, Mr. Editor, that you will publish this letter. It pains me to think that the people of India should gain a misleading impression of those whom American men have such just cause to revere.

May I add that I feel this the more, because of the deep respect and reverence which I have for the women of India, one of whom I am privileged to call my wife.

July 14th, 1917

AN AMERICAN

### Bas-reliefs at Borobudur.

It appears that Mr. L. D. Bannerji feels that the historians of Indian art have not, as a rule, given due recognition to the efforts of archaeologists. Mr. Havell he believes, is one of them. It would have been better if Mr. Bannerji had not imitated the method of these historians who, he thinks, 'generally despise the efforts of archaeologists in condemning wholesale works on Indian art and culture based on Havell's conclusions as 'worthless'. Instead of doing so he ought to have shown clearly how the identifications of the archaeologists and more particularly the notes of Dr. Vogel disprove Mr. Havell's thesis. Even if it were assumed that the stupas according to him, were, as a matter of fact, only the representations of Jatakas and the life-story of Gautama Buddha that fact in itself cannot be regarded as incompatible with the inferences drawn about the secular habits and historical times of the artists of Borobudur. Mr. Bannerji, if he has any grasp of the science of archaeology, ought to know that 'The artist who carved the bas-reliefs of Borobudur portrayed the Javanese ships as he saw them in the harbours of his native land Java and it cannot be maintained that he was portraying Indian ships.' Why? Was there no trade intercourse between India and Java? Did the Indian ships never enter the harbours of Java? A identification of the bas-reliefs with the Jatakas of the life story of Buddha is not in itself sufficient to prove the accuracy of Mr. Bannerji's assertion ought to prove that the Javanese possessed a distinct art of ship-building and that they never all themselves to be influenced by the Indian art ship-building. If he does so—he ought to, if

not a partisan—he will greatly facilitate the work of the archaeologist as well as that of the historian of Indian art

KANAYALAL H. VAKIL

### Bas-reliefs at Boro Bodur.

I should like to offer a few remarks on my friend Mr R. D. Banerji's notes in the August number of this *Review*. I do not pretend to question the identity of the reliefs as sought to be proved by Dr Vogel and which Mr Havell wrongly suggested represent Indian colonists. It should be noted however in justice to Mr Havell that his identification was only a tentative guess and was hardly dogmatic and in fact was far from any assertion of certainty such as Mr Banerji assumes with Dr Vogel. Mr Havell said 'The subject of the panel below with the splendid relief of a ship in full sail seems to be connected with the history of the colonisation of Java by Indians.' Monsieur Foucher, Mr Banerji's authority is equally meek and uncertain about the identification of the panel with the anecdote of Hiru, the actual words used by M. Foucher are 'We hazard the following identifications.—*Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* Tome (X), p. 33.' Then Mr Banerji points out that Mr C. M. Pleyte published his identifications as early as 1901 and that on the date of the publication of Mr Havell's book (1908) Mr Pleyte's book had been on the market for over 7 years. It is fair to point out that Mr Pleyte's book does not identify the panels representing the ships which Mr Havell has wrongly described. Mr Banerji has argued that nobody has hitherto found secular or historical scenes in the bas-reliefs on the body of Buddhist Stupa. Mr Banerji should have supported this by quoting the canons of Buddhist religious architecture. For M. Foucher himself says with reference to some of the bas-reliefs on Boro Bodur that a secular subject ('Un sujet profane' Ibid p. 32, line 20) has been introduced here.

It is most unfortunate that Mr Havell's guess should have been accepted as an authoritative identification by the author of '*History of Indian Shipping*,' but in the matter of identifications even our archaeological experts have not been always fortunate or infallible. It is not for me, a 'lay man,' to point out that the famous Pallava panel at the Seven Pagodas which has hitherto figured in all Archaeological Reports, including those contributed by Dr Vogel himself, as 'The Penance of Arjuna' is now going to be identified as 'The Penance of Bhagiratha'—if we are to believe two distinguished French Savants Mr Victor Gollubew and M. G. Jouveau Dubreuil (Vide *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. IV, July—August 1914 at pages 210-212). Alas the famous 'Three headed image at the Elephanta caves hitherto described as "The Trimurti" in all the authoritative tomes published by such distinguished archaeologists as Burgess, Fergusson and others, must now be called Maheshamurti if we are to believe Mr Banerji's brother archaeologist and the valuable iconographical evidence that has been collected on the subject (Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 382). The understanding and appreciation of the aesthetic quality of a work of art is quite independent of its subject matter. Many of the stone and stucco heads and figures found in Gandhara have not yet been identified or are known and described under wrong denomination but nevertheless we have been treated by distinguished savants

to long discussions on their artistic merits. It is still a matter of dispute among archaeologists whether the famous 'Choiseul Gouffier Apollo' is the representation of a god or an athlete but the aesthetic valuation of its plastic qualities has not been shelved until the identity had been sufficiently established.

And in this connection a point is suggested by Mr Banerji's remarks which is worth consideration and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. Mr Havell, Mr Banerji is pleased to remark 'has done a good deal to popularise Indian Painting and Sculpture both in Europe and in America and his works have met with a good reception but it must be admitted that his conclusions on these subjects, (the italics are mine) should be accepted with very great caution.' I am unable to follow from Mr Banerji's note that the conclusions of Mr Havell on these subjects viz, Indian Painting and Sculpture or the claims he has made on behalf of the Javanese Bas-reliefs or the arguments that he has advanced in popularising their aesthetic qualities have been disproved by the fact that all or any of his identifications of the subject matter of these works of art are unreliable. On the other hand, Monsieur Foucher (I greatly value his eminence as a great archaeologist), who achieved a triumph in identifying these bas-reliefs more than seven years ago has failed to contribute any single line to vindicate or popularise the claims of Indo-Javanese Sculptures or to help us to arrive at a correct valuation of them regarded as works of art and the world of art has not grown richer by these valuable identifications by a savant who has been impervious to their plastic qualities. For it must be admitted that works of art must be judged primarily as works of art and the historical materials which they yield are matters of secondary importance. Mr Banerji complains that historians of Indian Art (by the way, the history of Indian Art has not yet been written) 'generally despise the efforts of archaeologists and rely on inspiration for such identifications.' Relying on inspiration is certainly a grievous mistake but I am not aware if anybody has despised the valuable materials that the efforts of archaeologists have accumulated and which Mr Havell himself and others have utilised in their works. The portion of the efforts of Indian archaeologists which is certainly not entitled to any credit is that made to appraise, understand or appreciate the aesthetic qualities of Indian Art, and Mr Havell in attempting to disprove the conclusions of our Indian archaeologists on the quality and character of Indian Art which hitherto was regarded by archaeologists as a feeble attempt to imitate Greco-Roman models, has rendered a great service to the cause of civilisation and also to the cause of the history of Art (Archaeology) by correcting the misconceptions that have hitherto governed and in some cases, still continue to govern the field of Indian Archaeology. These misconceptions have prevented the workers in the field of Indian Archaeology from apprehending the true quality of Indian Fine Art with the result that such of the remains as represented Indian art at its best had been systematically neglected and hardly received any recognition from archaeologists. I have hardly space to quote more than one instance. The fine bas-relief representing Kapila (?) on a conspicuous part of the rock wall of Isrumuniya at Anuradhapura had never been taken any notice of by the Government archaeologists who wrote reports on the remains of Anuradhapura.

Mr Vincent Smith — Neither Mr Bell (archaeological commissioner) nor Mr Cave (authority on Ceylonese antiquities) mentions the Kapila relief the merit of which was first recognised by Dr Coomaraswamy. The critical opinion expressed (by the latter) is confirmed by Mr Lawrence Bnyon who holds that the rock carved Kapila is a tremulous work impossible to forget when once seen. In the fields of Greek

Roman as also of Egyptian antiquities "the efforts of the archaeologists are valued as much for their aesthetic judgments as for the yield of their antiquarian or historical data. Unfortunately it is in India that tapes, spades and estampages film our aesthetic judgments."

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY

## H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD \*

### III GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS (CONTD)

By ST NIHAL SINGH

#### I

THE work of reorganizing the administration of Baroda had to begin with the Revenue Department for in 1881, at the time of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar's investiture, it over shadowed all the other departments—in fact, constituted almost the whole Government. It then comprised thirteen Bureaus, namely (1) Revenue Proper, (2) Forests, (3) Customs, (4) Excise (Abkari), (5) Opium, (6) Salt, (7) Stamp, (8) Account, (9) Boundary, (10) Revenue Public Works, (11) Compensation, (12) Survey, and (13) Political.

It is easy to explain how the *Sar Subah* (Revenue Minister) came to be entrusted with all these functions. His Highness's predecessors knew nothing of the modern concept of apportioning the work of administration among a number of departments. If any of them had wanted to institute such a system he would not have found, in Baroda, qualified men to conduct the various bureaus. The *Sar Subah's* office was the one that brought money to the State, and, therefore, was regarded as all important. The Revenue Minister was given charge of every bureau that brought in revenue and was entrusted with the task of accounting and husbanding the resources of the State. It naturally

followed that whenever necessity or organizing machinery to dispose of new work arose, another bureau was added to the Revenue Department. Other Indian States followed, at the time, the same system and many of them continue to do so to this day.

This policy of *lassiz faire* created many anomalies. The Revenue Minister, for instance, audited as well as compiled the accounts and thus the State could not exercise effective control over the revenue officials. The Political Bureau had nothing in common with the other branches of the Revenue Department. The wisdom of segregating the Revenue Public Works from the other Public Works could also be questioned.

The Revenue Minister found himself handicapped in discharging his duties by lack of initiative. During the minority regime he had to submit to Rya Sir T. Madhava Rao papers of the most inconsequential nature for orders. After the Maharaja Sahib had assumed control of the State these references had to be made to him.

The Revenue Minister, in his turn, received from the *Subahis* (Heads of Divisions) papers dealing with petty matters which could not be disposed of by them without his express leave. Appeals against the orders passed by the *Subah* were made to the Revenue Minister, and were often allowed.

The chain of references did not end there. Papers went up from the *Lahradhis* (Sub Divisional Officers) to the *Si*

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and even from the *Patels* (Head Men) in the villages to the *Vahivatdhar*s

This system, which denied initiative to officers, necessitated an enormous amount of routine work. Files dealing with inconsequential matters were constantly passing from the Sub Divisional Head quarters to the Divisional Head quarters thence to the *Sar Subah's* office, and finally to the Maharaja Gaekwar, often through the *Dewan's Cutcherry* (office). Each official through whose hands the papers passed made a note expressing his assent or dissent, giving his reasons or suppressing them, as he chose. No one troubled to follow any definite system or to make a précis of the memoranda before the file reached the final authority. Often the Maharaja Sahib found that the papers put into his hands were not complete, and in order to secure the necessary information it would have to go down stage by stage, until it reached the official who had been guilty of omission and come up again through the circuitous course for His Highness's decision. Thus a file sometimes made two or three rounds before it was disposed of.

This wasteful system imposed hardship upon every one concerned. The people suffered because their cases remained undecided for weeks and even for months. The officials worked day and night and yet never finished their work, and were constantly receiving reprimands for delays and omissions.

If this elaborate system had been designed to keep the Central Government in touch with the officials outside the Capital, and to enable the Maharaja Sahib through the heads of departments to exercise check over the activities of his representatives in the Sub Divisions and villages, it failed completely. The *Vahivatdhar*, despite the references that he had to make to the *subah*, was a formidable person. Besides being the collector of revenue, he was the executive authority of his Sub Division armed with full magisterial powers. This centralization of functions made him a veritable autocrat. No wonder that the people called him *Sarkar* (Government).

Similarly, the village *Patel* was master of all he surveyed, and few rustics knew that they had any other rulers besides him (and perhaps the *Vahivatdhar*). He was barely literate, held his office hereditarily,

and received a percentage on the revenue collected and remitted by him. He was a Government servant, and not the chosen head of the *Panchayat* (village community) as in days of yore. The form of that fine old Indian institution remained, but its soul had been killed by the adoption of the *Ryotwari* system of tenure, which exacted land revenue direct from the individual holders instead of from the village as a unit as was formerly the case. The new system had been introduced into Baroda by Maharaja Khande Rao Gaekwar (1856-1870) and was extended by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao during the minority regime. Neither of them had attempted to make a scientific survey of the land and to settle the rates of taxation according to carefully ascertained data concerning its productivity. A double wrong was thus inflicted upon the people. The internal organization of the village, which had withstood centuries of administrative changes, was destroyed, all but in name. The man who held land from the State was arbitrarily taxed and he was made to pay in cash instead of in kind as had been heretofore the custom. When the Maharaja Gaekwar began to rule, he found, therefore, that the land revenue was crying out for reform, and that the Survey Bureau of the Revenue Department was inadequately staffed to cope with the work.

The *Vahivatdhar*s were not much better educated than the *Patels*. I doubt if any of them had ever seen the inside of a College. The same was true of higher officials. University graduates were conspicuous by their absence in the Baroda public services at the time the Maharaja Sahib took the reins of administration into his own hands. Some of the heads of departments had been imported by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao from British India, but they had served there in subordinate capacities, and had not exercised the authority of even district officers.

None of the Maharajas of Baroda, and not even Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, had attempted to collect and to codify the rules and regulations prescribed from time to time for the guidance of officials. Chaos resulted. Orders frequently duplicated others, sometimes in practically identical words. Rules conflicted with one another, annoying the officials and

to make frequent references to higher authorities for instructions, or to use their judgment at their peril. Many of the regulations were out of date, and had not been superseded by fresh instructions.

No one had taken the trouble to define their respective powers, privileges, limitations, and liabilities. Each official was, therefore, left to his own devices. Some went too far, while others did not go far enough. Conflict resulted in either case. Similarly the departments of the Central Government overlapped, or work was left undone because none of the departments claimed it.

When death or dismissal caused a vacancy in the public service, a wild scramble for the post ensued. Every aspirant sought the intervention of influential relatives or patrons. Character, education, and experience counted for little.

Favouritism and jobbery especially exerted a pernicious effect upon departments requiring the services of trained men—departments entrusted with administering justice, building public works, dispensing medical relief, and teaching. All the graduates in law, engineering, medicine, and pedagogics employed in Baroda at the time His Highness began to administer the State could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The Police department was full of illiterate men who had not received any training in the detection of crime.

Tenure of office was not secure. Officials, no matter how capable, honest, and zealous they might be, were liable to harassment, fine, reduction, and even to dismissal if they were so unlucky as to offend the "powers that be." Rise in public service depended upon capacity for intrigue, and not upon capacity for work. If, by studying and humouring the whims of his superiors, an official was able to retain his office until he reached ripe old age, he could not claim any gratuity or pension. Grants were sometimes made as rewards for faithful service, or as compassionate allowances, but they depended entirely upon caprice.

Even the departments of the Central Government were housed in small, ill-ventilated buildings. The offices in the Sub Divisions and villages were often no better than huts. No provision was made to keep them in repair, and sometimes

officials who wielded autocratic powers sat under roofs that leaked when it rained.

It had occurred to no one to frame a comprehensive programme for building public offices in all parts of the State, or in fact, for constructing public works of any kind. If the necessity arose for re-roofing a public building, or putting up a shed, or digging a well, or advancing a small sum of money (*taccavi*) to enable a farmer to dig a well on his holding, the proposal had to go up to the highest authority. Work, no matter how urgent, could not be begun until the papers had passed from stage to stage, by slow degrees, and sanction had been received.

In such a circumstance, it was idle to expect to find in Baroda a system of anticipating revenue and expenditure. No Budget was drawn up. The procedure in regard to disbursements at the close of the minority regime was to sanction individual items of expense by a *nemnook yad* (memorandum) prepared in the *Sar Subah's* office. No expenditure over the sanctioned amount could be incurred without His Highness's leave.

Orders for payment were honoured by the *Huzur* (Central) Treasury only when they passed through the hands of the *Fadnis*. This term is a corruption of *Fardnavis*—the keeper of the Muster roll of the Army. He was all important at the time the Gaekwars conquered Baroda. Later he became the Military Accountant, and finally Secretary in Chief and Finance Minister.

The Central Treasury was in charge of the Revenue Minister. There were Divisional Treasuries at the Divisional Headquarters under the *Subahs*, and sub-Divisional Treasuries at the Sub-Divisional Headquarters under the *Vahivatdhar*s.

The *Vahivatdhar* received statements of revenue collected from the *Talati* (Accountant) of each village in his Sub-Division, consolidated them into a *tahband* (schedule), and sent it on to the *Subah*.

Each Divisional head consolidated the reports of all the *Vahivatdhar*s under his direction thus submitted, and the schedule to the Revenue Minister.

The Accounts Branch of the *Sar* office consolidated the four *tahbands* received and prepared accounts of revenue received by the State as a whole.

All the expense vouchers went to

Revenue Department for audit, though they had originated in that department—an extraordinary irregularity to which attention has already been called

## II

Soon after His Highness came into power, he decided to re-organize the highly centralized Revenue Department. He also decided to use it as his instrument to reform the whole public service for the *Sar Subah's* office contained the materials, in a chaotic form necessary for the reorganization of the entire administration.

The first important step towards the decentralization of the Revenue Department was taken in August 1883—less than two years after His Highness had come into power. The Survey Branch was removed from the *Sar Subah's* office and given the status of a separate department. Mr F A H Elliot I C S, who had made himself familiar with conditions prevailing in Baroda during the years he was serving as tutor to the Maharaja Sahib and who had had some experience of revenue work in British India, was placed in charge of the new Bureau.

The creation of this department involved considerable outlay upon initial and recurring expenditure. His Highness could, however, allocate funds much more easily than he could find men with the requisite training to carry on the work. He had, in many cases, to employ persons with incomplete knowledge of survey operations and let them master the routine through actual experience.

The correlation of the new department with the old Revenue Department presented difficulties. It was finally arranged that the proposals of the Survey and Settlement Department should go to the Prime Minister who would send them to the Revenue Department for criticism. The latter department would return the papers to the Dewan who, if necessary, would ask the Survey and Settlement Department to reconsider the proposal. His Highness decided upon this somewhat circuitous course in order to insure the independence of the new department. Now that the status of the Survey and Settlement Department has been established, the Maharaja Sahib is considering the adoption of a more expeditious method.

The attitude of the people towards the projected operations was far from friendly.

Judging from previous experiences, they feared that it was an ingenious scheme calculated to enrich the Maharaja Gaekwar at their expense. Persons in possession of land that paid little or no taxes were specially suspicious for they remembered that Maharaja Khande Rao Gaekwar had tried to deprive them of their highly cherished privileges. They knew that His Highness had expressly stated that the operations were to be confined to the *khalsa* (Government) land, but they felt that their turn would come.

At first it was considered that the crude survey made at the instance of Maharaja Khande Rao would serve as a basis and save much time and labour. The futility of this hope was apparent as soon as work was begun. His Highness, therefore, decided that each field must be measured, mapped and bounded separately, unless it was altogether too small, so that the State would have a complete record of existing holdings. Each large farm was to be given a separate number, unless the holder wished to divide it and to part with a portion of it. His predecessors had insisted that a part of a holding could not be surrendered, in order to compel holders to retain poor as well as rich land. The Maharaja Sahib realized that this practice worked hardship on the people and resulted in much good land being allowed to go out of cultivation, and he discontinued it.

At first the cross staff survey system was employed but the trials made in 1884 by Mr H H Parkinson, a young engineer, soon showed that chain survey would be better. The measurers and surveyors were made to learn this method during the rainy season when operations were relaxed or suspended, and it was adopted in 1885-86.

Each survey party consisted of 28 men under a *Kamdar* who was responsible for the correctness of the measurements and was paid a good salary in order to place him above temptation. He was required to make actual tests and not merely to content himself with supervising the work of his assistants. He kept the accounts of the party, and also decided boundary disputes.

As Survey operations were concluded, His Highness issued a notification fixing the rates. The incidence of taxation was, as a rule, lightened, because His Highness

found that the holders had been unable to meet the Government's demand, and revenue was constantly in arrears, which had to be written off from time to time.

The period of settlement was in most cases, fixed at fifteen years. The Maharaja Gaekwar decided against a longer term, as he wished to see how the new arrangement worked and to rectify any mistakes that may have been made within a short time.

The occupants of government land were assured that no change would be made in the rates during the period of settlement, unless lower or higher rates had been fixed by gross mistake, collusion, or fraud. The holders were thereby rendered secure against the State taxing any improvement that they might make with their own skill and capital. This notification also assured the holders that so long as they paid the State demand they would be left free in full and unrestricted possession of their land. His Highness conferred upon the holders possession of the trees that grew on their holdings, but which theretofore did not belong to them.

These reforms greatly improved the occupants' status, whereas formerly they had been little better than tenants at will, now they could not be evicted from their holdings at the whim of an official.

By 1906-07 all the State, with the exception of the Vajpur Sub Division of Naosari, most of which is under forest, had been surveyed and settled. The operations had cost over Rs. 4,000,000, and had resulted in the reduction of the State demand by 7.7 per cent, not taking into account the abolition of the agricultural *Veras* (imposts).

As the term of the original settlement lapsed, the work of re-settlement was begun. Rates were ordered to be lowered if the occupants could not afford them, or raised if the yield or prices had risen since the original settlement, the rise in rates to be proportionate to the increase in profit. The term of re-settlement was to be 30 years, unless a shorter period was deemed *ble* in specified cases.

The re-settlement has made comparatively little difference in the revenue *anded* by the State. The occupants are assessed at higher rates do not feel the rise, because agriculture has on account of the Maharaja

Sahib's policy of building irrigation works and helping holders to sink wells, and as the result of his efforts to induce the cultivators to use improved methods and machinery, and of the spread of education.

The success of the Maharaja Gaekwar's agricultural policy is shown by the fact that while before his time Baroda subjects left their ancestral homes, now people from other territories seek holdings in His Highness's State. Land that was formerly left fallow season after season until it degenerated into waste areas and even considerable portions of land that was considered totally unfit for cultivation have been brought under tillage. Flourishing villages with brick buildings loudly proclaim the prosperity that has followed in the wake of the survey operations, and other agricultural and general reforms.

So far I have written of the survey and settlement of the Government land. It may be now stated that His Highness created, in May, 1889, a special Bureau to deal with land that had been alienated by his predecessors and their officials to various classes of persons, for one reason or another. These privileged classes offered great opposition, but gradually they were won over by His Highness's policy of buying out their vested rights at a fair rate of compensation, and not summarily ousting them, as Maharaja Khande Rao had tried to do.

Before finishing examining the work done by the survey and settlement department I must emphasize that His Highness has not permitted his desire for uniformity to override his good judgment and abolished various forms of tenure prevailing in Baroda in favour of the *ryotwari* system (of which I have written), without regard to the effect that such abolition would have. In many cases, he found that the people residing in parts of his state were in a backward stage of civilization, and would suffer great hardship if the new system were imposed upon them. He has, therefore, refused to alter the existing arrangements.

### III

A year after the Survey and Settlement Department had been created His Highness relieved the Revenue Department of the audit work. By an order dated October 7, the *Huzur* auditor was given the dignity

of head of a separate department and was made responsible for checking the accounts throughout the State

The same day His Highness issued a memorandum emphasizing the fact that a Government, in order to be economical and yet efficient, needed annually to forecast its revenue and expenditure. In the following February detailed instructions were issued for framing up the Budget. The Budget for 1885-6 was the first statement of its kind that Baroda, in all its chequered career, had ever seen.

During this and succeeding years His Highness laboured strenuously to improve the system of accounting and auditing. He employed experts from British India to assist him. Drastic changes were made from time to time in the working and personnel of the department, before it measured up to the standard that the Maharaja Gaekwar had set for it.

An instance may be cited to show the efficiency attained by the Audit Branch of the Department. Mr. Kishabhai Dalubhram, the Assistant Accountant General, detected, in 1896, an error in the accounts of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway involving serious loss to Baroda. The Railway Company, it was found, had given His Highness no share in the receipts for terminal charges. The Railway authorities admitted their mistake, paid Rs. 120,000 arrears and promised to remit Rs. 20,000 a year as Baroda's share.

The same official, in auditing the accounts of the Petlad Cambay Railway, constructed at the joint expense of Baroda and Cambay States, found that Rs. 40,000 had been charged to Baroda instead of to Cambay, to which State the sum should have been debited. Considerable correspondence finally resulted in the Railway authorities admitting their error, and Baroda succeeded in recovering the amount from Cambay.

The ability of the Finance Department to make satisfactory financial arrangements was demonstrated when, in 1899-1900, owing to large expenditure on famine operations and the small collections of revenue, it became necessary to borrow money. His Highness authorized his Accountant General to negotiate a loan not exceeding Rs. 10,000,000. Steps were first taken to float the loan in India, but the Indian banks demanded interest at the

rate of 6 per cent per annum. Finally money was obtained from London at 4 per cent. Rs. 4,575,000 (£305,000) were borrowed for six months, and Rs. 2,325,000 (£153,000) for a year. In 1900-01 it became necessary to secure a further loan of Rs. 2,975,000 for one year at 4 per cent. A portion of the loan which matured in July, 1902 was paid on the date on which it fell due by selling Government paper to the value of Rs. 1,850,000 at Rs. 97.4 net. The balance was renewed for one year on the same terms as before. The whole loan was paid off by June, 1903.

For years past this department has had charge of all matters pertaining to audit, account, and finance, and has been independent of the Revenue and other departments. The *Fadavis*, to whom reference has been made, no longer interferes in financial affairs, but is the custodian of the State records.

The department, as now constituted, comprises ten branches, namely, (1) the Main Branch, (2) the Civil Audit Branch; (3) the Military Audit Branch, (4) the Public Works Audit Branch, (5) the Examiner of Accounts, State Railways; (6) the Inspection Branch, (7) the Local Board Inspection Branch, (8) the Compilation of Accounts Branch, (9) the Central Treasury, and (10) the Stamp Branch.

The Main Branch disposes of all important matters involving questions bearing directly or indirectly upon the finances of the State. The Civil Audit Branch examines on the post audit system all vouchers except those pertaining to the Military or Public Works Department or State Railways. These vouchers being audited by the Military Audit Branch, the Public Works Audit Branch, and the Examiner of Accounts, State Railways, respectively. The Inspection Branch inspects the accounts of all departments except the Military and Public Works (including Railways), by scrutinizing local accounts and taking stock of treasure. Similarly, the Local Boards Inspection Branch examines the accounts of District and Local Boards and Municipalities. The accounts of the State are compiled from the daily sheets received from the Central Treasury at Baroda, and from the monthly accounts received from the Divisional, Sub-Divisional and other Treasuries, by the Compilation of Accounts Branch. The



same Branch compiles the accounts of tribute received by His Highness the Maharaja Gackwar from tributaries in Kathnawar and the Malu Kantha Rewa Kantha and Palanpur Agencies Since 1904 all statistical information concerning the State has been collected and collated by this Branch so that it could be issued in a single, handy volume instead of being available only in stray statements pre-

pared without any definite plan The work of the treasury and Stamp Branches does not call for explanation

The Inspection Branch deserves to be especially commended to the notice of the reader His Highness has lavished his attention upon its working and personnel so that the State may have an efficient agency to check errors and abuses in its farthest corner

## SHAKTI AND SHAKTA

By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE

(Continued from previous issue)

EACH sect of worshippers has its own Tantras In two articles in recent numbers of the Prabuddha Bhārata I have shortly referred to the Tantras of the Shaivasiddhānta of the Pancharātra Agama and of the Northern Shaivism of which the Māliuvijaya Tantra sets the type The old fivefold division of worshippers was according to the Panchopāsana Saura, Ganapatya Vaishnava Shaiva, and Shākta whose Mūla Devatas were Sūryya, Ganapati Vishnu Shiva and Shakti respectively At the present time the threefold division Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shākta, is of more practical importance as the other two survive only to a limited extent today In parts of Western India the worship of Ganesha is still popular and I believe some Sauras or traces of Sauras here and there exist especially in Sind

There are mentioned in the Tantras six Amnāyas The Sammohana Tantra (Ch v) first explains Purvamnāya Dakshīrāmṇāya Paschimāmṇāya Uttaramṇāya Urdhvāmṇāya according to what is called Deshaparyāya The sixth or lower and concealed face (Adhāmṇāya) is that from which exudes poison (Viṣa) I believe no Pūja of this is generally done but Shadanvaya Sambhavas very high Sadhakas at the door of Liberation do Nyasa with this sixth and concealed Face It is said that Pātāla Amṇāya is Sambhogayoga The Nishkala aspect in Shaktikrama is for Pūrva, Tripurā for Dakshina Saura Ganapatya

and Vaishnava for Paschchima Raudra Bhairavas for Uttara, Ugrā, Apattārinī In Śaivakrama the same aspect is for the first Sampatprada and Mahesha, for the second Aghora Kālīkā and Vaishnava darshana, for the third Raudra, Bhairavas Shaivas for the fourth, Kuvēra Bhairava Saudarshaka and for Urdhvāmṇāya, Ardhanārīśha and Pranava

It also gives a classification of Tantras according to the Amnāyas as also special classifications such as the Tantras of the six Amnāyas according to Vatukāmṇāya As only one Text of the Sammohana is available whilst I write it is not possible to speak with certainty of accuracy as regards all these details

Each of these divisions of worshippers have their own Tantras as also had Janas and Bauddhas Different sects had their own particular subdivisions, a the Tantras of which there are various classifications according to Krantas Deshaparyāya Kālaparyāya and so forth

The Sammohana Tantra mentions 22 different Agamas including Chināgama (a Shākta form), Pāshupata (a Saura form) Pancharātra (a Vaishnava form) Kāpālīka, Bhairava Aghora Jaina Bauddha, each of which is said there to contain a certain number of Tantras and Upatantras.

According to the Sammohana Tantra, the Tantras according to Kālaparyāya are the 64 Shākta Tantras, with 327 Upatantras, 8 Yāmālas 4 Dāmaras, 2 Kalpalatās and

several Samlutās, Chudāmanis (100) Ārnavaś, Puranaś, Upavedaś Kakṣhaṇḍaś, Vimarśhaṇi and Chintāmaṇiś. The Śaiva class contains 32 Tantraś with itś own Yamalaś Dāmarāś and ſo forth. The Vaiṣṇava class contains 75 Tantraś with the ſame in eluding Kalpaś and Upabodhaś. The Saura class haś 30 Tantraś with itś own Yamalaś, Uddiśhaś and other workś. And the Ganaṇḍa class contains 50 Tantraś with Upaṇḍaś, Kalpaś and other Śāśtraś including one Dāmarā and one Yāmala. The Bauddha class contains Kalpadrumaś, Kāmadhenuś, Suktaś, Kramaś Ambaraś, Puranaś and other Śāśtraś.

According to the Kulārṇava and Juāna dīpa Tantraś there are ſeven Āchāraś of which the firſt four, Vaidika Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Dakṣha belong to Paśvačhāra, then comeś Vāma followed by Siddhanta in which gradual approach iś made to Kaulachāra the reputed hiĝheſt. Elſewhere ſix and nine Āchāraś are ſpokeṇ of and different kind of Bhāvaś, Sabhāva Vibhāva and Dehabhāva and ſo forth which are referred to in Bhāva chudāmaṇi.

The main diſiſionś here are Vedāchāra, Dakṣhañāchāra and Vāmāchāra. Vedāchāra iś not, it ſeemś Vaidikāchāra that iś, in the Śrauta ſenſe, for the Śrauta Vaidikāchāra appearś to be outſide thiś ſevenfold Tantrik diſiſion of which Vedāchāra iś the Tantrik counterpart. For it iś ſaid to be Tantrik Upāṣana with Vaidik riſeś and mantraś, and Agni aś Deſatā. Aś a ſpeculation we may ſuggeſt that thiś Āchāra waś for thoſe not Adbhikāri for what iś called the Śrauta Vaidikāchāra. I haſe been told that in thiś Āchāra there iś no diſiſion of Dakṣha and Vāma nameś of diſſering. Sadhaṇā giſen later by the Āchāryaś. The ſecond and thiṛd belong to and lead up to the completed Dakṣhañāchāra. Thiś iś Paśvačhāra. Vāmāchāra commenceś the other mode of worſhip leading up to the completed Kaula and leading beyond to the Kaulāvadhūta, Avadhūta, and Divya. Here we reach the region which iś beyond all Āchāraś which iś known aś Svecchhāchāra. All that thoſe belonging to thiś ſtate do or touch iś pure. In and after Vāmāchāra there iś eating and drinking in and aś part of worſhip and it may be (though not neceſſarily ſo) Maithuna. After the Paśhu there iś the Vīra and then the Divya. Paśhu iś the

ſtarting point, Vīra iś on the way and Divya iś the goal. Each of the ſectś haś a Dakṣha and Vāma diſiſion. It iś commonly thought that thiś iś peculiar to Śaktaś but thiś iś not ſo. Thuś there are Vāma Gāṇapaṭyaś and Vaiṣṇavaś and ſo forth. Again Vāmāchāra iś itſelf diſiſed again into a riĝht and left ſide. In the former wine iś taken in a cup of ſtone or other ſubſtance and worſhip iś with the Svakiyā Śakti or Sādhaṇaś own wiſe, in the latter and more adſanced ſtage drinking iś done from a ſkull and worſhip may be with Paraſtrī that iś ſome other Śakti. In the caſe however of ſome ſectś who belong to the Vāmāchāra diſiſion whiſt there iś meat and wine there iś no Śakti for the memberś are chaſte (Brahmachāri). So far aś I can aſcertain theſe ſectś which are mentioned later ſeem to belong to the Śaiva aś oppoſed to the Śakta group.

The Tantrik Sangraha called Śaktānanda Tarangini by Brahmānanda Svāmī ſayś (Ch 2) that Āgama iś both Sādāgama and Aśadāgama and that the former alone iś Āgama according to the primary meaning of the word (Sādāgama eſa agamaśhaḥ dāya mukhyaṭvāt). He then ſayś that Śhiva in the Āgama Samhitā condemṇś the Aśadāgama ſayiṅ 'Oḥ Deveśhi, men in the Kālī age are generally of a Raĝaśik and Tamaśik diſpoſition and being addicted to forbidden wayś deceiſe many others. Oḥ Sureśhvara, thoſe who in diſregard of theiṛ Varnāśhrama Dharma offer to uś fleſh blood and wine become Bhūtaś, Pretaś, and Brahmaṛākṣhaśaś', that iś various formś of evil ſpiritś. Thiś prohibiṛś ſuch worſhip aś iś oppoſed to Varnāśhramadharmā. It iś ſaid however by the Vāmāchāriś who take conſecrated wine and fleſh aś a Yajña not to cover theiṛ caſe.

It iś not uncommonly thought that Vāmāchāra iś that Āchāra into which Vāmā or women enterś. Thiś iś true only to a certain extent that iś, it iś a true definition of thoſe Sādhaṇaś who do worſhip with Śakti according to Vāmāchāra riſeś. But it iś incorrect in ſo far aś there are worſhipperś of the Vāmāchāra diſiſion who are chaſte (Brahmachāri). Vāmāchāra meanś literally "left" way not "left handed" in the Engliſh ſenſe which meanś what iś bad. Aś the name iś giſen to theſe Sādhaṇaś by theiṛſelſe it iś not likely that they

adopt a title which condemns them. What they mean is that this Āchāra is the opposite of Dakṣhināchāra. Philosophically it is more monistic. It is said that even in the highest Siddhi of a Dakṣhināchārī 'there is always some One above him, but the fruit of Vamāchāra and its subsequent and highest stages is that the Sādhaka 'becomes the Emperor Himself'. The Bhāva differs, and the power of its method compared with Dakṣhināchāra is said to be that between milk and wine.

Moreover it is to be noted that the Devi whom they worship is on the left of Shiva. In Vāmāchāra we find Kāpālikas, Kālā mukhas, Pāshupatas, Bhandīkās, Digambaras, Aghoras, followers of Chināchāra, and Kaulas generally who are initiated in some cases as in that of the advanced division of Kaulas, worship is with all five Tattvas (Panchatattva). In some cases there is Brahmacharya as in the case of Aghora and Pāshupata though these drink wine and eat flesh food. Some Vāmāchārīs, I am informed, never cease to be chaste (Brahmachārī), such as Oghada Sadhus, worshippers of Batuka Bhārava Kanthādhārī and followers of the Nathas such as Gorakshanātha, Sitanātha and Matsyendranātha. In Nilākrama there is no Maithuna. In some sects there are differing practices. Thus I am told amongst the Kālamukhas the Kālavīras only worship Kumārīs up to the age of nine whereas the Kāmamohanas worship with adult Shaktis.

Some advanced members of this (in its general sense) Vāmāchāra division do not, I am informed, even take wine and meat. It is said that the great Vāmāchārī Sādhaka Rājā Krishnachandra of Nadia, Upāsaka of the Chhinnamastā Mūrti did not touch wine. Such and similar Sādhakas had passed beyond the preliminary stage of Vāmāchāra. As regards Sādhakas generally it is well to remember what the Mahā Samhitā the great Śāstra of the ādhyasta Kaulas says in the 11th Ullāsa called *Sharīra yōgā kathanam* — "Some Kaulas there are who seek the good of this world (āhikārthadhritātmanah). So also the Vaidikas enjoy what is here (āhikārtham mayante) (as do I may interpose, the vast bulk of present humanity) and are not seekers of liberation (amṛite ratim na kurvanti).

Only by Nishkāmasāadhanā is liberation attained.

The Panchatattva are either real (Pratyaksha) (idealising statements to the contrary are when not due to ignorance, false) substitutional (Anukalpa) and esoteric (Divyatattva). As regards the second, even a vegetarian would not object to 'meat' which is in fact ginger, nor the abstainer to "wine which is coconut water in a bell metal vessel. As for the Esoteric Tattvas they are not material articles or practices but the symbols for Yogic processes. Again some notions and practices are more moderate and others extreme. The account given in the Mahānirvāṇa of the Bhairavi and Tattva Chakras may be compared

and the former again unrestrained practice, contrasted with a modern Chakra described in the 13th Chapter of the Life of Hejōy Krishna Gosvāmī by Jagadbandu Maitra. There a Tāntrika Siddha formed a Chakra at which the Gosvāmī was present. The latter says that all who were there felt as if the Shakti was their own Mother who had borne them and the Devatas whom the Chakreshvara invoked appeared in the circle to accept the offerings. Whether this is accepted as a fact or not it is obvious that it was intended to describe a Chakra of a different kind from that of which we have more commonly heard. There are some practices which are not correctly understood there are some principles which the bulk of men will not understand, for to so understand there must be besides knowledge that undefinable Bhāva, the power which carries with it the explanation in no words can give. There are expressions which do not bear their surface meaning. Gomāngsa bhakshana is not 'beef eating' but putting the tongue in the root of the throat. What some translate as 'Ravishing the widow' does not mean a woman but refers to a process in Kundali Yoga and so forth. Lastly and this is important a distinction is seldom if ever made between Shastric principles and actual practice nor is count taken of the conditions properly governing the worship and its abuse. It is easy to understand that if Hinduism has in general degenerated there has been a fall here. It is however a mistake to suppose that the sole object of these rites is enjoyment. It is not

necessary to be a 'Tantrik' for that. The moral of all this is that it is better to know the facts than to make erroneous generalizations.

There are said to be three Krāntas or geographical divisions of India of which roughly speaking the North Eastern portion is Vishnukrānta the North Western Rathakrānta and the remaining and Southern portion is Ashvakrānta. According to the Shāktamangala and Mahāsiddhasāra Tantras Vishnukrānta (which includes Bengal) extends from the Vindhya range to Chattala or Chittagong. From Vindhya to Tibet and China is Rathakrānta. There is then some difference between these two Tantras as to the position of Ashvakrānta. According to the first this last Krānta extends from the Vindhya to the sea which perhaps includes the rest of India and countries up to Persia. According to the Mahāsiddhasāra Tantra it extends from the Karatoya River to a point which cannot be identified with certainty in the text cited but which may be Java. To each of these 64 Tantras have been assigned One of the questions awaiting solution is whether the Tantras of these three geographical divisions are marked by doctrinal and ritual peculiarities and if so what they are. This subject has been referred to in the first volume of the "Principles of Tantra" wherein a list of Tantras is given.

In the Shākta division there are four Sampradāyas namely Kerala, Kashmir, Gauda and Vīṣā in each of which there is both outer and inner worship. The Sammohana Tantra gives these four Sampradāyas, also the number of Tantras not only in the first three Sampradāyas but in China and Drāvida. I have been informed that out of 56 Desha (which included beside Hunas, places outside India, such as China, Mahāchīna, Bhota, Singhalā), 18 follow Gauda extending from Nepālā to Kalinga and 19 follow Kerala extending from Vindhya-chāla to the Southern Sea, the remaining countries forming part of the Kashmir Desha, and that in each Sampradāya there are Paddhatis such as Shuddha, Gupta Ugra. There is variance in Devatās and Rituals some of which are explained in the Tārasukta and Shaktusangama Tantra.

There are also various Matas such as Kādī Mata which is called Vīṣādanuttara of which the Devatā is Kālī, Hādī Mata called

Hangsarāja of which Tripurasundarī is Devatā and Kālādī Mata the combination of the two of which Tārā is Devatā that is Nilasarasvatī. Certain Deshas are called Kādī, Hādī, Ka hādī Deshas and each Mata has several Āmnāyas. It is said that the Hangsatārā Mahāvidyā is the Sovereign Lady of Yoga whom Jains call Padmāvatī, Shaktas Shakti, Bauddhas Tārā China Sād hakas Mahogrā and Kaulas Chakreshvari. The Kādīs call her Kālī, the Hādīs Shrisundarī and the Kādī Hādīs Hangsā. A forthcoming volume of 'Tantrik Texts' contains that portion of the Tantrarāja which belongs to Kādī Matam.

Gauda Sampradāya considers Kādī the highest Mata, whilst Kashmir and Kerala worship Tripurā and Tārā. Possibly there may have been originally Deshas which were the exclusive seats of specific schools of Tantra but later and at present so far as they exist this cannot be said. In each of the Deshas different Sampradāyas may be found though doubtless at particular places as in Bengal particular sects may be predominant.

In my opinion it is not yet possible to present with both accuracy and completeness the doctrine and practice of any particular Tantrik School and to indicate wherein it differs from other Schools. It is not possible at present to say fully precisely who the original Shāktas were, the nature of their sub-divisions and of their relation to or distinction from some of the Shaiva group. Thus the Kaulas are generally in Bengal included in the Brahmajnāni Shākta group but the Sammohana in one passage already cited mentions Kaula and Shākta separately. Possibly it is there meant to distinguish ordinary Shāktas from the special group called Kaula Shāktas. In Kashmir some Kaulas, I believe, call themselves Shaivas. For an answer to these and other questions we must await a further examination of the texts. At present I am doing Pangkoddhāra not in the expectation that I can wholly clear away the mud and weeds but with a desire to make a beginning which others may complete.

He who has not understood Tantra Shāstra has not understood what "Hinduism" is as it exists today. The subject is an important part of Indian culture and therefore worthy study by the duly qualified. What I said should be sufficient to warn the

from making rash generalizations. At present we can say that he who worships the Mantra and Yantra of Shakti is a Shākta and that there were several Sampradāyas of these worshippers. What we can and should first do is to study the Shākta Darshanam as it exists to-day working back from the known to the unknown. What I am about to describe is the Shākta faith as it exists today that is Shaktivāda not as something entirely new but as the development and amalgamation of the various cults which were its ancestors.

Summarising Shākta doctrine we may first affirm that it is *Advaitavāda* or Monism. This we might expect seeing that it flourished in Bengal which as the old Gauda Desha is the Guru both of Advaitavāda and of Tantra Shāstra. From Gauda came Gaudapādāchāryya, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī author of the great Advaitasiddhi, RamchandraIrthabhārati, Chitsukhāchāryya and others. There seems to me to be a strong disposition in the Brahmaparāyana Bengali temperament towards Advaitavāda. For all Advaitins the Shākta Āgama and Advaita Shaivāgama must be the highest form of worship. A detailed account of the Advaita teachings of the Shāktas is a matter of great complexity and of a highly esoteric character beyond the scope of this paper. I may here note that the Shākta Tantras speak of 94 Tattvas made up of 10, 12 and 16 Kalās of Fire, Sun and Moon aspects of Kāmākālā respectively, and 19 of Sadāshiva, 6 of Ishvara, 10 each of Rudra, Vishnu and Brahmā. The 51 Kalās or Mātrikās which are the Sukshmarūpa of the 51 letters (Varna) are a portion of these 94. These are the 51 coils of Kundali from Bindu to Shrimātrikhot patti Sundari. These are all worshipped in the wine jar by those Shāktas who take wine. The Shāstras also set out the 36 Tattvas which are common to Shāktas and Shaivas, the five Kalās which are Sāmānya of the Tattvas namely Nirvṛti, Pratishthā, Vidyā, Shāntā, Shāntyatitā, and the Shadadhvas namely, Kalā, Tattva, Bhuvana, Varna, Pada, and Mantra.

To pass to more popular matters, a beautiful and tender concept of the Shāktas is the *Motherhood of God*, that is God as Shakti or the Lower which produces, maintains and withdraws the universe. This

is the thought of a worshipper. Though the Sammohana Tantra gives high place to Shangkarā as conqueror of Buddhism (speaking of him as a manifestation of Shiva and identifying his five disciples with the five Mahāpretas), the Āgamas as Shāstras of worship do not teach Māyāvāda as set forth according to Shangkaras transcendental method. Māyā to the Shākta worshipper is not an unconscious something not real not unreal not real unreal which is associated with Brahman in its Ishvara aspect though it is not Brahman. Brahman is never associated with anything but Itself. Māyā to the Shākta is Shakti. Shakti veiling Herself as Consciousness, but which as being Shakti is Consciousness. To the Shākta all that he sees is the Mother. All is Consciousness. This is the standpoint of Sādhinā. The Advaitins of Shangkaras School claim that their doctrine is given from the standpoint of Siddhi. I will not argue this question here. When Siddhi is obtained there will be no argument. Until that event Man is it is admitted, subject to Māyā and must think and act according to the forms which it imposes on him. It is more important after all to realise in fact the universal presence of the Divine Consciousness than to attempt to explain it in philosophical terms.

The Divine Mother first appears in and as Her worshippers earthly mother then as his wife, thirdly as Kālīkā. She reveals Herself in old age, disease and death. It is She who manifests, and not without a purpose, in the vast outpouring of Sanghara. Shalī which is witnessed in the great world conflict of to-day. The terrible beauty of such forms is not understood. And so we get the recent utterance of a Missionary Professor at Madras who being moved to horror at the sight of (I think) the Chāmundāmūrti called the Devi a "She Devil". Lastly she takes to Herself the dead body in the fierce tongues of flame which light the funeral pyre.

The Monist is naturally unsectarian and so the Shākta faith as held by those who understand it is free from a narrow sectarian spirit.

Nextly it, like the other Āgamas makes provision for all castes and both sexes. Whatever be the true doctrine of the Vaidikas their practice is in fact marked by exclusiveness. Thus they exclude women and

**Shūdras** It is easy to understand why the so-called Anāryya Sampradāyas did not do so. A glorious feature of the Shākta faith is the honour which it pays to woman. And this is natural for those who worship the Great Mother whose representative (Vigraha) all earthly women are. Strīyo devah strīyah prānah 'Women are Devas, women are life itself,' as an old Hymn in the Sarvollāsa has it. It is because woman is a Vighraha of the Ambā Devi, Her likeness in flesh and blood that the Shākta Tantras enjoin the honour and worship of women and girls (Kumārīs), and forbade all harm to them such as the Satī rite enjoining that not even a female animal is to be sacrificed. With the same solicitude for women the Mahānirvāna enjoins the education of daughters before their marriage. It is the Shākta Tantras again which allow of women being *Guru*, a reverence which the West has not yet given them. Initiation by a Mother bears eightfold fruit. Indeed to the enlightened Shākta the whole universe is Strī or Shakti. "Aham Strī" as the Advaitabhāva Upanishad says. A high worship therefore which can be offered to the Mother today is to get rid of abuses which have neither the authority of ancient Shāstra, nor of modern social science and to honour, cherish, educate and advance women (Shakti). Strīyo devah strīyah prānah Gautamiya Tantra says Sarvavarnādhikāraścha nārīnām yogyam evacha and the Mahānirvāna says that the low Kaula who refuses to initiate a Chandāla or Yavana or a woman out of disrespect goes the downward path. No one is excluded from anything except on the grounds of a real and not artificial or imagined incompetency.

An American Orientalist critic, in speaking of "the worthlessness of Tantrik philosophy," says that it is 'Religious Feminism run mad', adding "What is all this but the feminisation of orthodox Vedānta? It is a doctrine for suffragette Monists the dogma unsupported by any evidence that the female principle antedates and includes the male principle, and that this female principle is supreme Divinity." The "worthlessness" of the Tantrik philosophy is a personal opinion on which nothing need be said, the more particularly that Orientalists who, with insufficient knowledge, have already committed themselves to this view are not likely

to easily abandon it. The present criticism, however, in disclosing the grounds on which it is based, has shown that they are without worth. Were it not for such ignorant notions it would be unnecessary to say that the Shākta Sādhaka does not believe that there is a Woman suffragette or other wise, in the sky, surrounded by the members of some celestial feminist association who rules the male members of the universe. As the Yāmala says for the benefit of the ignorant "neyam yoshit nacha pumān na shandah na jadah smṛitah" Nor is his doctrine concerned with the theories of the American Professor Lester Ward and others as to the alleged pre-eminence of the female principle. We are not here dealing with questions of science or sociology. It is a common fault of Western criticism that it gives material interpretations of Indian Scripture, and so misunderstands it. The Shākta doctrine is concerned with those Spiritual Principles which exist before and are the origin of both men and women. Whether in the appearance of the animal species the female "antedates" the male is a question with which it is not concerned. Nor does it say that the 'female principle' is the supreme Divinity. Shiva the 'male' is co-equal with Shīvā the 'female,' for both are one and the same. An Orientalist might have remembered that, in the Sāṅkhya Prakṛiti is spoken of as 'female,' and Puruṣa as 'male'. And in Vedānta, Māyā and Devī are of the feminine gender. Shakti is not a male nor a female "person," nor a male nor a female "principle," in the sense in which sociology, which is concerned with gross matter, uses those terms. Shakti is symbolically 'female' because it is the productive principle. Shiva in so far as He represents the Chit aspect is actionless (Nishkṛiya), though the two are inseparably associated even in creation. The Supreme is the attributeless (Nirguna) Shiva, or the neuter Brahman which is neither "male" nor 'female'. With such mistaken general views of the doctrine, it was not likely that its more subtle aspects by way of relation to Shangkaras or Māyāvāda or the Sāṅkhya Darshana should be appreciated. The doctrine of Shakti has no more to do with "Feminism" than it has to do with "old age pensions" or any other sociological movement of the day. This is a good instance.

those apparently "smart" and cocksure judgments which Orientalists and others pass on things Indian. The errors would be less ridiculous if they were on occasions more modest as regards their claims to know and understand. What is still more important they would not probably in such case give unnecessary ground for offence.

The characteristic feature of Shākta dharma are thus its Monism, its concept of the Motherhood of God, its unsectarian spirit and provision for Shūdras and women to the latter of whom it renders high honour recognizing that they may be even Gurus and lastly its Sādhana skilfully designed to realise its teachings.

As I have pointed out on many an occasion this question of *Sādhana* is of the highest importance and has been in recent times much overlooked. It is that which more than anything else gives value to the Āgama or Tantra Śāstra. Mere talk about religion is only an intellectual exercise. Of what use are grand phrases about *Ātmā* on the lips of those who hate and injure one another and will not help the poor? Religion is kindness. Religion again is a practical activity. Mind and body must be trained. There is a spiritual as well as a mental and physical gymnastic. According to Shākta doctrine each man and woman contains within himself and herself a vast latent magazine of Power or Shakti, a term which comes from the root 'Shak' to be able, to have force to do to act. They are each Shakti and nothing but Shakti, for the *Śarīra* of Shakti is Consciousness and mind and body are Shakti. The problem then is how to raise and vivify Shakti. This is the work of *Sādhana* in the Religion of Power. The Āgama is a practical philosophy and as a Bengali friend of mine Professor Pramathanath Mukhopādhyāya has well put it what the intellectual world wants today is the sort of philosophy which not merely argues but experiments. This is *Kriyā*. The form which *Sādhana* takes necessarily varies according to faith, temperament and capacity. Thus amongst Christians the Catholic Church like Hinduism has a full and potent *Sādhana* in its Sacraments (*Saṅgskāra*), temple (Church) and private worship (*Pūjā*, *Upāsana*) with *Upachāra* 'bell, light and incense' (*Ghanta*, *Dīpa*, *Dhūpa*) Images or *Pratimā* (hence it has been called idolatrous), devotional rites

such as Novenas and the like, (*Vrata*) the threefold Angelus at morn, noon and evening (*Sandhyā*), rosary (*Japa*), the wearing of *Kavāchas* (Scapulars Medals, *Agnus Dei*) pilgrimage (*Tīrtha*), fasting, abstinence and mortification (*Tapas*), renunciation (*Sannyāsa*) meditation (*Dhyāna*) ending in the union of mystical theology (*Samādhi*) and so forth. There are other smaller details such for instance as *Shānti* *abhisheka* (Asperges) into which I need not enter here. I may however mention the Spiritual Director who occupies the place of the Guru, the worship (*Hyperdulia*) of the Virgin Mother which made Śrīrāmi Vivekānanda call the Italian Catholics Shāktas and the use of wine (*Madya*) and bread (corresponding to *Mudrā*) in the Eucharist or Communion Service. Whilst however the Blessed Virgin evokes devotion as warm as that which is here paid to Devi, she is not Devi for she is not God but a creature selected as the vehicle of His incarnation (*Avatāra*). In the Eucharist the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ appearing under the form or "accidents" of those material substances, so also *Tārā* is *Dravamayī* that is the 'Saviour in liquid form'. In the Catholic Church (though the early practice was otherwise) the laity no longer take wine but bread only, the officiating priest consuming both. Whilst however the outward forms in this case are similar the inner meaning is different. Those however who contend that eating and drinking are inconsistent with the 'dignity' of worship may be reminded of Tertullian's saying that Christ instituted His great sacrament at a meal. These notions are those of the dualists with all his distinctions. For the Adhvaitees every function and act may be made *Ārya*, *Āgape* or 'Love Feasts', a kind of *Chakra* were held in early times and discontinued as orthodox practice on account of abuses to which they led though they are said still to exist in some of the smaller Christian sects of the day. There are other points of ritual which are peculiar to the Tantra Śāstra and of which there is no counterpart in the Catholic ritual such as *Nyāsa* and *Yantra*. *Mantra* exists in the form of prayer and as formulae of consecration but otherwise the subject is conceived of differently here. There are certain gestures (*Mudrā*) made in the ritual as when consecrating, blessing, and so forth but they are not so numer-

ous or prominent as they are here I may some day more fully develop these interesting analogies but what I have said is for the present sufficient to establish the numerous similarities which exist between the Catholic and Indian Tantric ritual. Because of these facts the 'reformed' Christian sects have charged the Catholic Church with Paganism. It is in fact the inheritor of very ancient practices but is not necessarily the worse for that. The Hindu finds his Sādhana in the Tantras of the Āgama in forms which his race has evolved. In the abstract there is no reason why his race should not modify these forms of Sādhana or evolve new ones. But the point is that *it must have some form of Sādhana*. Any system to be fruitful must experiment to gain experience. It is because of its powerful sacraments and disciplines that in the West the Catholic Church has survived to this day holding firm upon its 'Rock' amid the dissolving sects born of what is called the Reform. It is like to exist when these as presently existing sects will have disappeared. All things survive by virtue of the truth in them. The particular truth to which I here refer is that a faith cannot be maintained by mere hymn singing and pious addresses. For this reason too Hinduism has survived.

This is not to say that either of these will, as presently existing forms continue until the end of time. The so called Reformed or Protestant sects, whether of West or East, are when viewed in relation to man in general the imperfect expression of a truth misunderstood and misapplied namely that the higher man spiritually ascends the less dependent is he on form. The mistake which such sects make is to look at the matter from one side only and to suppose that all men are alike in their requirements. The Āgama is guilty of no such error. It offers form in all its fullness and richness to those below the stage of Yogī at which point man reaches what the Kulārnava Tantra calls the Varna and Ashrama of Light (Jyotirvarṇāśhramam) and gradually releases himself from all form that he may unite his self with the Formless One. I do not know which most to admire—the colossal affirmations of Indian doctrine or the wondrous variety of the differing disciplines which it prescribes for their realisation in fact.

The Buddhists called Brahmanism

Shīlavrataparāmarsha, that is a system believing in the efficacy of ritual acts. And so it is and so at length was Buddhism, when passing through Mahayāna it ended up with the full Tantrik Sādhana of the Vajrayāna School. There are human tendencies which cannot be suppressed. Hinduism will however disappear if and when Sādhana (whatever be its form) ceases for that will be the day on which it will no longer be something real but the mere subject of philosophical and historical talk. Apart from its great doctrine of Shakti the main significance of the Shākta Tantra Śāstra lies in this that it affirms the principle of the *necessity of Sādhana* and claims to afford a *means* available to all of whatever caste and of either sex whereby the teachings of Vedānta may be practically realised.

But do not take any statement from any one, myself included, blindly without examining and testing it. I am only concerned to state the facts as I know them. It is man's prerogative to think. The Sanskrit word for 'man comes from the root 'to think'. Those of you here who are Shāktas may be pleased at what I have said about your faith. It must not however be supposed that a doctrine is necessarily true simply because it is old. There are some hoary errors. As for science its conclusions shift from year to year. Recent discoveries have so abated its pride that it has considerably ceased to give itself those pontifical airs which formerly annoyed some of us. Most will feel that if they are to bow to any Master it should be to a spiritual one. A few will think that they can safely walk alone. Philosophy again is one of the noblest of life's pursuits but here too we must examine to see whether what is proposed for our acceptance is well founded. The maxim is current that there is nothing so absurd but that it has been held by some philosopher or another. We must each ourselves judge and choose and if honest, none can blame our choice. We must put all to the test. Recollect the words of your Shruti—'Manta vyah, shrotavyah'—'listen, ponder and discuss,' for as Manu says 'Yastakenānusaṁ dhatte sa dharmam veda netarah'—'He who by discussion investigates he knows Dharma and none other'. Ultimately there is experience alone which in Shakta speech is Sāham—'I am Her'."



and 325 apprentices get their education, but for 7145 Indian children and 10149 apprentices (total 17,297 students) Rs 35,000 were only allotted Government spends Rs 2 for each Indian student, whereas Rs 24 are spent for each European child.

Government granted Rs 20371 for 10 European schools in the Bengal Nagpur Railway where only 508 students get their education, and Rs 8974 were granted to 19 Indian schools where about 1300 students both school children and apprentices, read and work. The B B & C I Railway schools number 25 only, of which 13 are for European children and they get Rs 7664, whereas the 12 schools for Indian children get Rs 2290. The Government granted no aid to any school in the F B Ry, and there is no school for Europeans and this is the only Ry which do not maintain schools for European children. The G I P Ry has no schools for Indians, but it maintains 8 schools exclusively for Europeans and the Government is munificent in charity and pays Rs 11,207. The

Government grant for 19 European schools in the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway, where only 809 children got their education, was Rs 12,695 and only a sum of Rs 1393 was granted to 5 Indian schools. The N W. Ry maintains 2 European and 26 Indian schools. The Government did not render any help to the Indian schools but a grant of Rs 4446 was made to 2 European schools only. The South Indian Ry, maintained 7 European schools and a grant of Rs 4820 was made to them. But no Indian school is maintained by the Railway grant.

The Railway Companies contributed Rs 2,42,883 in the year 1915-16 to 266 schools. But the bulk of the money granted for education was spent for European children. Rs 1,84,450 were granted to 101 European schools and Rs 58,490 granted to 165 schools for Indian children. These figures need no comments.

For reference see *Administration Report of Railways in India for 1915-16*, Vol II, pp 556-57.

PROBHATKUMAR MUKHERJI  
City College

## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AS IT IS IN INDIA

FOR our immediate inspiration in science, we are no doubt indebted to Europe. But then the obligation is rather the settlement of an old account. The first Faraday lecturer from the continent, Adam Sedgwick, honest as he was illustrious—admits this as early as 1869 in his learned discourse on the then condition of scientific progress in Europe—

What an awakening for Europe. After two thousand years she found herself again in the position to which she had been raised by the profound intellect of India and the acute genius of Greece.

But past greatness is a thing difficult of realisation, and much more so to minds misguided and ill-informed. However, it ought to be remembered that the fertile brain of the Indians, if no longer capable of the wonders that it once accomplished, is still fruitful of achievements which have won for their workers honour and admiration from the scientific world at large

within the last few years. Hence it is rather late to claim scientific research as the exclusive property of the West.

The word research is of English origin, but the devotion it implies is not of Europe alone. For India, if she is ever remembered as anything, will be remembered as the home of the Rishis, the seers of truth, and the land of contemplation. True research as selfless pursuit of science has justly been called 'the work of a saint'. There at least India ought to be in her element.

At the last Science Congress, some cold water has been attempted to be thrown on the ardour of the neophytes in scientific research as a subject too high for their pursuit and too theoretical to be suited to the present requirements of the country. But there is another side of the picture.

People are seen in crowds to go to the church, not many of them to be developed into St. Pauls or St. Johns.

magnitude. But here we have waiting pure and simple,—with nothing but well printed reports to diversify the interval. Yet the ten year theory had the audacity not only to demand patience and forbearance for its tardy champions but to cry down ample and honest, if humble, work in the field of science. Sillyest in the extreme, it forgets that it would have been awfully different for Faraday and Liebig if they have been bound down to one piece of research for ten years, considering the multifarious subjects they have tackled during their life times. It misses its point altogether and fails to see that the *sine qua non* of a discovery is the divine flash with his energy and attention concentrated, the investigator has to wait for the supreme moment when the flash of the idea strikes the brain. That obtained, very little remains to be done. A few days, not years, will then suffice to carry out the experiment for many, nor will six hundred and six repetitions be necessary to establish each truth beyond all dispute. The flash—that spiritual vision—supplies the foundation of rock on which to raise the pedestal of truth after that everything is a matter of detail which requires no genius to be worked out.

In a country which abounds in raw materials and where heaps of young men of promise die of starvation for want of education and employment, application of science already known is more wanted than investigation for the sake of discovery of truth to uphold the very existence of the country. And its speed should not be according to the ten year theory but rather tally with that of Abderalden, whose name sometimes could be found in Journals repeated more than a dozen times a year in connection with different original papers. Great scare might come upon my young friends by the statement 'in even my student days it was spoken of with almost bated breath as indicating something which few of us were ever likely to carry on with any hope of success'. Specially where it comes from a man who rose to such a height as Sir A. G. Bourne, F.R.S. But he spoke of his student days and must latterly have found it otherwise. Hence I can assure you young workers whose original papers regularly adorn the best journals of Western scientific societies, your activities are not the signs that you are moonstruck. You must continue your

work and publish your results as you are doing with increased vigour with an innocent hope of approaching to a higher level because *dum spiro spero*.

Our Government is very liberal in these matters specially in awarding research scholarships which are creating an aspiration for the advancement of truth, but I am afraid our Universities and the body of their professors are not doing as the times want them to do. Professors should do what Hofman did in England and Divers in Japan, as regards the Universities I think that regulations like the following are wanted.

*University of Manchester, Prospectus of the Faculty of Science, 1915-1916, page 65*

2 The degree of M.Sc. may also be conferred on

(a) Graduates (or persons who have passed the final examination for a degree) of approved Universities who without having taken previously a lower degree of this University can give sufficient evidence of their qualifications and have conducted research work approved by the Faculty during a period of two years in the University.

(b) Persons who are not graduates (nor have passed the Final Examination for a degree) of an approved University who have conducted research work approved by the Faculty during a period of three years in the University provided that such persons satisfy the Senate as to their general educational qualifications and can give evidence (satisfactory to the Faculty) of having attained an adequate standard of knowledge before entering on such research work. The full three years required for non graduates who are candidates for Master's degree by research should be spent in attendance at the University but on the recommendation of the Faculty concerned the Senate may give permission on that a period or periods not amounting to more than one year during the three years following registration may be spent elsewhere, provided that the Faculty is satisfied that such period or periods are spent in the prosecution of suitable research.

*University of St Andrews, Faculty of Science, 1915-1916, page 32*

The new Laboratory which is reserved for chemical research, is open to graduates or other students competent to undertake original investigation. As far as possible all special chemicals and apparatus are provided free of charge. Research students may work independently or in collaboration with the professors or Lecturers. All communications and applications for admission should be addressed to the professor.

*University of Liverpool, Faculty of Science, Prospectus of Courses for the session 1915-1916, page 15*

(d) The provisions of clause 17 (b) and (c) of this Ordinance shall not apply to graduates of the University who have been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Science before 1st January 1911. The degree of Master of Science may be conferred upon

such graduates, if they have graduated in Honours School, without further examination, and if they have not graduated, upon their passing a further examination, or presenting a dissertation upon some subject included among the studies of the Faculty.

18 (a) Graduates of an approved University, or persons who have passed the final examination for a degree of such University, being not less than twenty one years of age, who satisfy the Faculty by examination or otherwise as to their qualifications, may proceed to the Master's degree after having conducted research or after having been engaged in higher study in the University in a subject or subjects of any Honours School of the Faculty. During at least two years after the date of the registration. The Faculty may, however, permit them to carry on study or research elsewhere for a period not exceeding one of these two years."

*University of Bristol, Faculty of Science, Prospectus for the session 1915-16, page 20.*

#### The Degree of B.Sc. by Research

1 "A candidate who desires to spend the prescribed period of three years in the prosecution of research instead of in the pursuance of a curriculum may make applications beforehand to the Senate for the permission to do so. He shall furnish Senate with evidence of his qualifications to undertake research. If Senate is satisfied then he may be allowed by Senate to prosecute research in the University during three years in the place of pursuing a curriculum of study.

2 The result of his three years' research shall be embodied by him in a dissertation, which he shall submit to the judgment of the examiners of the University in the subject concerned in the place of submitting himself for examination.

3 The prescribed period of research for the degree shall be two years only instead of three years in the case of a candidate who at the time of his matriculation holds from another University a degree or diploma declared by the Senate to be equivalent to the degree of B.Sc. of the University of Bristol."

*University of Glasgow, Faculty of Science, Regulations for Graduation, 1915-16, page 67*

#### "Special Study and Research."

1 "It shall be in the power of Senatus Academicus in each University, with the approval of the University Court to make regulations under which graduates of Scottish Universities or of other Universities recognised by the University Court for the purposes of this ordinance, or other persons who have given satisfactory proof of general education and of fitness to engage in some special study or research, may be admitted to prosecute such study or research in the University (or in a college affiliated thereto).

Attention may further be drawn to regulations of the Universities of the United Kingdom where they will find so many facilities for the growth of self-made men by laying down rules and creating opportunities for encouragement of special study and research. The need for such help from the Universities for the advancement

ment of science was very keenly felt in England in 1872 by Dr. Frankland, the then President of the Chemical Society. He called "attention to the fluctuations in the number of papers presented each year to the society, and particularly to the small number contributed during the previous session. Discussing this lack of progress in discovery, he attributes it in great measure to the attitude of English Universities towards original investigation, and their ignoring research in the granting of degrees." And in the subsequent year he expressed the opinion that, "until a profound change is made in the awarding of prizes and the granting of degrees in science in this country, we shall look in vain for any substantial improvement in the presentation of experimental investigation."

Turning towards the facilities which are at present before us for conducting research it gives me sincere pleasure to say that we are in a much better condition than that of England 80 years before; this, however, can be somewhat imagined from what Dr. Russell, the president of the Chemical Society, said in the afternoon meeting at the Jubilee celebration of the Chemical Society in the year 1891—

"I turn now at once from these matters immediately connected with our society to the consideration of what was being done in chemistry in this country fifty years ago. At that time public laboratories for the systematic teaching of chemistry did not exist in London. The number of real students in chemistry was very small. They were looked upon by their friends as being eccentric young men, who probably would never do any good for themselves, and these few students found practical instruction in the private laboratories of some of our London teachers."

But the progress there, was enormous which led to their creation. British chemists, and their achievements in chemistry can be easily judged from another portion of the same address.

"The Council of our society recognised the importance of these occurrences in the Annual Report in 1887, saying that 'although an event not immediately connected with the society, the Council has much pleasure in commemorating the late successful establishment in London of chemical laboratories expressly designed to further the prosecution of original research. The new laboratories of the College of Chemistry, and of the two older colleges of London University now offer facilities for practical instruction and research not surpassed, we believe, in any foreign school.

This difference was created in the short space of 6 years as would actually appear

less if we go into details. It may not be quite out of place to relate how the activity in chemistry was introduced in the United Kingdom and made to attain the height where we find it now. a quotation from the same address will serve my purpose —

Liebig with his wonderful energy and ability, was powerfully advocating the theory of compound radicals and was extending in every direction our knowledge of organic chemistry and inspiring all who came within the range of his influence with a love for investigation. clearly the immediate cause of this sudden increase of chemical activity in England was Liebig. His famous school has now been established for several years at Giessen and if the older men in this country did not altogether put their trust in him the younger men breaking through all restraint flocked from this country to his laboratory, there to become indoctrinated with his enthusiasm for the study of chemistry and to learn how scientific investigation was to be carried on. At this epoch our Society was founded, and our Journal shows how successful Liebig's teaching was. how a new spirit was instilled into English chemistry, and how much valuable work his students did.

India wants investigators who will create a "chemical activity", attract students to their laboratories "breaking through all restraint", "indoctrinate" them with their enthusiasm for the study of science, teach how scientific investigations are to be carried on, inspire all who will come within the range of their influence with a love for investigation and "show how to advance science by original research." I do not desire to go into the question whether any work towards such direction has been started or not but leave it for time to decide. There are a great many professors in India who took up the profession for remuneration—and for the remuneration only and not, being devotees of learning do no research work or ever spare any time for the advancement of the cause of truth. Such men are great hindrances to the progress of knowledge, grips would have been better than such figureheads. A good professor should be a sound investigator, should be able to infuse his enthusiasm for investigation into those who will come in contact with him, indicate "the lines to be followed and methods to be adopted." It is also his duty to keep up the intellectual spirit to teach that not only those things which are demanded by the interests and industries of this country shall be cultivated, but those things also which carry us nearer to the essence of truth, and perch to his

pupils like Dumas "let us continue faithful to the cultivation of science for its own sake, and trust, without anxiety, that it will bear practical fruit for itself."

As for the introduction of the results of up-to-date investigations amongst manufacturers, the part played by the Right Hon Sir Lyon Playfair in England was an indispensable one, the compliments paid by the following great men will speak for themselves —

#### By the Marquis of Salisbury

"My Right Honourable Friend Sir Lyon Playfair did quite right to go to Manchester and stir them up there and teach them their business and he was a benefactor of mankind in doing so."

#### By Dr Russell

"A new life was infused into chemistry in England. A scientific revolution occurred and like other revolutions it was brought about by agitators."

and if I read correctly the history of these times, the earliest and the most active of the agitators by name was Lyon Playfair."

The use and importance of such agitation and how it can best be conducted have been well explained by Sir Henry Roscoe on the occasion of the said Jubilee celebration of the Chemical Society. He said

Public attention has yet to be awakened to the importance the necessity of fostering and stimulating the higher stages of science. That the master should be highly educated and that he should be perfectly abreast of the progress of the science upon which his industry depends is more important than that the artisan or workman should know the principles of the art which he practices. It is to the master rather than to the man that we must look for those improvements and discoveries by which alone industry can be rendered permanent.

Among the public institutions intended to look after the industrial growth of this vast country the institutions founded by the munificent donation of our illustrious countryman Mr J N Tata at Bangalore is the best equipped. Although it comes within the scope of my subject to discuss whether the above institution had or has been discharging all its functions thoroughly for which it has been established yet I do not like to do it. The public may have a gloomy opinion about the working of the institution after knowing all that led Dr Travers to sever his connection with it, but I desire to lay before my young friends that there they will find one man who feels the responsibility of his duty and never fails to make a whole hearted attempt to do it, scarcely anything is necessary to speak about his abilities because they are

very well known to us in the shape of original papers which adorn the transactions of the Chemical Society of London, and he is Dr Sudborough.

Now I made a statement of suggestion which may not be irrelevant to these thoughts of research. We learn from the history of the scientific movement in England that many of the best scientists have enjoyed the privilege of the existence of Research Funds of Scientific Societies of Great Britain and to them I am indebted for the little I am enabled to do in the field of research. The object of the funds was what follows —

The council are convinced that much good work and important results can be obtained by the judicious administration of a sufficiently important fund of the kind which they have established especially

do they look to the power it will give the society of inducing men well qualified as investigators to undertake work which in itself is not remuneration though of great importance to the development of science and also of aiding those who are already engaged in carrying on important investigations but whose researches are either impeded or altogether stopped by want of pecuniary means.

I should appeal, with an expectation, to my fellow members of the Indian Science Congress to think of the problem, and specially to those who have reaped the benefits of such funds.

In conclusion, I confess I have conscientiously and honestly given language to the struggling thoughts of my mind hoping the individuals interested will pardon me if I have not done justice to the subject.

J N RAKSHIT

## LESSONS FROM BRITISH AGRICULTURE

THE prodigious growth of industries in great Britain and the rapid development of the international traffic made England conscious of the expectation that she was destined to become one of the manufacturers of the world and retained such a position as long as the civilization would endure. She thought that she would draw from all over the surface of the earth the food which she could not grow in her soils and in exchange supply the markets of the world with her manufactured goods. The increasing facilities of international commerce and trans-oceanic communications confirmed the impression that such a policy was possible.

The psychology of the manufacturing nations of Europe at the beginning of the industrial era has been made clear to us by the enthusiastic pictures of international traffic drawn by Neumann Spallart, the great world statistician.

"Why shall we grow corn, rear oxen and sheep and cultivate orchards go through the painful work of the labourer and the farmer and anxiously the sky in fear of a bad crop when we can get with much less pain mountains of corn from America Hungary or Russia, meat from Zealand vegetables from the Azores apples from Canada, grapes from Midaga and so on. Already now our food consists even in modest households of pro-

duce gathered from all over the globe. Our cloth is made out of the fibres grown and wool sheared in all parts of the world. The prairies of America and Australia the mountains and steppes of Asia the frozen wildernesses of the Arctic regions the deserts of Africa and the depths of the oceans the tropics and the lands of the midday sun are our tributaries. All races of men contribute their share in supplying us with our staple food and luxuries with plain clothing and fancy dress while we are sending them in exchange the produce of our higher intelligence our technical knowledge our powerful industrial and commercial organizing capacities. Is it not a grand sight this busy and intricate exchange of produce all over the earth which has suddenly grown up within a few years?

A grand conception no doubt, but such a state of affairs cannot last. But ever if by pursuing the policy encouraged by such a conception of world trade, England has achieved any result it has no doubt been obtained at a tremendous cost and whatever position she might have gained could not be maintained long.

Let us lift the curtain on European history at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. We find France lay bleeding and exhausted, her young industry was crushed down, trade relations dislocated, and economic pressure was greatly intensified. Germany and Italy had very little hold in the industrial field.

So England had no serious competitors.

in the arena of industrial activities. Owing partly to the natural advantages of situation and to facilities for obtaining abundant supply of raw materials, and also to the introduction of scientific inventions, England had a rare opportunity to develop her manufactures. She began to produce on a large scale in immense quantities, and aided by commercial policy of her statesmen she poured commodities in the world's markets. For a time she felt herself secure in the position of the great industrial nation.

But the wave of industrial activities cannot be confined to a narrow sphere. It began to spread towards other parts of Europe, and there was conscious effort of every nation to emancipate itself from dependency on England's manufactures. "Monopoly of the first comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist," says Prince Kropotkin. "And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history." \* The past has lived, and it will live no more."

Thus the decentralisation of industries imposed on the pioneer manufacturing nations new conditions, and the issues involved in the process of adjustment to such conditions became imperative. Nations are to grow their own food at home and rely chiefly on home consumers for their manufactures. Each nation will become its own producer and its own consumer. As the walls of industrial monopoly began to break down the manufacturing nations were faced with growing difficulties in selling their commodities abroad and getting food in exchange.

Yet England tenaciously clung to her industrial policy while the centre of gravity of world's commerce had to be shifted, adjusted and adapted to new conditions of civilization. The history of British agriculture for the last forty years has been a record of continuous decline if judged from the gross production of the country. Perhaps England's destiny patiently waited for the God of War to come and wake her up from slumber. She realises now that her agriculture has fallen into neglect and she has made deliberate sacrifice of agriculture in the interest of industrial development. Her wheat crop has decreased to such an extent that she can only feed herself with

bread for ten weeks. She produces about one fifth of the wheat she consumes, something more than half the meat, a quarter of the butter and margarine, a fifth of the cheese, and nearly all the milk.

Area of Great Britain is 56 803,000 acres. Twenty three per cent of the total area of England, forty per cent in Wales, and seventy five per cent in Scotland are under wood, heath water, mountain. The remainder—that is 32 777, 513 acres—may be taken as the 'cultivable' area of Great Britain. The area under permanent grass in 1916 amounted to 17½ million acres as compared with less than 13 million acres in 1873. We are often told that while the British agriculturists are abandoning cultivation of cereals, they are producing more meat. But the facts are on the contrary. With the increase of 4½ million acres in pasture, there has been no corresponding increase in live stock. Although cattle have increased by a million and a half, the number of sheep has decreased by 4½ millions and pig by 186 000. It should be remembered that the increase in the consumption of meat in Great Britain is due to cheap \* imported meat.

When we inquire into area under cultivation we find that in the period between 1873-1916 it shrank from a little over 18 million acres to less than 14½ million acres. Take the case of wheat cultivation. The area under this crop was reduced in 43 years from about 3½ million acres to less than 2 million acres—that is, the area in 1916 was little more than half what it was in 1873.

There are economists and politicians who tell us that Great Britain "cannot grow all the food and raw produce which are necessary for the maintenance of her steadily increasing populations. Even if it were possible to grow all the food necessary for its inhabitants there would be no advantage in doing so as long as the same food can be got cheaper from abroad."

That such a view is totally erroneous has been proved by advanced knowledge of scientific agriculture and modern industrial economies. All questions of cheapness are relative, and there are many factors which may prove that such a position is, after all, unstable.

\* No less than 5 877 000 cwts. of beef and mutton 10 654 70 sheep and lambs and 415 560 pieces of cattle were imported in 1893. In 1910 the first of these figures rose to 13 696 000 cwt.—Statesman's Year Book.]

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The psychology of the manufacturing nations of Europe at the beginning of the industrial era has been made clear to us by the enthusiastic pictures of international traffic drawn by Neumann Spallart, the great world statistician.

"Why shall we grow corn, rear oxen and sheep and cultivate orchards go through the painful work of the labourer and the farmer and anxiously watch the sky in fear of a bad crop when we can get with much less pain a mountain of corn from India, America, Hungary or Russia, meat from New Zealand, vegetables from the Azores, apples from Canada, grapes from Malaga and so on. Already now our food costs us even in modest households of pro-

duce gathered from all over the globe. Our cloth is made out of the fibres grown and wool sheared in all parts of the world. The prairies of America and Australia, the mountains and steppes of Asia, the frozen wildernesses of the Arctic regions, the deserts of Africa and the depths of the oceans, the tropics and the lands of the midday sun are our tributaries. All races of men contribute their share in supplying us with our staple food and luxuries with plain clothing and fancy dress while we are sending them in exchange the produce of our higher intelligence, our technical knowledge, our powerful industrial and commercial organizing capacities. Is it not a grand sight, this busy and intricate exchange of produce all over the earth which has suddenly grown up within a few years?"

A grand conception, no doubt but such a state of affairs cannot last forever. If, by pursuing the policy encouraged by such a conception of world trade, England has achieved any result, it has no doubt been obtained at a tremendous cost and whatever position she might have gained could not be maintained long.

Let us lift the curtain on European history at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. We find France lay bleeding and exhausted, her young industry was crushed down, trade relations dislocated, and economic pressure was greatly intensified. Germany and Italy had very little hold in the industrial field.

So, England had no serious competitors

in the arena of industrial activities. Owing partly to the natural advantages of situation and to facilities for obtaining abundant supply of raw materials, and also to the introduction of scientific inventions, England had a rare opportunity to develop her manufactures. She began to produce on a large scale in immense quantities, and aided by commercial policy of her statesmen she poured commodities in the world's markets. For a time she felt herself secure in the position of the great industrial nation.

But the wave of industrial activities cannot be confined to a narrow sphere. It began to spread towards other parts of Europe, and there was conscious effort of every nation to emancipate itself from dependency on England's manufactures. "Monopoly of the first comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist," says Prince Kropotkin. "And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history." \* The past *has* lived, and it will live no more."

Thus the decentralisation of industries imposed on the pioneer manufacturing nations new conditions, and the issues involved in the process of adjustment to such conditions became imperative. Nations are to grow their own food at home and rely chiefly on home consumers for their manufactures. Each nation will become its own producer and its own consumer. As the walls of industrial monopoly began to break down, the manufacturing nations were faced with growing difficulties in selling their commodities abroad and in getting food in exchange.

Yet England tenaciously clung to her industrial policy while the centre of gravity of world's commerce had to be shifted, adjusted and adapted to new conditions of civilization. The history of British agriculture for the last forty years has been a record of continuous decline if judged from the gross production of the country. Perhaps England's destiny patiently waited for the God of War to come and wake her up from slumber. She realises now that her agriculture has fallen into neglect and she has made deliberate sacrifice of agriculture in the interest of industrial development. Her wheat crop has decreased to such an extent that she can only feed herself with

bread for ten weeks. She produces about one fifth of the wheat she consumes, something more than half the meat, a quarter of the butter and margarine, a fifth of the cheese, and nearly all the milk.

Area of Great Britain is 56,803,000 acres. Twenty three per cent of the total area of England, forty per cent in Wales, and seventy five per cent in Scotland are under wood, heath water, mountain. The remainder—that is 32,777,513 acres—may be taken as the "cultivable" area of Great Britain. The area under permanent grass in 1916 amounted to 17½ million acres, as compared with less than 13 million acres in 1873. We are often told that while the British agriculturists are abandoning cultivation of cereals, they are producing more meat. But the facts are on the contrary. With the increase of 4½ million acres in pasture, there has been no corresponding increase in live stock. Although cattle have increased by a million and a half, the number of sheep has decreased by 4½ millions and pig by 186,000. It should be remembered that the increase in the consumption of meat in Great Britain is due to cheap imported meat.

When we inquire into area under cultivation we find that in the period between 1873-1916, it shrunk from a little over 18 million acres to less than 14½ million acres. Take the case of wheat cultivation. The area under this crop was reduced in 43 years from about 3½ million acres to less than 2 million acres, that is, the area in 1916 was little more than half what it was in 1873.

There are economists and politicians who tell us that Great Britain "cannot grow all the food and raw produce which are necessary for the maintenance of her steadily increasing populations. Even if it were possible to grow all the food necessary for its inhabitants, there would be no advantage in doing so as long as the same food can be got cheaper from abroad."

That such a view is totally erroneous has been proved by advanced knowledge of scientific agriculture and modern industrial economics. All questions of cheapness are relative, and there are many factors which may prove that such a position is, after all, unstable.

\* No less than 5,877,000 cwt. of beef and mutton, 10,654,470 sheep and lambs and 415,563 pieces of cattle were imported in 1893. In 1910 the first of these figures rose to 13,698,000 cwt.—S. Year Book].



Do we not find from J B Lawes estimates\* of crops that

during the eight harvest years (1853-1860) nearly three-fourths of the aggregate amount of wheat consumed in the United Kingdom was of home growth and little more than one-fourth was derived from foreign sources while during the eight years (1879-1886) little more than one-third has been provided by home crops and nearly two-thirds by imports.

Why within twenty five years the quantity of home crops decreased to such an extent? The answer is plain—Great Britain trusting her naval supremacy and depending on her colonial policy neglected to cultivate her soils. Every year area under cereals showed a greater or less degree of shrinkage and as land was going out of cultivation at a perilous rate people of England became dependent on food supply from abroad. This fact can no longer be ignored. Mr Lloyd George in a recent speech said—The neglect with regard to our agricultural resources has been lamentable. About 70 or 80 per cent of our important food stuffs actually come from abroad.

With regard to increasing food production from soils by scientific methods of cultivation the British agriculturists did not generally speaking pay much attention, consequently little improvement took place in the agricultural conditions of Great Britain within the last quarter of a century.

While Great Britain was neglecting her agriculture, Germany was making rapid progress in the way of increasing their food productions. I gather from Professor Sommerville's paper certain comparative statements which will show that the progress made by Germany is really very striking.

Taking the average of the five years (1883-1887) and comparing this with the period (1909-13) it is shown that the German wheat yield per acre was increased from 19.8 to 31.6 bushels (60 per cent), barley rose from 22.7 to 36.7 bushels (62 per cent), oats from 25.7 to 44.6 bushels (74 per cent), potatoes from 3.4 to 5.4 tons per cent and meadow hay from 22.5 to 32.7 cwt (50 per cent). During practically the same period British wheat yield per acre increased from 29.5 to 31.2 (6 per cent), barley, oats and potatoes remained

stationary and meadow hay dropped from 26.1 to 23.1 cwt per acre—a loss of 13 per cent. Whereas thirty years ago the yield of wheat per acre in England was about 50 per cent above that of Germany, the German yield is now as good as the British. Thirty years ago British yield per acre of ley was 43 per cent higher than the German, now Germany surpasses Great Britain by 12 per cent. At the beginning of the same period relative production of oats in Great Britain was 51 per cent higher than the German yield, now she is surpassed by 14 per cent. Formerly the British yield of meadow hay was better than German by 16 per cent—now theirs is better than the British by 46 per cent. The progress of British agriculture during this period was distinctly disappointing.

Why it was so? While in France, Denmark, Belgium Germany both land lords and farmers did their best to meet the growing demands of farm products by rendering the methods of cultivation more intensive and when the problem of maximum productivity of the land was being investigated by agricultural scientists in Great Britain land continued to go out of cultivation.

Neither the agricultural depression of the 'Eighties nor the American competition in wheat could explain away this state of affairs. Causes lie deeper than one may hastily judge. There are many factors combined to produce such agricultural depression. I shall briefly mention here a few of them.

In the first place Industrial and Commercial policy of England was pursued with such enthusiasm and confidence in its success that agriculture was neglected. War conditions clearly exposed that pursuance of such a policy constitutes a source of weakness in National economy.

(2) Manufacturing cities attracted rural population and the result was the abandonment of the land. True Britons seemed to take pride in saying 'The British nation does not work on her soils'. But the effect of the continuous depopulation of the country and the growth of the towns has been rather demoralising on

\* In my next article I shall attempt to give an outline of growth of Danish agriculture.

† In 1911 rural population was less than 800,000. In twenty years (1891-1901) the number of agricultural labourers decreased by 42,370—1 ear book.

\* Published annually in the Times of London.  
Published in Blackwood's Magazine Jan. 1917.

the Government to hasten its approach? If the spread of general and agricultural education is essential for the improvement of the condition of the Indian agriculturist, has Government come to realise the urgency of adopting any decided policy with regard to this question? If fiscal protection (as given to the agriculturist of Germany and United States) is necessary, will Government extend it to the Indian impoverished peasantry? My readers must have noticed that high manuring is recommended by the Committees of Great Britain in order to secure large increase in production, and consequently they have urged stoppage of export of artificial fertilizers.

Let us look at the figures of exports of manures from India. We have to send to foreign countries about twenty eight lakhs rupees worth of bones and bone meal every year and about one crore thirty five lakhs rupees worth of oilcakes. Besides these important manures we export an immense quantity of oil seeds. The value of non essential oil seeds exported from India in 1913-1914 was £17,000,000. Every impartial student of Indian eco-

nomics realises that this tremendous drain of oil seeds and cakes involve an immense loss to the country. Will our Government give us protection, at least in these respects until we can keep pace with the march of agricultural progress of the world?

Agriculture is the most important industry of India, and all possibilities of the development of our manufacturing industries must have agriculture as their basis. Time has come when the Government of India, aided by the educated class should make an effort to achieve in the path of agricultural progress what the civilized nations of the world have achieved, and if even now our rulers continue to pursue their short sighted policy, time will come when they will regret as the British statesmen have now occasion to lament over their neglect with regard to Agriculture of Great Britain.

\* The better utilization of the land of the country has become necessary and for this we must demand from our state prompt action with regard to adaptation of a considered agricultural policy.

NAGENDRA NATH GANGULI

## FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL

OUT of evil cometh good. The fearful war that is raging over so large a part of the world has not altogether been without results that are beneficial. One of these is a very strong desire for a more efficient system of education that has manifested itself among all classes of the population of the very heart of the British Empire—England. On September 5, 1916 Sir Arthur Evans remarked in the course of his presidential address at the Newcastle meeting of the British Association—

"It is a lamentable fact that beyond any nation of the west the bulk of our people remains sunk not in comparative ignorance only—for that is less difficult to overcome—but in intellectual apathy. The dull inertia of the parents is reflected in the children and the desire for the acquirement of knowledge in our schools and colleges is appreciably less than elsewhere. So too with the scientific side of education. It is not so much the actual amount of science taught that is in question—resultant as this is—as the in-

stillation of the scientific spirit itself—the perception of methods the sacred trust for investigation.

"But can we despair of the educational future of a people that has risen to the full height of the great emergency with which they were confronted?"

We must all bow before the hard necessity of the moment. But let us who still have the opportunity of doing so at least prepare for the even more serious struggle that must ensue against the enemy in our midst that gnaws our vitals. We have to deal with ignorance apathy the non scientific mental attitude the absorption of popular interest in sports and amusements.

And what meanwhile is the attitude of those in power of our Government still more of our permanent officials? A cheap epigram is worn threadbare in order to justify the ingrained distrust of expert in other words scientific advice on the part of our public officers."

Before the year was out the dream of the expert was realised in the appointment of Dr. Herbert Fisher to the Presidency of the Board of Education. A distinguished M. P., Sir George Reid writes about this appointment and its results—

agricultural societies which now exist, and the time must come when identity of interest in the economic world leads to common and distinctive action in the political.

For generations past the atmosphere of three quarters of rural Ireland has been uniformly anti English. In the home, the school, the market, the Government has been spoken of as an alien, hostile Government, holding Ireland by force, and indifferent or inimical to her interests. The miseries which the poverty stricken population have so often been called upon to endure have, quite naturally, been ascribed to this remote and malignant power. A child brought up in such surroundings must inevitably draw in this anti English prejudice 'with its mother's milk.'

The sole thing that matters today is the fact that the feeling of Irish Nationalism exists. Whether it is founded on rational or irrational grounds cannot make the smallest difference to the fact of its existence.

In the desire to find a simple cause for this Home Rule sentiment it is often alleged that the Roman Catholic religion is at the root of it. I believe that to be a complete mistake.

If we seriously endeavor to see this question through Irish eyes we can hardly resist admitting that the traditional distrust of England finds for them some confirmation in late events. The passage of a Home Rule Act after thirty years, the practical shelving of that Act in face of the armed threats of Ulster, the open support given by a great English party to the potential rebels of the Northeast, the present uncertainty of the position of Home Rule, the frank, and open threats of many party newspapers that the Home Rule Act will be repealed, that the 'scrap of paper' will be torn up—surely a shocking indecency in view of the present war, the flood of abuse and cajolery of flattery, and scolding that has of late been poured upon the Irish people by those same journals.

The political psychology of the Irish farmer class. For most practical purposes the farmer has no politics. His farm is his country, and its boundary fence his horizon. When, however, question involving the English Government arises his sympathies are instinctively with the opposition. So far as he is concerned 'public opinion' is not on the side of the existing Government.

The Irish farmer is not a lover of disorder. His interests and his instincts are conservative, opposed to change and adventure. His native anti English bias would make him so much the more firm a supporter of an Irish Government which would have behind it what the present system lacks, the public opinion of a powerful and homogeneous farming class covering the whole country, and resisting instead of tacitly approving disorder or political unrest.

The third great division of the Irish people comprises the great mass of the wage earning or unemployed population—the labourers of the land and the lower paid ranks in the towns. What has been said of the ingrained bias of the farmer class applies equally to those who were brought up under the same influences. Unlike the farmers, however, they have no substantial material interests to absorb them.

Almost the only excitement left to them is political demonstration, and their early training ensures that such shall be again the Government's and all it stands for.

### The writer concludes thus

Repression as a permanent system is impossible.

A military despotism indifferent to public opinion at home and abroad, may hold down by force a section of its people indefinitely, but even then it is a costly and doubtful expedient. A democratic State cannot do so.

The great class of the Irish people whom we are considering are united in a common enmity to the system of government which they regard as alien. The substitution of an Irish Government for that which they feel as alien and remote must inevitably be followed by the dissolution of the bond which at present unites them. Domestic politics will divide them as it has divided all other peoples who possess 'Self Government'. Stable public opinion will take its place as the strongest bulwark of law and order, and the small remnant of irreconcilables, which we must expect to find in Ireland as in England, will be left of its power as a disturbing factor in the life of the country.

One is irresistibly forced to the conclusion that a form of government which the people can feel to be 'Irish' is an absolutely necessary preliminary to the removal of the Irish difficulty.

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[TRANSLATION OF A PAPER READ BY RAHINDRANATH TAGORE]

(Specially translated for the Modern Review)

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WITH the least sign of monsoon conditions our lane, and Chitpore Road into which it leads, are flooded. And as I have watched this happening year after year till my head has grown grey, I have often felt that we, the residents of

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Thus nearly sixty years have passed, in the mean time things have been moving. Steam, which was the steed of the Kali yuga, is now laughed at by the lightning.

which is superseding it. The atom which had merely attained invisibility has now become unthinkable. Man, like the ant on the eve of death, has sprouted wings and the legal profession is lying in wait for the good times when disputes for the possession of air space will be brought into the law courts. In one single night all China cut off its pigtail, and Japan has taken so prodigious a leap that the space of 500 years has been covered in 50. But the inability of Chitpore Road to cope with its rainfall has remained as bad as ever. And the burden of our national song is as mournful, now that Home Rule is about to ripen, as it was when the National Congress was not even thought of.

Accustomed as we have been to all this from our early years, it has ceased to be a matter of surprise, and what does not surprise breeds no anxiety. But after the water-logged discomfort of our road has been underlined and emphasised by tram tracks to which the repairs never seem to come to an end, the jolts which these give to my carriage wheels have brought me out of my absent-minded toleration to a more acute perception of the struggle between the stream of wayfarers and the stream of water, the splashes of which besprinkle me as I pass. I have latterly begun to ask myself "Why do we bear it?"

That it is possible not to bear it, that one gets on ever so much better for refusing to bear it, becomes evident as soon as one passes out into the European quarter of Chowringhee. If Chowringhee had been more than three-quarter tram-line, to which perennial repairs went on and on with the leisurely gait of a drowsy elephant, the tramway authorities, I am sure, would not have been permitted to enjoy either their food or sleep. The spirit of docility, however, which is incarnate in us, will not allow us to believe that things can be made to be better than they are. Hence these tears which flood our cheeks and the rain water which floods our streets.

This is not a trivial matter. We have never been allowed to realise anywhere in any little particular, that we are our own masters. I have heard tell of the gold fish which continually knocked their heads against the side of their bowl, thinking the glass to be water, and when they were put into a larger piece of water they restricted themselves to the same small

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Like Abhimanyu in the Mahabharata, who had learnt the art of breaking through the enemy's formation, but not of coming out again, and consequently had to bear the brunt of all the enemy's warriors, we, who are taught from our birth the art of getting ourselves tied up, but not the method of undoing the knots, are compelled to suffer the assaults of all the adverse forces of the world, big and small down to the pettiest infantry.

So accustomed have we become to obey men, books, suggestions, barriers, imaginary lines,—generation after generation,—that, the fact that we can do something for ourselves, in any sphere of activity whatsoever, escapes our notice, though it may stare us in the face,—even when we have our European spectacles on!

The right to be one's own master is the right of rights for man. And the country in which this great right has been systematically suppressed by book maxims, by current sayings, by rites and observances, has naturally become the greatest of slave factories,—the country in which, lest reason should err, dogmatism and ritual have been allowed to bind the people hand and foot, where paths have been destroyed so that footsteps may not stray, where in the name of religion man has been taught to humiliate and debase man.

Our present bureaucratic masters have now taken to offering us the same counsel: "You will make mistakes, you are unfit, the right to think and act for yourselves can not be placed in your hands."

This refrain from Manu and Parashar sounds strangely discordant when voiced by Englishmen. We are, therefore, roused to reply to them in a tune more consonant with their own spirit: "The making of mistakes," say we, "is not such a great disaster as the deprivation of the right of being one's own master. We can only arrive at the truth if we are left free to err."

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triumphal progress. It had not always the benefit of a steam roller-smoothed road. How it used to sway from this interest to that, now of the king, now of the church, now of the landlord, now of the brewer, through faction, corruption, brawling and ineptitude. Was there not even a time when the attendance of its members had to be secured under threat of penalty?

And talking of mistakes, what a dismal tale could be unfolded of the mistakes the mother of Parliaments has made, beginning from the time of its old relations with Ireland and America, down to its recent actions in the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia,—to say nothing of the not inconsiderable list which might be compiled for India alone. The depredations of the minions of mammon in American politics are hardly of minor importance. The Dreyfus case exposed the horrors of Militarism in France. And yet in spite of all these, no one has the least doubt in his mind that the living flow of self government is itself the best corrective which will dislodge one error by another till it lifts itself out of each pitfall with the same impetus which led it to fall in.

But we have still a greater thing to urge. Self government not only leads to efficiency and a sense of responsibility, but it makes for an uplift of the human spirit. Those who are confined within the parochial limits of village or community,—it is only when they are given the opportunity of thinking and acting imperially that they will be able to realise humanity in its larger sense. For want of this opportunity every person in this country remains a lesser man. All his thoughts, his powers, his hopes and his strivings remain petty. And this enforced pettiness of soul is for him a greater calamity than loss of life itself.

So in spite of all risk of error or mischance we must have self government. Let us stumble and struggle on our way, but for God's sake don't keep your eyes fixed on our stumblings to the neglect of our progress,—this is our reply—the only true reply.

If some obstinate person keeps on worrying the authorities with this reply he may be interned by the Government, but he gets the applause of his countrymen. When however, he turns with this same reply to his own social authorities and protests, "You tell us that this is the Kali

yuga in which the intellect of man is feeble and liable to make mistakes if left free, so that we had better bow our head to shas tric injunctions rather than work the brain inside it,—but we refuse to submit to this insulting proposal." Then do the eyes of the heads of the Hindu community become red and the order for social internment is passed forthwith. Those who are flapping their wings to soar into the sky of politics, would you shackle our legs on the social perch.

The fact is that the same helm serves to steer to the right and to the left. There is a fundamental principle which must be grasped before man can become true, socially or politically. Allegiance to this principle makes all the difference between Chouringhee and Chitpore. Chitpore has made up its mind that everything is in the hands of superior authority with the result that its own hands are always joined in supplication. "If things are not in our own hands what are our hands for?" says Chouringhee, and has brought the whole world into its own hand because it believes that this is in direct connection with the hand of Providence. Chitpore has lost the world because it has lost this belief, and with half closed eyes seeks in despair the narcotic consolations of quietism.

It is indeed necessary to shut our eyes if we have to keep up a belief in our paltry home-made rules of life. For, with eyes open we cannot but catch glimpses of the universal law which rules the world. Power and wealth and freedom from suffering are all the rewards of mastery over this universal law, for the mass as well as for the individual. This is the axiom on which modern European civilisation is firmly based, and faith in this has given it its immense freedom.

For us, however, it still remains a case of wringing our hands and awaiting our master's voice. And in the worship of that master, be he the elder at home, the palace Daroga, temple tout, priest, or pandit, Sitali, Manasa, Ola or any one of the host of such demoniac dieties, we have shattered into a thousand fragments and scattered to the four winds our power of independent thought and action.

The college student will object "We no longer believe in all that." He will say "Do we not get ourselves inoculated for small pox and take saline injections for cholera? Have we not recognised

borne malaria to be a microscopic germ and refused to accord it a place in our pantheon?"

It is, however, not a question of what particular beliefs are professed. The fact remains that the attitude of blindly hanging on to some outside authority has sapped the very fount of our endeavour. This mental cowardice is born of an all pervading fear, which dominates us and overpowers our own intelligence and conscience, because we cannot put our faith in the immutable universal law expressing itself throughout the world. For it is of the very nature of fear to doubt and hesitate. "Anything may happen" why take any risk?

The same phenomenon is noticeable among our rulers whenever, through any loophole in their administration, fear gains an entrance, making them forget their most cherished traditions and impelling them to lay the axe at the root of the fundamental principle on which their power rests so firmly. Then do right and justice retire in favour of prestige, and, in defiance of the Divine law, they think that acrid fumes will become soothing if only the tears can be hidden away in the solitude of the Andamans. This is but an instance of how the obsession with one's own particular panacea makes for a denial of the universal law. At bottom there is either petty fear, petty self-interest or an attempt at evading the straight road by petty trickery.

So does blind fear cause us to overlook the claims of humanity, while in a frantic flutter of trepidation we make our obeisances at the shrine of every conceivable authority. And howsoever successfully we may pass examinations in physical or political science we cannot get rid of our ingrained habit of waiting to be dictated to. Even where we have followed the modern fashion by founding democratic institutions, they constantly tend to be dominated by some one master for the simple reason that the rank and file are so accustomed to doing everything, to order from waking and sleeping, eating and drinking, to getting married and mounting the funeral pyre.

If I say that the water in the pail of the Brahmin carrier is in a filthy state, unfit to drink, but that the one brought by the untouchable person straight from the filter is pure and wholesome I shall

be rebuked for talking mere, paltry reason, for such doctrine has not the master's sanction. If I venture to question "What of that?" I am promptly boycotted. They cease to invite me to dinner. They will even refuse to attend my funeral! The wonder is that those who welcome such cruel tyranny in every detail of life, as beneficial to society, feel no compunction in asking for the most absolute political freedom!

And yet there was a day in India when the *Upanishad* declared of the Divine law—*Yathatathyathorthan vyadadhat shashwatibhyah samabhyah*—that it is immutable and adaptable to each and every circumstance. It is for all time and not dependent on the whim of the moment. Therefore is it possible for us to know it with our intellects and use it in our work. And the more we can make it our own the less shall obstacles be able to obstruct our path. The knowledge of this law is science, and it is because of this science that Europe today can say with superb assurance "Malaria shall be driven off the face of the earth. Lack of food and lack of knowledge shall not be allowed in the homes of men. And in politics the commonwealth shall harmonise with the rights of the individual."

India had also realised that in ignorance is bondage, in knowledge freedom and that in gaining the truth lies salvation. What was meant by untruth?—The looking upon oneself as separate. To know oneself in one's spiritual relations to the universe is to know truly. Today it is difficult even to conceive how such an immense truth came to be grasped. Then the age of the Rishis—the sages of the simple life in their forest households—passed away, and the age of the Buddhist monks took its place. And this great realisation of India was relegated to a place apart from its every day life, when a salvation was declared to be in world renunciation.

Thus came about a compromise between truth and untruth, and a partition wall was erected between the two. So today from the side of truth there comes no protest, whatsoever degree of narrowness, grossness or folly may invade the practices and observances of social life. Nay, they are condoned. The ascetic the tree proclaims "He who has the universe in himself and"



universe has known the truth. Where upon the householder profoundly moved fills the ascetic's bowl with his best. On the other hand when the householder in his chamber rules that the fellow who cannot keep the universal law at a respectable distance must not have access to barber or washerman the ascetic in turn beams approval and bestows on him the dust of his feet and his blessing. May you live for ever my son! That is how the decadence of our social life has come about for there was none to raise a protest in the name of Truth. That is why for hundreds of years we have had to bear insult after insult and weep.

In Europe it is not so. The truth there is not confined to the intellect but finds a place in practice. Any fault that may come to light in society or the state has to face public examination and rectification in the search light of truth. And the power and freedom thus gained becomes available to all and gives them hope and courage. The expression of this truth is not hidden in a mist of esoteric incantation but grows in the open in full view of all assisting them to grow with it.

The insults which we allowed ourselves to suffer for hundreds of years finally took shape as subjection to foreign dominion. And as the hand always seeks the painful spot so has the whole of our attention become rivetted on the political system of our Western rulers. Forgetful of all else we clamour — Let our Government have some reference to our own will let not all rules and regulations be showered upon us from above whether we like them or not. Put not the full weight of power on our shoulders as a burden let there be some sort of contrivance on wheels which we can also assist in pushing along.

From every part of the world today rises the prayer for deliverance from the rule of irresponsible outsiders. It is well that stirred by the spirit of the times we have added our voice to this prayer. We would have been to our undying shame had we not done so — had we still clung to our accustomed acquiescence in the dictates of governmental authority. It shows that there is at least some chunk left through which a ray of truth has been able to penetrate our being.

It is because what we have seen is a glimpse of the truth that I confidently hail the self respect which impels us

forward as a good thing and as confidently cry shame on the vain self glorification which would keep us tied to the stake of immobility like an animal destined for sacrifice. Curiously enough it is the same feeling of pride which when it looks ahead says Give us a place in your councils of Empire and which when it turns homewards says Beware lest in religious or social observances or even in your individual concerns you depart even by one step from the path prescribed by the master — And this we call the renaissance of Hinduism! Our Hindu leaders it appears would prescribe for us the impossible commandment to sleep with one eye and keep the other awake!

When the cane of God's wrath fell on our backs our wounded patriotism cried out Cut down the cane jungles! for getting that the bamboo thickets would still be there! The fault is not in cane or bamboo but within ourselves and it is this that we prefer authority to truth and have more respect for the blinkers than for the eyes. Till we can grow out of this disposition of ours some rod will be left in some wood or other for our punishment.

In Europe also there was a time when the authority of the Church was paramount in all departments of life and it was only when they had succeeded in cutting through its all-enveloping meshes that the European peoples could begin to step out on the path of self government. The insularity of England was England's opportunity and it was comparatively easier for her to elude the full might of a church the centre of which was at Rome. Not that England is yet completely free from all traces of church domination but her church like an old dowager is now only tolerated where once she was all powerful.

But though England was thus able to shake off the Old Woman Spain was not. There was a day when Spain had the wind full in her sails. Why was she unable to maintain the start this gave her? Because the Old Woman was at the helm.

When Philip of Spain waged war against England it was discovered that her naval tactics were as rigidly ruled as her religious beliefs. So that while the navy of England under the command of her most skilful sailors was as mobile adaptable to the free blowing winds as ti waves on which it floated, the St

naval command went by caste, and was unable to extricate itself from the iron grip of immovable custom. So in Europe only those peoples have been able to raise their heads who have succeeded in loosening the shackles of blind obedience to an organised church and learnt to respect themselves. And Russia, which failed to do so, remains bristling with a very forest of authorities and her manhood is wasted in bending the knee, alike to the meanest modern government official and the pettiest ancient scriptural injunction.

It should be remembered that religion and a church or religious organisation, are not the same. They are to one another as the fire to its ashes. When religion has to make way for religious organisation it is like the river being dominated by its sand bed,—the current stagnates and its aspect becomes desert like. And when in this circumstance men begin to take pride then are they indeed in a bad way.

Religion tells us that if man is despitefully used it is bad both for him who commits and him who suffers the outrage. But religious organisation tells us "If you do not carry out without compunction each and every one of the elaborate rules and injunctions which oppress and insult man you will be excommunicated." Religion tells us that he who needlessly gives pain to a living creature hurts his own soul. But religious organisation tells us that parents who offer water to their fasting widowed daughter on a particular day of the moon commit mortal sin. Religion tells us that repentance and good works alone may serve to wash away sin, religious organisation tells us that to take an immersion in a particular piece of water during an eclipse washes away not only one's own sins but those of fourteen generations of one's forebears. Religion tells us to fare forth over mountain and sea and enjoy the beautiful world, for that will enlarge our minds, religious organisation tells us that he who overpasses the sea shall have to roll in the dust in expiation. Religion tells us that the true man in whatever household he may have been born is worthy of homage, religious organisation tells us that he who is born a Brahmin may be the veriest scoundrel yet he is fit to shower on others' heads the dust of his feet. In a word, religion preaches freedom, religious organisation chants of slavery.

Faith, even if blind, has its aspect of external beauty. This beauty the foreign traveller passing through India sometimes loves to dwell on, like an artist who enjoys the picturesque possibilities of a ruined house, but gives no thought to its tenantable qualities. During the bathing festival I have seen pilgrims in their thousands, mostly women, coming from Barisal to Calcutta. The suffering and insult, which they had to put up with at each changing station from steamer to train and train to steamer was unending. Their pathetic resignation had no doubt a kind of beauty, but the God of their worship has not accepted that beauty. He has not rewarded but punished them. Their sorrows are ever increasing. The children they rear amidst their futile rites and observances have to cringe to all the material things of this world and tremble at all the shadows of the next, their sole function in life being to go on raising barriers at each bend of the path which they will have to tread, and all they know of growth is in making these barriers tower higher and higher.

The reason for this punishment is that they have mispent the greatest of God's gifts to man,—the power of self-sacrifice. When called upon to render their account they can only show a heavy debit balance. I have seen, elsewhere a stream of hundreds of thousands of men and women hurrying along to some place of pilgrimage to acquire religious merit, but a dying man, lying by their road side, had none to tend him *because his caste was not known*. What a terrible insolvency of humanity has come upon these spendthrift seekers after merit, whose blind faith appears so beautiful! The same blindness which impels them to rush to bathe in a particular stream, renders them indifferent to the sufferings of their unknown fellow men. God does not appreciate this prostitution of his most precious gift.

In Gaya I have seen women pouring out their wealth at the feet of some temple priest who had neither learning, piety nor character. Has this generous self-sacrifice led them a step nearer to pity or to truth? It may be said in reply "They gave of their substance for the sake of what they believed to be the holiness of the Priest. Had they not this belief they would either not have parted with the money

of India recommends for this honour in recognition of their services. Their name will be notified in the London Gazette and in the same Gazette they will be posted to the Indian army. The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should in future be eligible for commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted with a view to the introduction of a carefully considered scheme to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in important duties which will devolve upon them.

The "carefully considered scheme" will have to be considered very carefully before any opinion is expressed thereupon. The selection mainly or exclusively of members of ruling families or other so-called aristocrats will not remove the brand of the helot from the brows of Indians.

Meanwhile we note that the following Indian gentlemen in recognition of their services in the war have been granted Commissions in His Majesty's Army and have been gazetted to the India Army with effect from 25th August 1917.

These gentlemen have been posted to the following units of the India Army:

Captain Zorawar Singh, M.C., A.D.C., 1st Duke of York's Own Lancers.

Captain Kanwar Amar Singh, 2nd Lancers (Garner's Horse).

Captain Aga Cassim Saha, 3rd Skinner's Horse.

Captain Khan Muhammed Akbar Khan, 1st Brahman.

Captain Malik Mumtaz Muhammed Khan, 4th Cavalry.

Captain Kanwar Pirthi Singh, 5th Cavalry.

Captain Bala Sahib Daphle, 2nd Queen Victoria's Own Rajput Light Infantry.

Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur, M.C.A., D.C., 3rd Brahman.

Lieutenant Kanwar Savai Singh, 4th Prince Albert Victor's Rajputs.

It appears from their names that more than half of them belong to "ruling families" or the aristocracy.

### A Convinced Home Ruler.

The Khan Bahadur declared himself a convinced Home Ruler in a passage which, though worded in a very conciliatory way, has the ring of genuine conviction. It runs as follows:—

For years I gave the best of what God has given me in loyal co-operation with those in whose hands Providence has placed our destinies, but I feel bound to confess that of late the conviction has been growing upon me more and more that while co-operation

with the officials is good, self-dependence and self-reliance are even better and that while good Government, such as has been established in this country by our British fellow subjects, is to be appreciated and supported, yet Self Government for India within the Empire would be even immeasurably better and should, therefore, be sought after by every constitution it means at our disposal. It is in the fulness of this conviction that I stand before you to-day as an avowed Home Ruler so that the few years that may yet be vouchsafed to me by Providence may be devoted to the service of my Motherland. I fear I may shock the delicate sensibilities of a few friends—for whose views I have great respect—by declaring myself at the very outset as a Home Ruler who believes that India is even to-day quite fit for enjoying a fair measure of Self Government—popular control over her administrative and legislative machinery. But I cannot help it. Apart from the fact that the conviction I have come to entertain is now shared by the vast bulk of educated Indians throughout the length and breadth of our country, there is the additional and even more important reason for my putting it in the forefront of my address, namely that it is the result of my lifelong experience of public affairs. Even if my views on this most momentous question were not shared by my countrymen but I stood alone in holding it, I would nevertheless have felt bound to press it on you, for as William Morris happily puts it:—

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare

The truth thou hast that all may share

Be bold, declare it everywhere

They only live who dare

But when I find that the demand for Self Government is echoed from end to end in this country, and that all classes and communities are united in its insistence as the first plank in Indian progress, I feel doubly strengthened in asking you to press it, with all the earnestness and enthusiasm you may command, on the attention of His Majesty's Government, and to strain every nerve in securing it by constitutional methods buoyed up with the conviction that good Government can never be a proper substitute for Self Government.

### Against Bureaucracy, Indian or Alien.

The Khan Bahadur rightly declared himself against bureaucratic rule, whether the bureaucracy be alien or Indian. He quoted the following remark of George Bernard Shaw on foreign bureaucracies:

All demonstrations of the virtues of a foreign bureaucracy, though often conclusive, are as useless as demonstrations of the superiority of artificial teeth, glass eyes, silver wind pipes and patent wooden legs to the natural products.

and observed

And here I would like to explain that our fight is with the system and not with the holders of the office. It is a mere accident at present that by far much the larger number of the members of the Indian Civil Service are British and Irish. Yet, if the whole of the Indian Civil Service consisted of Indians and Indians alone, our demand for Self Government would

be quite as keen and insistent, for we are against being ruled by a bureaucracy whether native or foreign, whether Indian or alien

### Our Alleged Unfitness for Home Rule

The argument against Indian Home Rule based on our alleged unfitness for it was thus disposed of by the president of the Behar Provincial Conference —

As a matter of fact, the alleged unfitness of our people has no existence apart from the Anglo Indian mind which sees what it desires to see. It is idle to attempt to argue into conviction men or classes whose judgments are warped by prejudices incidental to threatened encroachments on their vested interests. To such I can do no better than present the following passage from Macaulay's famous Essay on Milton — "Many Politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty," continues Macaulay, "till they have become good and wise in slavery they may indeed wait for ever."

### "See saw" Principle in Appointments.

In some provinces members of the executive council are chosen alternately from the Hindu and Musalman communities. Mr Sarfaraz Hussain Khan strongly criticised this method. He said —

I have been too long connected with our public affairs not to know that in a country such as ours considerations of communal representation cannot be brushed aside whether in the public services or in the constitution of our Legislative Councils. At the same time I feel certain that we have reached a stage in our political evolution when we should declare that so far, at any rate, as the few very high executive and judicial offices are concerned, they should be offered to the absolutely best men amongst us without regard to their religious persuasion. It was no doubt declared by Lord Morley that he would not make the Executive Commissionership a see-saw between the Indian communities. But such has been the case in actual practice just what Lord Morley reprobated is a see-saw. If the Government believe that no one sees through this little game of theirs they are very greatly mistaken indeed. In this connection I may quote an extract from a leading article in a recent issue of the *Statesman* which will speak for itself —

"When Raza Kishori Lal Goswami retired, it was thought necessary to appoint a Mahomedan as his successor, though Lord Morley had definitely laid down the rule that in this part of the public service the rotation of religions was not to be taken into account."

As the appointments are made at present, a member of the Executive Council must feel that he owes his appointment not so much to his personal qualifications as to the accident of his belonging to a particular religious community. Apart from this consideration there is the other very grave objection to the present practice that the Indian Councillor

appointed on communal considerations is likely to be influenced in his work by the feeling that he sits there as the representative of the particular community to which he belongs and not as that of the whole province or the country. It is, therefore, highly expedient that the selection should be made from the most qualified Indians available—in the province or the country as the case may be—so that the Indian Councillor may be a broad minded and enlightened public man imbued not with communal but territorial patriotism and possessing the confidence of all classes, by reason of his knowledge and experience of public affairs in general.

### Negro Graduates

*The Crisis*, an organ of the Negroes of America, writes that during the current year there have been graduated from the great universities of the United States of America nineteen colored Bachelors of Arts, and five Masters of Arts. From the state universities, which rank for the most part equally as high, there have come thirty seven Bachelors of Arts, one Master and one Doctor of Philosophy. Other Northern institutions have sent out twenty-one Bachelors of Arts, making seventy-seven Bachelors in all from Northern institutions. There have come from leading colored colleges two hundred twenty two Bachelors and from other colored colleges one hundred fifty six, or three hundred seventy eight in all. This makes a grand total of four hundred fifty five Bachelors of Arts, as compared with 338 in 1916, 281 in 1915 and 250 in 1914. Omissions would probably bring the actual number of graduates up to at least 475.

Women form a much larger proportion of these graduates than in any university in our country.

### What a Fight for Democracy Does Not Mean.

*The Crisis* says —

The Allies in this great war are fighting for Democracy against Autocracy and Militarism.

What is Democracy?

Is it to treat a part of the population as not entitled to advancement? Is it to fail to provide it with an education? Is it to deny it the right to vote or to have representation in Parliament or Congress? Is it to set it apart in a ghetto, there to be herded and neglected? Is it to prevent its entrance into the higher branches of government service? Is it to deny it the right of trial, visiting upon its members torture and death?

No this is despotism. It is the despotism that Russia has thrown off. Let the United States Government, then, the champion of democracy, at once enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, that its of color may stand before the world as citizens.

this Republic will be a laughing stock to its enemies.

The people and government of the United States should actively advocate the cause of democracy all over the world.

### What General Smuts Means by Freedom and Democracy

Like many other statesmen of the British Empire General Smuts has been declaring that the present war is a fight for freedom and democracy. We do not know with what mental reservation, if any, the other politicians may have spoken, but an idea of the reservation of General Smuts can be formed from what the *New York Evening Post* says:

General Smuts has eyes opened in the East African campaign to the possibilities in the huge native population for the creation of the most powerful army the world has ever seen. He calls for a clause in the treaty of peace forbidding the future military training of African natives. There speaks South African sensitive less over the racial question with knowledge of the prowess of natives in arms under European officers since 1914. At the beginning, of 1915, German black troops forced the surrender of British infantry at Jasin in German East Africa and in Kamerun 3,000 black soldiers fought for a year against more than double their number of Belgian, British, and French troops, and escaped into Spanish territory when their ammunition was gone. All the European nations have native soldiers in Africa, holding them primarily to suppress rebellions but secondarily as defensive or offensive forces against the colonies of other nations. Belgium alone is said to have trained 30,000 blacks.

### Race-Riots in America

In British India there are some *Bakrid* riots every year, and occasionally caste riots in the southern presidency. These are alleged to constitute one of our disqualifications for self rule. We have met this objection in our pamphlet "Towards Home Rule." To the examples quoted therein of such riots in the West, we add the following account of the East St. Louis Race Riots in America from the *Literary Digest* of July 14, 1917:

On the anniversary of the signature of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the State of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospitals, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis guarded by two thousand militiamen was recovering from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history while investigations by Federal State and municipal authorities were on foot. Although the blame for the loss of life and property

is laid by many observers at the door of local and State officials the underlying cause of the riot, the press generally agree, was the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration as our readers are aware is no more liked at the South than at the North. Indeed as the *New York Evening Sun* remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, so that "as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in so Southern communities mob the employment agents for inducing them to go out." Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes, it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women, and children.

While the press of the country more or less calmly consider the underlying causes of the East St. Louis riots and discuss the economic effects of the war and the development of race hatred in the United States, papers near at hand are impressed with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi river in St. Louis, *The Globe Democrat* denounces the failure to "impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob that 'attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves'." This paper believes that firmness early in the afternoon of the first day of rioting would have saved the State of Illinois and American East St. Louis the "record of indelible shame." But civilization itself a record of darkness to the aid it continues after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob slaughter and burning raged unchecked. "The unleashed passions of the mob ignored questions of guilt and innocence and of age and sex. They disregarded the safety of bystanders and cared not what ruin the incendiary fires might bring. The lust of murder turned the mob into savages."

Such occurrences are most shameful and deplorable. Nevertheless the independent countries where they happen are not deprived of the natural human right of self-rule. Nor do the oppressed dark people in Africa say that they would prefer Japanese rule to the Government of their white fellow countrymen. "Non-Brahmanas" opponents of self government in the Madras Presidency should take note of this fact.

### Are the 'Non-Brahmanas' entirely opposed to Self-rule?

We do not, of course, mean to say that "Non-Brahmanas" all over India are opposed to self rule, for that is not a fact. Nor is it true that the "Non-Brahmanas" of the Madras Presidency, where the expression and the movement originated, are in general opposed to self rule. There are a good many who have not joined this movement. And among the adherents of the movement themselves there are many who advocate a measure of self rule which the great bulk of the Moderates would, a few years ago, have considered not unsatisfactory. Three resolutions passed at the recent

mana" conference at Coimbatore will illustrate our remark. They ran as follows :—

While this Conference is convinced that the country is not at present ripe for complete Home Rule, it is of opinion that a liberal instalment of political reforms in all stages of Government is necessary so as to make the Government more responsible to the people of India, than at present, and to enable the people to gain experience in the methods of Self Government and would suggest the following as a safe minimum for granting as soon as the war is over :—The legislative councils, both imperial and provincial, should be enlarged so as to contain a substantial majority of elected members, provision being made for the due representation of all communities and interests in the constitution of electoral areas. Provision should be made for the representation of each district by at least one member. In the imperial and provincial governments the departments of local self-government, education, sanitation, agriculture, co-operation and registration should be placed entirely under the control of non official members of the legislative councils, the administrative control of these departments being placed in Indian hands with a view to place these departments under the executive control of non official members in the near future."

This Conference is of opinion that Government should, before passing final orders on the reforms to be introduced after the war, give an opportunity to the people to express their views by publishing their proposals.

This Conference is of opinion that in any scheme of imperial reconstruction after the war, India shall be accepted as an equal partner with the self governing colonies

### The Term "Non-Brahmana".

The term "Non-Brahmana" has not been happily chosen. It is too wide. It may mean a Musalman, a Christian, a Parsi, a European, an American, a Negro, etc.; for none of them are Brahmins. Nay, it may mean a lion, an elephant, a horse, a dove, a rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, a flamingo, a crocodile, &c.; for none of these creatures are Brahmins. One may even go so far as to speak of a mango tree or a piece of stone as a "Non-Brahmana"; for certainly they are not Brahmins. Of course, by "Non-Brahmana" is meant a Non-Brahmin Hindu, but standing alone it does not necessarily convey that meaning. Even if it did, its use would be objectionable. For it suggests that there is an innate and inherent difference between the natures, and opposition between the interests, of Brahmins and men of other Hindu castes. That is not true. Nor is it true, except in the Madras Presidency, that the Brahmins are the most advanced community among Hindus. For, in literacy, material prosperity and

social influence the Kayasthas all over northern India are not inferior to the Brahmins; nor are the Baidyas in Bengal inferior.

A negative description is in itself objectionable. Among Hindus various castes are noted for their achievements, intellectual and moral standing and skill in various arts. A Kshatriya can rightly associate with his caste name God-vision,\* valour in war, statecraft, &c. Why should he describe himself as being not a Brahmin? What glory is there in that description? And what good purpose is served thereby? Similarly the other castes have some just cause of pride or other. Even those castes which occupy the lowest place in the Hindu social scale, have been indispensably necessary for the existence of society. And the fact that they have survived and multiplied in spite of inhuman social tyranny is itself a proof of their vitality and stamina.

Lastly the term is objectionable in that it insinuates that Brahmins alone are caste-ridden and exclusive and that they alone are social tyrants. Whereas the fact is that all Hindu castes are caste-ridden and all domineer over the castes which are wrongly considered untouchable. We do not mean to say that every high caste Hindu is a social tyrant. What we mean is that the system tends such tyranny, and many actually are tyrants, and large numbers of the "Non-Brahmanas" are included among them.

It is curious that the promoters of the "Non-Brahmana" movement of Madras do not strongly denounce and try to put an end to the exclusiveness, touch-me-not-ism, monopolism and arrogance of the "governing caste" in India and their proteges the Eurasians.

### We are for Freedom and Progress All Round

We have repeatedly tried to show that India ought to have self rule in spite of her many injurious social customs, superstitions, racial divisions, backwardness in education and industries, &c. It must not be supposed on that account that we are apologists of any kind of social tyranny, &c. Of course, no regular reader of the Review is likely to make such a mistake. But still there is no harm in being explicit.

\* For the principal *Upanishads* were of *various* authorship

We want freedom and progress in all directions religious social political education and industrial &c. We want freedom and autonomy for the human soul in all spheres of human thought and activity. Those who would defer our attainment of political freedom till we have achieved social economic or any other kind of freedom have to show *first* how political dependence can create a more favourable environment for social or other kind of freedom than political self rule *secondly* how political self rule would be more detrimental to the cause of social or other kind of freedom than political tutelage and *thirdly* how without political power it would be easy to make educational social economic or any other kind of progress. This our opponents have not done and we think cannot do. Any kind of freedom or progress makes for every other kind of progress or freedom.

### Would Home Rule Increase Social Tyranny?

Some persons argue that Home Rule would increase social tyranny over the depressed castes. We do not think it would. Whatever it may mean in some particular areas taking India as a whole Home Rule would not mean the rule of any particular tyrannical caste but of the elect of the Hindus Mussalmans Christians Sikhs Buddhists Parsis Jains &c. and a majority of such men many of them belonging to sects favouring social democracy would not be likely to favour or connive at any kind of tyranny social or of any other description. Those who profess to admire Anglo-Indian dominance cannot deny that various kinds of social tyranny exist in spite of this dominance because it is beyond its power to check and that there are many kinds of suppression and highhandedness which are directly or indirectly due to this dominance. Moreover as Home Rule does not mean independence it would not mean the disappearance of the influence of British rule British traditions and British literature in so far as they tend to curb and destroy social tyranny.

### Example of Indian States

There is a passage in Mr V P Madhava Rao's presidential address at the Madras Provincial Conference 1917 which has its lesson for those who say

that in India under Home Rule political power and office would be a monopoly of the Brahmins or any other section of the Indian community. This passage is to be found among our Notes in the last June number. It shows that in Travancore the most caste ridden State in India an appreciable number of 'untouchable' men has been elected members of the Popular Assembly. There is no reason to suppose that British India under Home Rule would be under worse social conditions than any Indian State.

In British India nothing remarkable has been done specially for the benefit of the depressed or untouchable classes. But in some Indian States Baroda for example special attention has been paid to their needs. In that State the *Antyaya* or depressed classes number 174,289. In 1915-16 there were 222 separate schools for *Antyaya* children. Of these 217 were for boys and 5 for girls. The total number of children attending these schools was 11,224 (10,872 boys and 352 girls). Besides these, 71,131 children of the *Antyaya* classes were receiving their education in other primary schools. Thus the total number of *Antyaya* children in schools is 18,335 or more than 10 per cent of their population. Can British India show anything like this? School requisites and books are given free by the Baroda Government to these children (and of course, they do not have to pay any tuition fee) and scholarships of an aggregate amount of Rs 122 p.m. were awarded in the principal *Antyaya* schools to students in higher standards. Eight scholarships of Rs 5 each are given to students studying in 4th 5th and 6th standard classes of the Baroda High School. In the Training College along with high class Hindus 15 *Antyaya* scholars received training as a preparation for teachership in *Antyaya* schools. The *Antyaya* Hostel at Baroda accommodated 12 children (31 boys and 8 girls) while the one at Lattin had 27. There are besides special boarding schools for forest tribes. The Garoda School is a unique institution founded with a view to teaching Sanskrit to the sons of the Garoda or priestly class of the *Antyayas* and initiate them into the proper performance of religious rites and ceremonies.

Some men who are or profess to be

social reformers are opposed to the Home Rule or self rule movement. They have no doubt noted that Indore has a Civil Marriage Act which is in some respects superior to Act III of 1872 of British India, also that the Broda Caste Usages Bill, directed against social tyranny, can not be matched in British India. Orthodox Hindus do not like such social legislation, but those of them who oppose Home Rule do not do so on the alleged ground that it would favour social tyranny. Of course, all Indian States are not like Baroda or Indore, but our illustrations are meant only to show that British India under Home Rule may be like some advanced Indian States and, therefore, it need not necessarily be a social hell for the backward classes.

Facts in support of our position may be cited even from some States which are small and not much known. For instance, the junior Devas State in Central India has a population of only 63,013. In the Report of the working of the Panchayats in this state for the year 1914-15 we find it stated that the total number of village panchayats was 73 and that of the *Panchas* or village elders, 531. Of these men 186 were Rajputs, 45 Mahajans, 19 Jats, 7 Kumanats, 3 Kalals, 1 Blacksmith, 3 Sonars, 1 Tel, 42 Kulmis, 8 Nandanans, 4 Mahis, 1 Dhobi, 3 Gowhis, 24 Musalmans, 32 Khatris, 12 Rawats, 4 Bohoras, 8 Arjanas, 3 Purbhias, 2 Bhats, 1 Kumar, 1 Kosta, 48 Brahmins, 44 Gujars, 1 Kir, 4 Minas, 3 Naiks, 1 Pinyara, 7 Gadriss, 3 Sutaras, 3 Kaseras and 2 Balas. "It will thus be apparent that men from all castes [including "untouchables"] and classes have secured a place on the Panchayat Board."

#### Lord Islington Speaking to Students

After the announcement made by Mr. Montagu, the new Indian Secretary of State, it is not necessary to comment on Lord Islington's pronouncement on the subject of Indian political reforms. But it ought to be noted that what he said was addressed to the students at the Oxford summer meeting. All over India bureaucrats are against students (even college students and post graduate students) listening to political speeches. In some provinces there are circulars actually prohibiting students from attending political meetings. As it was a summer meeting

which Lord Islington addressed, the audience may have consisted only of post-graduate students, or there may have been also some under graduates who stayed on during the vacation in order to be able to pursue some favorite or necessary study. Supposing that the students addressed were all graduates, we may demand that all our university law students, and and and more advanced students, and medical and engineering students who are graduates should not be required to shun political meetings. In fact, some 500 law students of Bombay have memorialised the Governor that, as they have the right to vote for the election of municipal councillors and Fellows of the University and are therefore considered responsible citizens able to judge for themselves, they should not be required to obey the circular which tells students not to attend political meetings.

#### Students and Politics

Our position is this. Even if British students were precluded from attending political meetings and having anything to do with politics, our students ought to have opportunities of acquiring knowledge of contemporary politics. Those who have to win civic rights ought certainly to know as much of politics and have as much political ardour as those who already possess civic rights. Perhaps this is an understatement. We ought rather to say that, as the winning and preserving of civic rights require greater political knowledge and enthusiasm than what are needed for merely preserving the civic freedom won long ago, our young men ought to be placed in circumstances favorable to the acquisition of such knowledge and the development of such enthusiasm. If the reading of prescribed textbooks ought not to be so absorbing a task as to prevent students from taking part in manly games and other forms of physical exercise, they should certainly also be able to spare time for listening to such speeches as may help in making them good citizens. Youth is the time for the growth of enthusiasm for anything.

#### Lord Sydenham on Lord Islington's Speech

We cannot but laugh at the gray and gloomy looks with which Lord Sydenham professes to regard much of L



Bengali inspector of schools, is reported to have said that English "should be taught well and for this there should be a European headmaster in each high school and European lady teachers for the top classes. To meet the increased financial demands he proposed increasing the fee rates, a step which would not be difficult to take." Let us first consider the practicality and financial aspect of the suggestion.

When the Rai Bahadur speaks of "each high school," we presume he means each Government high school, for it is utterly impossible for aided or unaided high schools to entertain the services of English headmasters or English lady teachers. We also presume that he uses the word "European" not in the railway sense of a pantalooned and hatted person, but in the sense of pure British or English. What class of men does he propose to get out for headmastership? Not a worse class, we hope, than the majority of those who have in recent years been recruited for the Imperial Educational Service, for a worse class will not do. Now, what sort of men have been recently obtained for the I. E. S.? The Education Member of the Government of India placed before the Imperial Legislative Council (8th September 1914) a return showing that in the two years ending with that date 46 members had been added to the I. E. S., out of whom only 31 were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and that out of these 31, only

8	were	First Class Honours men
12	"	Second " "
6	"	Third " "
1	was	a Fourth " " man

and 4 were ordinary "Poll" B. A. 's,—while the other 15 recruits were mostly graduates of the Irish, Welsh or provincial universities. We are sure many, though not all, of these men speak the English language with the accent and tone of cultured Englishmen, it would be an advantage to learn to pronounce and speak English under their guidance and by imitating them. It is only in English pronunciation and conversation that Englishmen can be expected naturally to be superior to Indians. In every other respect Indian teachers may be equal or superior to English teachers. We doubt if even all first class Oxford and Cambridge

honours men know more of English literature and can teach it better than our best M. A. 's in English. We have not in our experience found European professors of English in our colleges generally superior to the best Indian professors of English. Bengali high schools have not had European headmasters in recent years. Bengal, therefore, does not know by actual practical experience the comparative worth of European and Indian headmasters, the United Provinces know. Our 13 years' residence and educational experience there did not lead us to think that European headmasters were generally superior to Indian headmasters even as teachers of English. Under the circumstances, is it worth the cost to pay extravagant salaries to ordinary British graduates simply to hear English pronounced and spoken with the native accent? We throw not. For answering this question it is necessary also to consider the true end of education, which we propose to do shortly. Supposing it would be a proper use of money to pay ordinary British graduates lavishly to hear the salvation bringing English tone and accent, how is the money to be obtained? Rai Bahadur Purnananda Babu says, by increasing the fee rates. Agreed. The fee rates, we suppose, cannot be higher in Government high schools than in the Calcutta Presidency College. Presidency College is not staffed wholly or mainly with British graduates. Yet in spite of its high fees, Government had to spend Rs 235.57 per student from public revenues in 1915-16 for this college. In the same year Government spent only about Rs 18 per student in its high schools. There is a great difference between Rs 235 and Rs 18. Of course one European headmaster and three or four European lady teachers per school with starvation wages for the Indian teachers would not mean so much expenditure for each high school as that incurred for Presidency College. But it would certainly mean greatly increased expenditure from provincial revenues for all the high schools, amounting to many lakhs, in addition to what may be obtained from the increased fees. Would Government be prepared to incur this additional expenditure? Supposing it would be, is the employment of European headmasters and lady teachers the best possible use of the

money in this country where only 6 per cent of the people can read and write? Every person, every family from whose labour Government derives its revenues, has a right to be educated. The first charge on any fresh education grant ought to be the expenditure incurred for the spread of education among the masses not for providing the luxury of European headmasters and lady teachers for the sons of the well-to-do. The Rai Bahadur proposes to increase the fees. As he is an inspector of schools, he certainly knows of rich civilised countries where the elementary and secondary public schools impart free education to the children of rich and poor alike. Should poor India follow the example of those countries, or should she make the cost of education such as to place it beyond the reach of the poor?

Let us now consider whether the employment of English headmasters and lady teachers in our schools would serve the true ends of education. In savage lands where indigenous talent is not available, foreign talent must be used. But in India we have plenty of competent men to teach in our schools all the subjects taught there. It is not therefore an unavoidable necessity to employ European headmasters &c. The true end of education is to inform a child's mind, train it to observe and draw conclusions, help the growth of its personality, &c. What is it in all this which is beyond the power of good Indian teachers? Knowledge may be imparted by Indian teachers, they may teach how to observe and judge, and they may also help in the growth of the personality of the student.

Whatever our ancestors may or may not have been in ancient times the spirit of freedom, the assertion of each man's individuality, the full expression in word and deed of each man's personality,—these have characterised England and some other Western countries to a far greater extent than they characterise India even now. The teaching of and association with European teachers ought to inspire our students with love of liberty and an unquenchable desire for self assertion and the full expression in word and deed of their personality. But unfortunately not only do our English teachers not consciously and directly help in the full growth of the personality of their Indian students,

but, on the contrary, their presence and influence tend to suppress and stifle the desire for liberty and other characteristics of the West. We must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the Rai Bahadur's suggestion which is one of the recommendations of the committee appointed to ascertain and advise how the 'Imperial Idea' may be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma. It will be welcomed by Imperialists, because European headmasters can better try to produce the type of character befitting a subject race than Indian headmasters, by suppressing and stifling all that goes against 'Imperial' domination. They can also better supplement the efforts of the C I D to keep India 'loyal'. And they may, according to the Curzonian idea, form the fourth line of defence of the British Empire. The other three lines of defence were once thus described by the *Indira Druk Aens* (July 23, 1914):

Under the Curzon regime the new (European) professors are chosen to form the third line of defence of India behind the British army and the British civil service. They are chosen mainly, we fear as a political thin black line tipped with steel—steel pens. This supremely silly idea was that of Lord Curzon alone he did it. It was based on the prevalent idea that no Indian could be loyal or should be given the chance of teaching disloyalty which it was supposed they were one and all engaged in doing. The idea was almost comic because in vain is the net spread in front of the fowler and it stands to reason that no body of self respecting young men altogether approve of being politically led.

Government may employ European headmasters and European lady teachers for Indian high schools. But our boys may after all wonder why, though India has produced men fit to fraternise with the world's prominent personalities in religion, literature, science, art, philosophy and history, she has not produced headmasters or has all of a sudden ceased to produce them. And if a school can afford to have British teachers of English, why must they necessarily be headmasters? Is it to teach the Native his place from infancy, so that when he grows up—not to manhood, but—to adult nativehood he may not have any sense of national dignity left to be wounded?

#### Mr. Gokhale's Scheme

After some adroit, though unsuccessful, stage management, the Aga Khan published a scheme of self government which A

G K Gokhale drafted two days before his death. The Aga Khan said that it was entrusted to him by the author for publication at some opportune moment. And he chose such a moment as enabled him to hope unconsciously, to play into the hands of our opponents, for they, while not fully accepting Mr Gokhale's scheme, have been using it to condemn the Congress Moslem League scheme.

As many other persons besides the Aga Khan had seen and possessed copies of Mr Gokhale's draft, he need not have given himself the airs of the sole executor of Mr Gokhale's political last will and testament.

We respected and still respect the sincere and devoted patriotism of Mr Gokhale. We admire his statesmanship. But we never swore by him nor by any other leading Indian. We gave him our whole-hearted support when he deserved it, and criticised him as thoroughly when he went wrong. With all his devotion and statesmanship, he never was, nor was fit to be, the non-official political dictator of India. When he voted for a repressive Press Act along with some other panicky and weak-kneed councillors, all the important Indian papers condemned him. It cannot, therefore, be said that in whatever he did or said he was infallible, or wiser than all our other leaders combined. Therefore even if Mr Gokhale had drafted and revised a scheme of self-government in a sound state of body and left it for the people, we would have judged it on its merits. But he drafted it for a high official in order to show him what measure of self-government if granted of their own accord by the Government would conciliate the people, and he left some points open for further consideration in consultation with friends, but died before such consultation. Therefore, the scheme does not represent his idea of what the people's demand ought to be.

Two eventful years have passed since his death. Not to speak of great world events, these years have seen the rapprochement between the left and right wings of the Congress party which parted company at Surat, they have seen the rapprochement between the Congress and the Moslem League. We need not enumerate the world-events which have compelled the leading statesmen of the allied nations to declare again and again

that they are fighting for democracy and the emancipation of mankind. In his great speech before the American Luncheon Club in London, Mr Lloyd George declared

There are times in history when this world spins so *surely along its destined course* that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. (Cheers.)

If Mr Gokhale had lived through these stirring times and been living now, it is reasonable to think that he would have joined with his fellow patriots in demanding the measure of self-government which is embodied in the scheme prepared jointly by the Congress and Moslem League.

### Protests against Internments

There is one painful feature of our public life which compels us to speak out. Numerous public meetings have been held all over India (though not many in Bengal and the Punjab) protesting against the internment of Mrs Annie Besant and two of her co-workers and demanding their release. Very many more ought to be held. If a hundred times as many had been held as have been actually held, they would have been none too many. For to deprive any person of liberty without public trial and proof of guilt is a grievous wrong and a grave offence against the spirit of freedom and democracy, for which the allies are professedly fighting.

But it has pained us to find that not a single meeting has been held anywhere to protest against the internment of hundreds of persons in Bengal and to demand their release. The lot of these persons is far harder than that of Mrs Besant and her co-workers. Since the internment of Mrs Besant and her associates numerous protest meetings have been held. At none of these as far as we have been able to notice, was there any resolution passed expressing even pity for the lot of the interned persons unknown to fame. After the publication of Mr Montagu's announcement in the House of Commons many papers have said that as a preliminary conciliatory measure Mrs Besant, Mr Arundale, Mr Wadia and, some papers add, Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali should be released. We sup-

port this suggestion. But why are not the Bengal *detenus* to be released? Like the other persons interned they too have not been publicly (or even secretly) tried. There is no proof of any offence against them too. Lord Carmichael could only speak of such circumstantial evidence as would not be accepted by any court of justice. Is loss of liberty a wrong only to those who are famous and influential and whose services have been great and are well known? Is the liberty of obscure and unknown persons or of persons whose reputation is only local of persons who have rendered no public service or whose services and sacrifices though sterling are not known to the public—is the liberty of such persons we say utterly valueless? If it has a value as it undoubtedly has why should we not demand that it be restored to them? It may be considered astute to protest against the internment of only those who enjoy celebrity and to demand their release but such a course of conduct is neither consonant with a keen sense of justice nor in harmony with the principles of democracy—a word which is at present in everybody's lips.

In Ireland even actual rebels have been released from prison. Here can we not ask for the release of mere suspects? The Irish are white the Indians are not white. But liberty knows no colour bar. There is therefore no reason we hope why we must demand the release of only white persons and their companions and not demand also the release of hundreds of dark complexioned persons deprived of their liberty without public trial.

### King's Commissions for Indians

We have said in a previous note that of the nine Indians who have received King's Commissions in the Indian army more than half seem to belong to ruling families or the aristocracy. One officer evidently hails from Nepal which is independent territory. How many of the remaining eight come from the Indian States we do not know. Commissions given to the scions of the ruling houses in independent or feudatory states cannot satisfy the legitimate claims and ambitions of the people of British India. Nor can a few commissions granted to the sons or other relatives of titular rajas and landholders serve that purpose. The commissioned ranks of the army must be

open to all physically and educationally fit Indians irrespective of birth race or domicile just as they are open to all physically and educationally fit English men.

### Passive Resistance

Every person who feels wronged and aggrieved in any way particularly when he feels that he has been deprived of the rights and liberties which belong to him as a citizen and a human being may resort to the form of civil disobedience known as passive resistance if he finds that recourse to the law courts and representations made to the constituted authorities have failed to bring him any redress. This is a constitutional method. It has a higher sanction the sanction of the human spirit. For in the last resort a man is bound to respect and obey only that which his soul accepts and approves. If in obeying only the dictates of his soul he has to disobey any man made law rule regulation or ordinance he must take the consequences and suffer. When any individual has recourse to passive resistance on his own responsibility his action does not involve any other person in the suffering that it may bring. Therefore it is comparatively easy for individuals to decide when and under what circumstances recourse to passive resistance is necessary. If one's judgment is at fault he alone suffers. But when a political party has to adopt passive resistance as one of the means of furthering its cause greater deliberation is required. The numerical and moral strength of the persons who want passively to resist must be considered. Even before that it has to be considered whether all the ordinary means of obtaining success have been tried or not. Then the solidarity and strength of conviction of the party and its ability to suffer and undergo sacrifices should be taken into consideration. Of course if any persons belonging to a party are convinced that passive resistance is necessary they ought on their own responsibility to preach it and make their party strong in all the respects referred to above. They should also have recourse to it themselves. If they wish that others should follow their example they should point out precisely how it is to be done that is to say the payment of what particular tax may be refused.

what particular law, regulation, rule, ordinance or executive order may be disobeyed.

### U. P. Special Provincial Congress

In recent years the United Provinces have given proof of considerable progress in the methods of public agitation. Their previous achievements in this line led us to expect the success of the Special Provincial Congress held at Lucknow on the 10th of August. The expectation was fulfilled. More than five hundred delegates, representing different communities, sections and classes, attended the Congress. The presidential address delivered by Pandit Motilal Nehru was clear cogent and convincing. He showed conclusively that Indians have been conducting political agitation during the period of the war not for the fun of the thing or because of any perversity in their nature, but because the House of Lords, the House of Commons and the Indian Imperial and Provincial Governments have, by what they have done and refused to do, compelled the people of India to have recourse to agitation in self defence.

#### Said Pandit Motilal

Our positon has been clearly stated in the representation recently made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodied our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots. While demanding that the Congress Moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war, it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement pledging the Government to a policy of making India a selfgoverning member of the British Empire to be made at an early date. We ask for no more and will be satisfied with no less.

### Joint Conference of National Congress and Moslem League

The joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League was a most important gathering. The representation drawn up and adopted at this meeting must have the hearty support of all thinking and patriotic Indians. There is no extremism in it, but neither is there any weak kneed vagueness which passes for moderation with many.

The most important and significant resolution which the conference has passed is the one which requires the various committees and councils of the Congress and the Moslem League to consider and report on the advisability of resorting to passive resistance. It may or may not be decided to adopt this method. But it is a sign of the times that the parties of constitutional progress in India have been driven to consider whether they ought not now to take up the last weapon in the armoury, of those who wish to fight for freedom without bloodshed.

### Mr Montagu's Announcement

A Gazette of India Extraordinary issued at Simla on August 20, published the following notification —

The following announcement is being made this day by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and is published for general information —

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided with His Majesty's approval that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India to consider with the Viceroy the views of Local Governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and the advancement of the Indian peoples must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom now the opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to the Parliament.

(Sd) J. H. DUBOULAY,

Secretary to the Government of India

This announcement has made us neither optimistic nor pessimistic. We have never indulged in prophecy never broad any

hopes on official proclamations, promises or pronouncements and we do not see any reason to depart from our usual practice on the present occasion

The announcement has the usual ring of bureaucratic pronouncements in India "Increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration, 'the gradual development of self governing institutions,' 'progress by successive stages,' 'the responsibility for the welfare of the Indian peoples lying on the British Government and the Government of India, that is, on the bureaucracy these are all old familiar phrases in a new setting. They are beautifully vague, they may mean much or mean little. Increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration may mean only a few more high posts conferred on Indians. But we do not want merely offices or influence, we want above all political power to control public affairs and shape our own destiny. The gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government, may mean such development in the course of a year, five years, a decade, fifteen years, a generation, a century, five centuries, or a millenium. It is, therefore, risky to criticise these words. For if one objects to gradual progress, the reply may be, 'surely you don't want Home Rule in a second'. The Filipinos have got responsible government within less than two decades of the American occupation, after a century and a half of British rule we are treated to vague phrases like gradual progress, progress by stages, &c. If the present war had not taken place now but two centuries hence and if British rule in India had lasted till then, these very phrases, we are sure, would have done duty in that remote future.

Poland has been subjected to foreign rule (German, Austrian and Russian) not so enlightened, Englishmen have told us, as their own in India, and therefore, it is the duty of all loyal Indians to believe that the Poles have had less training in self government than the Indian subjects of his British Majesty, yet British statesmen have declared that an independent Poland is included in the peace terms of the Allies. Independence at once after the war for Poland, for us gradual progress by undefined stages, and that, too to depend on our good behaviour at

every stage, to be judged by those to whom self rule for India must mean loss of power, prestige and self

The reader will note that the sentiment embodied in the sentence which says that the responsibility for the welfare of the Indian people lies with the British Government and the Government of India is in substance the same with that expressed by Lord Sydenham on which we have commented in a previous note. For, so far as India is concerned, the British Government means neither the Crown nor Parliament, but the Secretary of State and his Council, the latter consisting of retired sun-dried Anglo Indian bureaucrats, and the Government of India means practically the bureaucrats of the Civil Service. In theory the Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament, but that is merely in theory, even the fate of an Indian Budget Debate has not been acted for three years in the House of Commons!

It is not only Poland which is to have independence or at least autonomy, immediately after the war, but Ireland is to have Home Rule, during the war, not as soon as the British Government and the Government of Ireland decide that they should have it, but as soon as the people of Ireland have agreed upon the form which Home Rule should take in their country.

On the occasion of receiving the freedom of the city of Glasgow Mr Lloyd George, the Premier, in the course of his speech, referring to the fate of the German colonies, said that "their peoples' desires and wishes must be the dominant factor". Is it necessary for a people or peoples to be natives or inhabitants of quondam German colonies in order that their desires and wishes may be the dominant factor in the determination of their fate? We had always been taught to believe that British subjects, even of a dark complexion and living in a dependency, had greater rights than the subjects of any other Western power.

In the course of his great speech before the American Luncheon Club in London, Mr Lloyd George said

'There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an

Does any Member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office? I have been to the India Office and to other offices. I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.

Mr. Montagu demanded the abolition of the Stores Department of the India Office. As regards who should be responsible to whom, here are his opinions:

I come now to the question of the Government of India from India. I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. The Viceroy ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. Your executive system in India has broken down, because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government. But you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity.

We do not understand the difference that he drew between Home Rule and self government with reference to Commander Wedgwood's recommendation in his (Mesopotamia) Minority Report, but here are the words he used:

My hon and gallant Friend opposite in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgwood. I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu. As a goal I see a different picture. I see the great Self Governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self governing Provinces and Principalities federated by one Central Government.

It is not a universally accepted principle that representative government should not or cannot advantageously be granted to a people without a demand for it on their part. The Japanese got it from their

monarch when there was no demand for it on their part. Regarding Japan Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in our Review (Nov., 1915, p. 552):

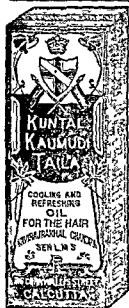
She is an object lesson to those who deprecate the granting of constitutions by sovereigns without agitation without pressure from the people. She is an example and a successful example of how a Government can educate a people in democratic methods by the grant of democratic institutions.

But since Mr. Montagu wants to see a wide demand for Home Rule and doubts its existence, *there ought to be redoubled agitation for Home Rule, Self rule, or national autonomy all over India.*

His own idea of what should be done at the present juncture is quoted below.

But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India of giving them greater control of their Executive of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

But I am positive of this, that your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. *It has been proved to be not efficient.* It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people, to make them into a warning Nation as they wanted to be. The history of this War shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India and you must give them that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act but by control by growing control, of the Executive itself. Then in your next War—if we ever have War—in your next crisis, through times of peace you will have a contented India an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel in the light of modern experience this century old and cumbersome machine then, I believe I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.



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like a sign board and does not become part of our life, or remains in our notebooks and fails to get transcribed into thought and action. Some of our learned men ascribe this to the mere fact of its being foreign. But thus I cannot admit, for truth has no geography. The lamp that was lit in the East will illumine the continents of the West if that be not so, it had no light. If there be any light which is claimed to be good for India alone, then I emphatically say it is not good at all. If India's god be for India only, then will he effectually bar for us the gates of the kingdom of the universal God.

The fact of the matter is that our modern education has not found its proper vehicle and so is unable freely to move onwards. The universality of knowledge is acknowledged all the world over, but be the reason what it may, it has not found acceptance in this province. The great Gokhale was the champion of this cause but I am told he had to encounter the greatest opposition in Bengal. It seems that, though we are determined to fly forward in the sky of political ideals, we have made up our minds to walk backwards in the field of our social life.

Deprived as we thus are of that mass education which needs must supply the nutritious juices to the roots of our higher education, we have recently had another worry superadded. As if the insufficiency of our educational institutions was not bad enough, they are to be made still narrower in scope by cutting down space and increasing furniture. Let there be a dearth of pupils if there must, but none of appliances,—so say the authorities!

I quite understand that food and utensils to eat it out of are both needful to man. But where there is a shortage of food, a parsimony in regard to utensils also becomes necessary. When we shall see free kitchens distributing mental fare throughout India, then may we begin to pray for plates of gold. To make expensive the educational part of our poverty stricken lives would be like squandering all one's money in buying money bags. We can enjoy our social gatherings on a mat spread in the yard. Plantain leaves suffice for the feasts of our wealthiest. Most of the great ones of our land, to whom we bow the head were brought up in cottages. So that in our country the idea will not be accepted that Saraswati's

seat owes any of its splendour to appurtenances borrowed from Lakshmi.

We in the East have had to arrive at our own solution of the problem of Life. We have as far as possible made our food and clothing unburdensome, and thus our very climate has taught us to do. We require openings in the walls more than the walls themselves. Light and air have more to do than the weavers' loom with our wearing apparel. The sun makes up for the heat-producing qualities which elsewhere are required from foodstuff or kitchen. All these natural advantages have moulded our life to a particular shape which I cannot believe it will be profitable to ignore in the case of our education.

I do not seek to glorify poverty which I admit to be *tamasik*,—of the lowest order. But simplicity is of greater price than the appendages of luxury and is *satwik*,—of the highest. The simplicity of which I speak is not merely the effect of a lack of superfluity, but is one of the signs of perfection. When that dawns on mankind the unhealthy fog which now besmirches civilisation will be lifted. It is for lack of this simplicity that the necessities of life have become so rare and costly.

Most things in the civilised world—eating and merry making, education and culture, administration and litigation,—occupy more than their legitimate space. Much of their burden is needless and in bearing it civilized man may be showing great strength but little skill. To the gods, viewing this from on high, it must seem like the flounderings of a demon who has got out of his depth, but knows not how to swim, and who, as he keeps muddying the whole pool by his needlessly powerful efforts, cannot get rid of the idea that there must be some virtue in this display of strength.

When the simplicity of fulness awakens in the West, then from the walls of its drawing rooms will be cleared away the Japanese fans and China plates and antlers of stags, and all the bric à brac rubbish from their corners, the hats of their women will be divested of birds' feathers, artificial flowers and such like oddities, the barbarities and excesses of their dress will find refuge in their museums, and their sky scrapers will hang their towering heads in shame. Then work, enjoyment and education will

alike find their true strength in becoming easy. When this will happen I have no idea. Till then we must, with bowed heads, continue to listen to lectures telling us that the highest education is to be had only in the tallest edifices.

To the extent that forms and appendages are the outgrowth of the soul to ignore them is to be impoverished,—this I know. But though Europe has been trying, she has not yet discovered the golden mean. Why, then, should obstacles be placed in the way of our attempting to find it out for ourselves? To be simple without becoming poorer is the problem which each must solve according to his temperament. But while we are ever ready to accept the subject-matter of education from outside, it is too bad to thrust on us the temperament as well.

The adopted sons of the West, I suppose, needs must go one better than their adoptive father. In America I saw many vast educational institutions run by the state, where the pupils had to pay next to nothing in the way of fees. In Europe, also, there is no lack of cheap educational facilities for poor students. Is it then because of the greater poverty of our country that our education must be made more costly? And yet in India there was a time when education was not bought and sold.

Elsewhere we find education accounted to be an anxious duty of the state. Thus in Europe, Japan or America there is no miserliness in regard to the expenditure of public funds thereon, so that it may become readily available to the greatest number. Therefore the higher the seat from which it is proclaimed in India, and the louder, that the more expensive and difficult education is made the greater the benefit to the country, the falser will it sound.

Increase of weight with the growth of age is the sign of a healthy child. It is not good if the weight remains stationary, it is alarming if it decreases. So in our country, where so much of the field of education lies fallow, its well-wishers naturally expect an increase in the number of students year by year. They are not easy in mind if the numbers remain the same, and if they decrease they feel that the scale turns towards death—as we understand it.

But when it was found that the

number of students in Bengal was decreasing an Anglo-Indian paper gloated over it. 'So this is the limit of the Bengali's enthusiasm for education,' it chuckled. 'What a tyrannical measure would have been Gokhale's compulsory education for poor, unwilling Bengal! These are cruel words. No one could have said such a thing about his own country. If today the desire for education should spontaneously diminish in England, this very same paper would have anxiously advocated artificial means of stimulation.'

Of course I should be ashamed to expect these people to feel for India as they do for their own country. Nevertheless it may not be too much to expect a small surplus of good feeling to remain over, after satisfying all the demands of patriotism and take shape as love of humanity. In the present stage of development of the human conscience, it remains possible to desire power and wealth for one's own country even at the cost of depriving other parts of the world. But surely it should not be possible to say of any country in the world, of which we may find the health declining owing to natural causes, that it would be cheaper to provide it with undertakers than with physicians.

On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that it is the fact of our own national consciousness not being sufficiently awake which leads others to value our material and educational needs so meanly. Indeed it is a kind of deception to try to make others value our country higher than the price we ourselves are prepared to pay,—a deception, moreover, which deludes nobody, but, like the loud bargaining which goes on in China Bazar, it only entails a great waste of time. And this is all that we have been doing, so far, with great vociferation, in the markets of the Empire.

We have begged and prayed for education but felt no real anxiety about it. We have taken no pains in regard to its spread. Which means, I suppose, that what we are clamouring for is the feast to be spread for ourselves recking nothing whether or not the hungry ones outside our circle are to receive any of its leavings. Those of us who say that it is not desirable that too large a proportion of the masses should be educated lest it should do them harm richly deserve to be +

by the authorities that for Bengalis in general too much education is not only not required but will have pernicious effects. If it be allowable to urge that our servant difficulty will be increased if *mass education is encouraged* the apprehension is equally well grounded that the education of the upper classes of Bengal will prejudicially affect their docile servility.

It will serve as an indication of the real state of our feelings if we recall the fact that in the political institution called the Bengal Provincial Conference this simple point was overlooked for years that its proceedings should be conducted in the Bengali language. The reason is that we do not realise our countrymen to be our very own with the whole of our consciousness. That is why we are unable to pay the full price for our country. And if we do not get what we demand in full measure that is not so much due to any unwillingness in the giver but because we do not truly desire.

When we come to consider the question of the spread of education with the requisite attention we discover that the foremost difficulty lies in English being the medium of education. The foreign ship may bring imported goods into a port but she can not help to distribute them amongst inland markets. So if we insist on pinning our whole faith to the foreign ship our commerce must needs be restricted to the city. So long we have seen nothing wrong in this, for whatever our lips might have uttered in our hearts the city was all we knew of our country. When we felt very generous towards our own language we entertained the thought of giving some crude sort of primary education through the vernacular but whatever the Bengali language aspired higher it was sure to get scoffed at.

How long is this timid self-mistrust of ours to last? Shall we never have the courage to say that high education is to be made our very own by being imbibed through our mother tongue? That Japan was able to assimilate what she needed from the West within so short a time was because she had first made western learning captive in her own language. And yet it cannot be said that Japanese is a richer language than ours. The power which Bengali has to create new words infinite. Moreover European culture

is less foreign to us than it was to the Japanese.

But Japan boldly vowed: We must and shall install European science in our own temples of learning. And she not only said so she did it and is reaping the reward. We have not yet been able to muster up courage even to say that high education should be given through our own language and to believe that only when so imparted can it become truly fruitful in the land.

It is superfluous to state that we must also learn English and that by no means only for the purpose of earning a living. Why English alone it would be still better if we could also learn French and German. But it is equally superfluous to point out that the great majority of Bengalis will never be able to learn English. Are we prepared to say that starvation or semi-starvation of the mind is to be the lot of these hundreds of thousands of Bengali speaking unfortunates?

Any alteration in the complicated machinery of our present education factory entails no end of pulling and pushing and hammering and moreover wants a very very strong arm to get it done. The valiant Sir Asutosh essayed one such enterprise and succeeded in getting a little vernacular pulley inserted. What Sir Asutosh Mukherji has achieved, however only amounts to this that no Bengalis' education however high the English part of it may have reached shall be deemed complete without the addition of proficiency in Bengali. But this only makes for the rounding off of the studies of those who do know English. What of those who know Bengali but do not know English? Will the Bengal university have nothing to say to them? Can such a cruelly unnatural state of things exist anywhere outside India?

I shall be told that my poetising will not do that I should make some practical suggestion, that I should not expect too much. Expect too much indeed! Do I not know only too well that one has to give up all hope when attempting to enter the realm of practical suggestion? Anyhow I shall be quite satisfied for the present if any the least stir is visible in any mind, nor shall I object even if that should take shape as abuse or an attempt to assault me.

So let me descend to practical proposals

Our University was formerly a wrestling ground for examinees. Now a broad fringe area has been added round it where the wrestlers may recover their breath, in every-day garb, between their bouts. Famous professors from abroad are being invited to lecture here and chairs have been offered to our own men of learning. The credit for this last act of courtesy, I understand, was also due to the gallant Sir Asutosh.

Now, I say let the old central institution of the University go on in its old way, but what harm if these extension lectures be made over to the Bengalis for their very own? Let those who come to the feast of learning by special invitation be given seats inside but allow at least those who have flocked in at the good news to be served in the outskirts. Let the English table be reserved for the insiders. The outsiders will make good use of their own plantain leaves. If you persist in making the porters chuck them out, will that not mar the festivity? Will not their curses be heard in heaven?

If like the sacred confluence of the Ganga and the Jamuna, the university becomes the meeting place of two streams of learning through English and Bengali then will it become a veritable place of pilgrimage for all the students of Bengal. And though the dark and pale waters of these two different streams may continue to be distinguished separately they will nevertheless flow on together making the culture of the country wider, deeper and truer.

If there is only one street in a town it is bound to become over-crowded. And so in town-improvement schemes new streets are provided. My proposal of adding a second main thoroughfare to our university culture will likewise have the effect of preventing the overcrowding of the old road, now complained of.

So far as my own experience of teaching goes a considerable proportion of pupils are naturally deficient in the power of learning languages. Such may find it barely possible to matriculate with an insufficient understanding of the English language, but in the higher stages disaster is inevitable. There are moreover, other reasons also why English cannot be mastered by a large majority of

Bengali boys. First of all that language is naturally a hard nut to crack for those whose mother tongue is Bengali. For them it is as much of a feat as fitting an English sword into the scabbard of a scimitar. Then again very few boys have the means of getting anything like a proper grounding in English at the hands of a competent teacher—the sons of the poor certainly have not.

So like Hanuman who not knowing which herb might be wanted, had to carry away the whole mountain top these boys, unable to use the language intelligently, have to carry in their heads the whole of the book by rote. Those who have extraordinary memories may thus manage to carry on to the end but this cannot be expected of the poor fellows with only average brain power. These can neither get through the closed doors of the language barrier nor have they any means of escape by jumping over it.

The point is the crime committed by this large number of boys who owing to congenital or accidental causes have been unable to become proficient in the English language so heinous that they must be sentenced to perpetual exile by the University. In England at one time thieves used to get hanged. But this penal code is even harsher because the extreme penalty is imposed for *not* being able to cheat! For if it be cheating to take a book into the examination hall hidden in one's clothes why not when the whole of its contents is smuggled in within the head?

However I do not wish to lay any charge against those fortunate crammers who manage to get across. But those who are left behind to whom the Hooghly Bridge is closed may they not have some kind of ferry boat—if not a steam launch, at least a country boat? What a terrible waste of national material to cut off all higher educational facilities from the thousands of pupils who have no gift for acquiring a foreign tongue but who possess the intellect and desire to learn.

So my proposal is to have a bifurcation of the language media beginning from the preparatory class before matriculation so that each may choose the portal through which he would enter into his university course. This as I have said would not only tend to lessen the crowding along the old course but also make for a much wider spread of higher education.

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I know very well that the English course will nevertheless attract by far the larger number of students, and it will take a long time for the adjustment of normal values between the two. The imperial language has more glamour, and so may continue to have a higher value both in the business as well as in the marriage market. Be it so. The mother tongue can put up with neglect, but not with futility. Let the rich man's child fatten at the wet nurse's breast, but do not deprive the poor man's child of its mother's milk.

Having borne in my time the brunt of many an onslaught I try to be very circumspect now-a-days in what I say. But the force of habit is too strong and truth will out at the end. I congratulated myself on having begun very cunningly indeed, with only a plea for a foothold in the fringe area. I felt like goody goody Gopal of our Bengali primer who used to eat only what was given to him. This proposal our university authorities might have rejected, but they would not have felt offended. But in spite of his exemplary manners even Gopal cannot help raising his voice as his hunger increases. And my demand on behalf of our language has also grown somewhat big. The result is sure to be fatal both for the proposal and its author. However that is nothing new. In this country of high infant mortality a hundred and twenty five per cent of proposals die in their infancy. But so injured am I to fatal blows that I have ceased to believe in their fatality.

I know what the counter argument will be. "You want to give high education in Bengali but where are the text books in that language?" I am aware that there are none. But unless high education is given in the language how are text books to come into existence? They are not ornamental plants cultivated by *dilettanti* for aesthetic reasons, nor are they weeds which encumber the ground through sheer exuberance of life. If higher education has to await text books, then may trees as well await their foliage, and the river its banks.

If it be a deficiency to be regretted that there are no text books for high education

Bengali then I repeat, to make this language the vehicle for such education is the only way to remove it. The Bangiya Shiksha Parishad (Bengal Academy of

Education), for some time has been laying

the foundation for text books by and coining technical terms suited different branches of learning. We hear complaints that its work is slow,—the wonder is, rather, that it does any work at all. Where is the incentive? Where is the scope for the use of these technical terms? We cannot very well expect a mint to go on working if the coins are refused circulation. If ever the University opens up a road to education through Bengali, then will come the Parishad's opportunity.

But it is ever so much more to be regretted that, whereas we have the means and the materials for a veritable feast of education in our own language, we have no place for it. We have our Jagadish Bose, our Prafulla Roy, our Brajendra Seal, our Mahamahopadhyaya Shastri, and a host of other Bengalis of the same calibre, both prominent as well as retiring. And yet are we never to be able to assuage the intellectual hunger of those who know only Bengali? Are such students only to have the privilege of being proud of these fellow countrymen of theirs, but never to be allowed to make use of them? The hospitality of our University makes it possible for foreigners to come across the seas to sit at their feet, but the Bengali student, who knows only his mother tongue, is not to be deemed worthy to have a place by their side!

In Germany, France, America and Japan, modern Universities have sprung up of which the object is to nurture the mind of man. They are forces which are creating their country, by developing the intellect and character of the people. Such creative work cannot be done through the medium of a foreign language. Nothing makes our education here more futile than that the knowledge we gain does not enrich our language, and that being left forever outside the highest thought the growth of our mother tongue fails to keep pace with the growth of our minds.

The result of this state of things has been that though we have been enjoying high education we have not been thinking high thoughts. Like our academic costume the academic language of our education is cast aside as soon as we are back home from college and all that we have gathered there is left in its pockets as it hangs on the peg. Then we gossip and talk scandal, ply at making and unmaking kings,

slate and plagiarise and publish cowardly trash in wretched rags of newspapers—all in the vernacular

I do not deny that in spite of this our literature has made some progress but none the less does it betray many a sign of starvation. Like a dyspeptic who may eat a large quantity but remains emaciated, our literature has not been able to assimilate the bulk of what we have learnt. What we imbibe does not increase our vital force, for we do not taste it with our tongues, what goes down our gullets only loads our stomachs, but fails to nourish our bodies.

Our University is modelled on the University of London—that is to say it is only a huge dr- stamping machine. Its object is not to make men but to hall mark them. It assists the business world to ascertain market values. We have thus become accustomed to be satisfied with receiving the impress of the pattern without troubling ourselves as to what has been learnt in the process. This has been all the easier for us because our manners and customs have all along blindly followed ready made patterns, and we have ceased to be able to realise that any better forms can be evolved than those cast in the pristine moulds which we have apotheosized.

So it seems to me that though this proposal of mine may not meet with the approval of the average Bengali guardian, its adoption will have an advantage even greater than that of catering for boys unable to pass through the meshes of the English course,—and that is the freedom it will give to growth along natural lines. Its very absence of market value will effectually release it from all servitude to market conditions. And for this reason it may come to pass that many who are compelled to take up the English course for gain, will also be tempted to avail themselves of the other for love. For it is certain that in a very short time the lecturers in the mother tongue will begin to express the whole of their true genius and those who are now occupied only with raising the dust of synonyms and annotations in the process of explaining the English text will then be able to scatter vivifying ideas over their famishing country.

There was a day when the English educated Bengali in the pride of his new acquisition looked down on the Bengali

language. Nevertheless, in some mysterious fashion, the seed of our literature sprouted from within the very heart of Bengal. In the beginning it was still easy to sneer at its tiny, frail shoot. But a living thing, however small, is not to be kept down by obloquy. Today it has reared its head so high that it can smile at the essays in English composition of these same English educated Bengalis. To this result no patronage of the ruling powers contributed, rather it was in spite of being ignored by them—no small drawback for a dependent people—that it flourished in the joy of its own life till it achieved world recognition.

As I have said it is hardly possible to change the machinery of our existing University with the means at our disposal. The reason is two-fold. Firstly this machinery is designed for a particular purpose and it cannot be made to serve a different purpose without radical alteration from top to bottom. Secondly our form worshippers have become so enamoured of its particular form that whether they found National Councils of Education, or Hindu Universities, they cannot get rid of the pattern it has indelibly imposed on their minds.

So the only way of improving it is to ask for a little space to plant beside its machine house a living thing. Then with out fuss or argument will the latter one day raise its head and overshadow its unsightly neighbour with a wealth of foliage and bloom. And while the education mill is noisily grinding out its bales for the market, the living tree by its side will give fruit and shade to the country and shelter among its numerous branches to any number of singing birds.

But why do I at all plead for any kind of compromise with the lumbering old machine? Let it be relegated to a place among our Law Courts and Offices, Police stations, Gaols and Asylums, and other paraphernalia of civilisation. If our country wants fruit and shade, let it come off brick and mortar erections down to the soil. Why cannot we boldly avow that we shall nurture our own university with our own life force, as naturally as the pupils used to gather round the teachers in the forest retreats of the Vedic age or at Nalanda or Taxila during the Buddhist era, or as they gather even now, in



day of our downfall, in our *tols* and *chatuspathis*?

The first step towards creation is to desire. Can it be that there are no stirrings of such desire in our country, to-day? Cannot the desire to give of those who are wise, who are learned, who are studying, making researches, meditating, find its counterpart in the desire to receive of those who would learn, and mingling therewith—as clouds mingle with the as-

cending vapours to descend in *torri* showers—melt into their mother tongue to flood the motherland with water for the thirsty and food for the hungry?

These last words of mine are not practical, they merely express an idea. But upto now practical propositions have only resulted in patchwork, ideas alone have created.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TACOR

### BRITAIN'S FIRST 'BABY WEEK'

**B** RITAIN dedicated the first seven days of July to the consideration of the means that can be employed to cut down the rate of infant mortality and to give children opportunities to grow into healthy, useful, and happy men and women. Throughout that week I could not put out of my mind the thought that a much higher percentage of babies die in India than in Britain, and that those who live have far poorer opportunity before them than do the children of Britain: yet no Baby-Week has ever been held in India to stimulate efforts for baby welfare. Perhaps an account of the attempt made in this country may lead to practical results in India.

The idea of focussing the national attention upon baby welfare for a whole week came from the United States of America—the land of my birth. The first Baby Week was held there last year through the combined efforts of the women's clubs that are dotted all over the country and have a membership of over 1,000,000 women, and the Children's Bureau maintained by the national government at Washington, D. C., of which Miss Julia C. Lathrop—an Illinois woman—is the chief. The experiment proved so successful that it was repeated in America a few months ago, and proved once again a great success.

The British do not always welcome innovations with extended arms—especially innovations that originate in the United States of America. But a devastating war has been going on for well nigh three years,

and thoughtful persons realize that the one practical way to repair the wreckage of war is to save the babies. That made the British receptive of this American idea.

Could the British have saved, since the hostilities began, the babies that died at or before birth and those that died during their first year the nation would have more than recouped the losses that it has suffered in manhood at all the fronts. Adding together the pre-natal and post-natal deaths Britain is losing 4,000 babies under one year of age every week, or 208,000 every year. The death casualties of soldiers have not been higher.

In some towns the rate of infant mortality is scandalously high. Ince in Malesfield with 285 deaths out of 1,000 infants under five years of age in 1915-16 being the worst offender. All the large and small industrial towns, where the adults are poor and ignorant, and many of the mothers have to go to work every day, leaving their children to get along as best they may in a creche or under the care of an older child or an old woman, have a shocking death rate of infants. Burnley lost 257, Wigan 251, Liverpool 235, Manchester 214, and Nottingham 206 babies under five years of age out of every thousand in 1915-16. There were 40 towns where from 208 to 288 babies per 1,000 died in that year. One of these towns by an irony of fate was named Rhondda.

British medical authorities have crying themselves hoarse to make

people realise that at least one half of such mortality could be prevented. Sir Arthur Newsholme the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, in his report on *Child Mortality at Ages 0-5 in England and Wales*, wrote

In the four years 1911-14 the deaths of 2 036 460 persons were registered in England and Wales. Of this number 575 078 or 28.2 per cent occurred during the first five years after birth. There is no complete record of all the deaths occurring *in utero* though since September 1st 1915 all stillbirths occurring after the twenty-eighth week of pregnancy have been made compulsorily notifiable. Those amount to about 3 per cent of the total live births. It is not unlikely that the total intra uterine deaths during the entire period of pregnancy are four times that number, and are equal to the total deaths in the first year of life.

Commenting on these figures, in another place, he writes

In every area a very high proportion of the present total mortality can be obviated if it is well within the range of administrative action to reduce child mortality within the next few years to one-half its present amount.

Statements like this failed to make an impression upon the people. Babies continued to be the subjects of jests from the stage. Some time ago, for instance, I saw a farce called "Baby Mine" at a London theatre, in which the fun, throughout the play, centred around a baby, and the heroine of the play spoke of babies as nasty little brats, and said that they ought to have some insect powder sprinkled over them to kill them off, just as you get rid of vermin. And the people laughed uproariously at the rude joke! In another play, "The Amazons", the widow of a nobleman who had been famed as a hunter and who, herself, loved to ride to the hounds above everything else, told us that after each of her three children was born, and proved to be a girl, her husband had come to her bedside and said disgustedly, "Humph!" A whole season wasted for that!

The organization of the Baby Week showed how the British mind has changed since the hostilities began in August, 1914, three brief years ago.

The Baby Week was organized by a Council that was formed in March last by nearly 90 societies interested in one form or another of child welfare. The Prime Minister readily consented to become Patron of the organization. Lord Rhonda at that time Press Chairman of the Local Government Board, accepted the

Chairmanship. Many distinguished persons gave their support to the movement. Among them I may mention the Duchess of Marlborough, who is an American—the daughter of W. K. Vanderbilt, the American millionaire—and who has brought to Britain high ideals, great energy, and millions of dollars all of which she is devoting to bettering the conditions in the country of her adoption.

The moving spirit of the Baby Week movement in Britain was Mrs. H. B. Irving, wife of the great actor, a woman who, for years has devoted her time and talents to the study of sociological conditions, and who has taken a leading part in many philanthropic propagandas. Her exertions were primarily responsible for the organization of the Baby Week Council. She went about the country, from town to town, explaining that the organisers of the Baby Week meant to make it impossible for a man or woman to be in England during the first week of July and remain utterly ignorant of the needs of infancy and motherhood. She wrote a sketch depicting motherhood conditions, and interested the Transatlantic Film Company to produce it, and acted as one of the principal characters of that moving picture play.

This film was shown all over the country, and I trust that it will be imported into India, and that Indian mothers will have the opportunity to see it. Here is a summary of the plot.

The play centres around the courtship and marriage, before the war, of a factory girl and a railway porter. The young wife is shown suffering the ordinary hardships that are the lot of people in her station of life. She has to carry pails of water up many flights of stairs. She lives in a single room that has no comforts or conveniences. She and her husband quarrel over her bad housekeeping—for factory girls are notoriously poor housewives. She turns for comfort to a neighbour, who throws in her way the temptation to drink. When she returns home, the worse for drink, her husband smells liquor on her breath, the two have a bitter quarrel. She throws a jug at her husband when he strikes her. While the quarrel is going on, and neighbours are listening to it, the health visitor—this is the part that Mrs. Irving plays—comes on the scene and brings about a reconciliation between the two.

Then the war breaks out. The man answers his country's call. The young wife is left alone, and soon gives birth to a baby. The health visitor again appears on the scene and takes her to a school of mothers. The girl, who is as ignorant of mothercraft as she is of housekeeping, quickly becomes interested in the work that is being carried on at the baby welfare centre, and watches with delight the babies being weighed, the making of baby clothes and the little ones it play. Then the mother is shown in her home, washing and dressing the baby. The father comes home to see the child who has been born during his absence, and proudly takes the baby into his arms.

In another scene the neighbour who has tempted the girl to drink is shown "overlying" her baby while she is drunk. The inquest follows.

Then the National Council of Baby Week is shown with Mrs Lloyd George in the Chair. The wife of the Prime Minister declares according to the caption that appears along with this scene "What we want is the mobilization of motherhood." Immediately afterwards we see the young couple after the war, living in a home that their grateful country has built for them where there is plenty of fresh air and all out-doors for the baby to grow and play in. The mother is provided with many labour saving devices and is shown as a happy, efficient housewife—and all through the advice and assistance of the health visitor who happened to arrive at the psychological moment and lift her out of the conditions in which she would have been sure to come to grief and that would more than likely, have killed her child and estranged her from her husband.

It was proposed to hold processions during the Baby Week. A meeting attended by the Mayorsesses of various London Boroughs was held at the end of May at Sanderland House to invite suggestions. Mrs Irving thought that London might be divided into six parts or groups of Boroughs to form processions on the different days of the Baby Week. The poster that had been designed for Baby Week, showing a little child clinging to the skirts of Britannia for protection from an evil demon that was pursuing it would be carried as a banner. There was also to be a big Empire section which would include representatives of India, Australia,

New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. Britannia, as the mother of them all, was to ride in a triumphal car, and to be surrounded by babies and children from the various Boroughs. Mothers were to walk in the processions.

The Council eventually decided that it would be wise to abandon the idea of holding those processions in view of the daylight air raids that began in June, and in which many babies were killed and many more wounded. This decision deprived the Baby Week of a sure attraction.

A novel scheme was adopted in Lincoln to create interest in the Week. Arrangements were made there to distribute literature bearing on the subject of baby-saving by means of aeroplanes.

A scheme of giving prizes was organized. Some of the prizes were to be given locally while others were to be offered in connection with national mothercraft competitions in which groups of mothers representing various child welfare centres were to contend for the honour of their respective schools. The Centre securing that honour was to hold the Association of Infant Welfare Challenge Shield for the ensuing year. The St Pancras School, the Fulham School, and the Bristol School for Mothers have won this silver shield in years gone by.

The organisers of the movement arranged with men and women who had specialised in baby culture to deliver lectures in London and elsewhere during the Baby Week and to hold a series of conferences. Arrangements were made for the organization in London of a grand Exhibition showing exhibits of all kinds that would be useful to mothers and children, and to others interested in child welfare, and for the organization of hundreds of model nurseries in various parts of the Capital of the Empire and in provincial centres.

The National Council appealed to the nation for a fund of Rs 375,000 to carry on its propaganda. The public responded generously.

A Matinee was given at His Majesty's Theatre in the middle of May to obtain funds in aid of the Women's League of Service. It was attended by Queen Alexandra, Princess Mary, and Princess Victoria. A number of well-known people received Queen Alexandra, who was

interested in the performance, in which most of the favourite actors and actresses of to day took part. The Matinee resulted in bringing in a considerable sum of money for the propaganda in behalf of children.

The Baby-Week opened on Sunday, July 1. The Council had requested clergymen all over the British Isles to dedicate that day to the children, of whom the Christ spoke; "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Many clergymen are tired of being dictated to as to what they shall and shall not preach. One sympathises with them, for already many Sundays have been ear marked for various objects, and this process shows no sign of coming to an end. But I do not know of any preacher who did not realise, on the first day of July, the necessity and importance of exhorting his congregation to interest themselves in child-welfare.

I will say this much in praise of the British clergy: many of them went beyond the intention of the promoters of the Baby-Week. That week was to be devoted to a propaganda to save babies from death, before, at, and after their birth, in itself a laudable object, requiring manysided effort, but left alone the subject of the declining birth rate. Many of the clergymen did not hesitate to refer to that delicate but important topic. They pointed out that while the campaign to save the babies meant much to the nation, it was not, in itself sufficient. They contended that rich and poor alike were shirking the responsibilities of parenthood, often, though not always, through motives of self-indulgence. They pleaded that such selfishness was unrighteous and detrimental to national well being, and must cease.

The statistics issued by the Registrar-General show that the clergymen were quite justified in the charges that they made. His last report on births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales, issued in April last, showed that while the marriage rate in 1915 was the highest, the birth rate was the lowest on record. The marriage rate was 19.5 per 1,000 persons, an increase of 3.6 above the rate in 1914. The birth rate had declined to 22 per 1,000, was 1.8 below that rate in 1914, and 3.5 below the average for the preceding decennium.

The provisional figures for 1916 given by this report show that the marriage boom resulting from the war is passing, and that, in that respect, the people are going back to the pre-war conditions. As if this was not depressing enough, the provincial rate for births for the last year showed a further decline. It was 21.6 instead of 22 per 1,000.

In this circumstance, it was quite wise of the clergy to call attention to the declining birth rate, though that was no part of the Baby-Week campaign. Many thinkers also called attention to this fact, and to the causes that contributed to it, in the columns of the newspapers.

The sermon preached by Canon Gamble at Westminster Abbey, on Baby Sunday, was typical of those preached from other pulpits. According to the *Times*, summary, he said:

"It was on the children that the future of the nation rested. The national peril was one of depopulation. The presence of the women in war factories and the absence of the fathers accounted for it. In the professional classes 50 babies died in infancy out of every 1,000. In the artisan classes the figure was 150. What was the cause? Simply the surroundings in which they dwelt. A woman had written to him saying 'When you are preaching on Sunday don't forget to preach justice and righteousness. Most of our babies are being slowly starved at the hands of the profiteer. Our children would look as well as yours if only we had our rights. While our husbands are being murdered in France we are being starved here. I waited with my little children three hours to get sugar yesterday and at the end I was only allowed half a pound.' When would all that curse end? Asked Canon Gamble. It was not the will of God, but was due to the folly and ignorance of man and the callousness and apathy of society. He hoped the hearts and consciences of the people would be roused during the week to the need of saving the lives of the children. It was a problem for Church and State."

On July 2, the Lord Mayor presided at a great meeting held in the Guildhall. The following message sent by the Queen was read:

"The Queen desires me to express her Majesty's deep interest in the meeting at the Guildhall in connection with the National Baby-Week. The welfare of the children of this country lies very near to the Queen's heart, and it is Her Majesty's profound hope that everything possible may be done to safeguard their health and promote their happiness. The Queen wishes God speed to this national effort to save the children."

Lord Rhonda was the principal speaker at this meeting. As became the former President of the Local Government Board, he stated that that Department had done

now—well, he sighed a little to himself and thought that a woman like this might have made his lonely life happier.

"Give me that cheque back," he said.

And when Gladys handed it to him wonderingly he tore it up. Then he sat down and wrote out another one.

"I've made it a hundred," he said, handing her the fresh cheque. "Your play will earn it."

"Oh, oh," said Gladys, "you are kind, you are kind! I wonder why? I wonder—"

"No, no, I'm not!" said Hamborough. "Take your cheque and send your husband away. And, I say, if you happen to know another woman like yourself, I would be glad if you'd introduce me."

"I—I don't quite understand, Mr. Hamborough?"

"No? Well, never mind! Good night and good luck."

The manager sat still for a moment thoughtfully after he had closed his desk.

"No," he said to himself, business instinct oozing out, "I don't think I gave a bigger advance of fees than was necessary. I think the play will earn it. And any way"—he took up his hat and jammed it on his head—"if it doesn't, I don't care."

## CHAPTER XVIII OLD CLAMPIN'S WILL A STRANGE CASE

### GLADYS RAYMES

The words stared at Gladys as one morning, a month after Harry had been, as he expressed it, shipped off to the Riviera, she stood outside the stage door of the Pandora Theatre, looking at a yellow bill on the hoarding close by, on which in black letters was printed the title of her piece and her own name.

Her one-act play was now in rehearsal, it was to be produced the following week, and Gladys had the delight of seeing her name blazoned forth to the public as an authoress.

She could hardly believe her eyes at first it seemed so incredible, but yet there it was "A Strange Case," by Gladys Raymes.

It was the last week of the turn in which she was appearing, and photographs of her as the show girl had appeared in various illustrated papers with letterpress announcing that this was Miss Gladys Tremayne, known in real life as Mrs.

Harry Raymes, the authoress of the one act play which was to be in the following week at the Pandora. The "For interesting story connected with lady see page 7."

So, after all, Mr. Hamborough achieved his desire. He got the story of the introduction of Gladys to him by Ted Martin into the papers.

And then came the first night of "A Strange Case." Mr. Hamborough had offered Gladys a box so that she could be present at the first performance, but she had preferred to take circle seats instead, as Ted and Meg had absolutely refused to go in a box, and Gladys had insisted that they should be present.

"The likes of us in a box, indeed!" said Meg. "Why people 'ud laugh at us instead of them on the stage. No, we'll go up into the gallery, Ted and me."

"That you won't! You'll come into the circle with me!" said Gladys, who eventually had her own way.

And there they sat, the three of them, and watched the little one act play, which was quite warmly received at the fall of the curtain. It was not an epoch marking event to the world in general, it was indeed of trifling importance in the theatrical world, but to Gladys that night was one of the grandest in her life. And in her bag she carried a telegram which had come from Harry—

"Am thinking of you to night and sending the love of my heart to you."

And when the applause which denoted that "A Strange Case" had scored a success had subsided, Gladys read the telegram once more, and in fancy projected her mental self over the sea to tell Harry that she had done well.

"I suppose there'll be a lot of bits in the papers about it to-morrow," said Meg. "They always write about these new pieces, don't they?"

But the next morning only one paper, alas, had a small paragraph about the little play, new one act sketches are not accorded very much space, if any, and Gladys was just a little bit disappointed.

Like all young dramatists and aspiring authors, she bought all the daily papers to see if there were any notices of her work, and once more she was going through them column by column, after having sent off telegram to Harry telling him of her success, when Charlie entered from the

and told her that a gentleman was waiting to see her.

"A gentleman to see me? Who can he be, I wonder? What is he like, Charlie?"

"Oh, I don't know! He looks all right, mum. A bit old, but he's a gentleman."

A well-dressed man of about sixty was shown into the sitting-room. He plunged into business at once by handing Gladys a card.

"Perhaps my name is familiar to you, Mrs. Raymes?" he said.

"I'm sorry, but I'm afraid not," answered Gladys. "Mr. Cramer? Mr. Cramer?" Gladys repeated looking at the card. And then suddenly she recollected.

"Oh yes, I remember your name now!" she said. "Why, it was one of the last things poor old Mr. Claymer said. 'Cramer! Don't forget Cramer!' I've often wondered what he meant."

"Well, I was Mr. Claymer's solicitor," explained the visitor, "and I've no doubt he wanted to tell you to come and see me. I didn't know he was dead until I had a letter from his bank, to which I had to pay in his money, saying that they had sent communications to him here which had been returned to them by a young lady who said that the old gentleman was dead."

"Yes, yes, that's quite right," said Gladys. "I saw the name of the bank on the outside of the envelope, so I took it back and told them that the poor old man had gone."

"Yes, he was an eccentric old man, and he used to do his business in a very funny way. He had had a banking account for years but had never used it; he just simply got me to look after his funds and pay the money in. He lived on what he made out of his shop, and all the rest he put by. I suppose it never occurred to you, Mrs. Raymes, that he was quite well off?"

"Oh dear no! I always thought he was exceedingly poor, and I used to feel sorry for him, for he was so old and he had to go on working."

"Yes, he was a strange old man. D'you know he hadn't a soul in the world who cared for him, no relation, no friend till you came? Oh, he told me all about you, Mrs. Raymes, the last time I saw him, when he came to me to alter his will. You had really touched his heart, I could see that; the old man was genuinely fond of you."

"Yes, and I liked him too. He was very

kind to me, and he was kind to lots of other people too, I found that out."

"Well, I must tell you now that you benefit under his will. Before you came to him he had left all his money to any next-of-kin he might have. He said he didn't know whether he had any next-of-kin, but that somebody could have some fun fighting over his money, and there would be pickings for me out of it in the way of expenses and charges. A quaint old person he was. I tried to persuade him against such a foolish proceeding, but he was obstinate until the day—I suppose it was really almost the last time he ever went out—that he came to me and made a proper will. D'you know what he was worth, Mrs. Raymes? Oh no, of course you don't! Well, he was worth nearly a hundred and fifty thousand pounds."

"A hundred and fifty thousand pounds! Oh, impossible! How could he have been?"

"Well, he was. He had always been very saving; the shop had been very prosperous at one time; he was a shrewd man, and he had speculated very heavily and cleverly in property, in house property. Anyway, he has left a hundred and fifty thousand pounds behind him, and he left it—no, not to you, Mrs. Raymes, though you'll benefit—he left it to a charity of which he hoped you would approve, and in which you were to be interested. The money was to be expended in the building of a hostel, or cheap hotel, for women; it was to be especially meant for those women who, like yourself, Mrs. Raymes—he told me all about you—had no homes, no friends, no relations, with whom fortune was going badly. The prices were to be cheap; it didn't matter if the hostel were to lose money, for that would be provided for by his funds. There was one stipulation in connection with it, and that was that the home should be managed by you, and your salary was to be provided for out of the fund, five hundred a year for life. He told me privately, Mrs. Raymes—I am not betraying his confidence in telling you this now—that you had pride, pride which he admired; you only liked money which you had earned. 'Confound the girl,' he said to me, 'if I left her five hundred a year for herself I believe she'd turn up her nose at it and feel offended, but make her work for it and then she won't mind. Poor old Mr. Claymer! He had been my client since—well, almost ever since I was a young man

and I knew his good points. You'll come to my office and talk things over with me, won't you? I shall take steps at once to prove the will now that I know the poor old man is really dead."

Five hundred a year for life! Old Mr. Claymer worth a hundred and fifty thousand pounds! Long after the solicitor had left, Gladys sat thinking over the strangeness of things. Five hundred a year for life, and she would earn it by working for it. And what congenial work it would be, too. She would be so suited for it after what she herself had gone through, she who had known what it was to be poor, she would have sympathy. Oh yes, she would make that hostel a very heaven of home. And five hundred a year for life! Why, she and Harry would be rich, quite rich. She would write other plays, long ones, she would write some more stories—for weekly she was still earning money by her pen.

"I am glad to hear of the strange old gentleman's will," Harry wrote, when Gladys had sent him the news. "because it means that you are provided for life. But what a helpless sort of fellow I am! I am getting better I think, but when I am quite well what can I do? But there, I won't make you unhappy by grumbling. I am counting the hours till you are with me again. Only three more days, only three more days, I keep on saying to myself."

And in three days' time Gladys was with her husband once more in the little health-giving town on the Riviera. She had come away satisfied that her little play was in for a long run in London, and that it would afterwards be sent round the provincial music halls, she had seen Mr. Cramer, and had ascertained that as soon as the will was proved there would be a tremendous lot of work for her to undertake for she was to have the entire management of the hostel, all plans were to be submitted to her, and her word was to be final.

And when the ecstasy of meeting again was over, when the almost fierce happiness of reunion had settled down into quiet content, then Gladys talked with Harry over the future.

"I shall have to be your clerk of the works or something darling," said Harry, rather ruefully. "I think I ought to be worth five pounds a week to you. I know how to handle men though that's about all I do know, and you bet I'd have that hostel built within contract time."

"You shall help, old boy," said Gladys, looking at him fondly. "How brown well you look! I've told you that before, haven't I? Let me see now, the doctor says that in about another four months you might perhaps be allowed to come back home. Do you think I can live with you all that time? Because I must go back, you know, for there'll be such a lot of work to do with Mr. Cramer. Oh, here's the post! I left word at the Pandora stage door that if any letters containing magnificent offers of future work came to the authoress of 'A Strange Case' they were to be forwarded to me here. Ah! hem! that is how we put on side, Harry boy. Why, I was only joking, and actually here is one sent on from the Pandora! I wonder who on earth it can be from? Oh! oh! Harry, look, listen, read, whatever you like! It's from Lord Guardene! He saw my name and portrait quite by chance in an American illustrated paper, headed 'Romantic Story of an English Stage Beauty.' He's enclosed the cutting. He had to run over there on business, he says. I wonder what business scatter-brain Lord Guardene can have? He says when he came to the hotel again to find you, you had gone, and he hunted every where for you but he couldn't find you. He says he recognised the portrait at once, and when he says when he saw the name Gladys Raymes he was certain that we had been married. He is just simply dying to know everything and he will be in London almost as soon as this letter. Oh, you shall read it yourself, Harry. How nice to hear from that dear boy again!"

"Well, we'll send him a wire telling him where we are, and he'll be over here like a shot, I know," said Harry. "Poor old Jack, he'll be wild to think that we didn't apply to him for help but we just couldn't. Could we old lady? It was much better to fight it through ourselves, at least." Harry's smile fell away and he looked little glum, "you fought it through, you've been the one who's changed." "I suppose I shall always be a log a drag on you for ever."

"Oh, Harry dear, please, please! I speak like that! Gladys's eyes filled with tears. "We're only getting back to same old subject again, and you know it hurts me to discuss it. Now, send the wire."

In a few days Lord Guardene

himself into the little sitting room which Harry and Gladys occupied at the pension.

'Now, now, now, wait, wait, wait!' he gasped breathlessly. 'Just wait till I collect myself. I'm angry with you, wild with you, furious with you, but all the same I'm glad to see you. Oh, I am glad! I've simply torn over here, breathing threats of all sorts of things, and now you're—you're married, both of you, and Miss Tremayne that was is now Mrs. Raymes, the celebrated authoress and stage beauty. Good gracious me, I've been nearly off my head about it ever since I picked up that paper in the smoke room of the hotel in New York. And you you scoundrel, where have you been hiding yourself all this time? Oh, I've a lot to scold you

about! I say, Miss Tremayne—beg pardon, Mrs. Raymes, but it seems so strange to call you that—I haven't given you my congratulations yet, not only on your fame but on your marriage.'

Lord Guerdene, having delivered himself of his breathless words, sank into a chair and puffed.

'Just the same giddy old ass as ever!'

And Harry. 'But, joking apart, I am glad to see you Jack. Strange, isn't it, that my wife's fame should have been the means of your finding us out. But I was going to write to you, Jack, I was really, for I want a job. I'm not going to let my wife do all the work. I shall have to be your private secretary or something.'

(To be concluded)

## THE USE OF THE PARADOX IN LITERATURE

AT every moment of our life we feel the necessity of condensing the accumulated results of our experience into short, pithy sentences. Such sentences serve the double purpose of economising time and of presenting great truths in a form in which they can be handled easily. This is the origin of aphorisms and proverbs which have grown with the growth of human civilisation. Paradoxes are a certain class of aphorisms in which a truth is illustrated by way of contrast, by riveting attention upon its aspect of opposition to the generally accepted beliefs and traditions, and thus making a call upon our powers of reconciling contradiction and overcoming opposition. It is in the call which it makes upon our logical powers that the paradox, as a literary device, has its value. The severe strain which it puts upon our mental faculties fixes it permanently in our memory. Paradoxes thus serve to add an additional impressiveness to truths by presenting them in their aspect of opposition to accepted facts. The reader accustomed to the orthodox ways of thinking is startled to find his views rudely shaken by a striking paradox and is roused from comparative dulness into taking an active interest.

But the root of the paradox lies deeper

It is through contradiction, through opposition, that truth reveals itself. All positive truths are only half truths. It is not until they are brought face to face with their opposites and their insular character, so to speak, in this way removed, that they become complete truths. The remedy of a half truth, then, is its opposite truth. The paradox is just this opposite truth serving to correct the onesided character of our so-called positive truths. When we remember what a great proportion of the truths by which our lives are regulated are half truths, we realise the value of paradoxes, as showing us one side of the truth which is generally hidden from our view. John Stuart Mill in his *Essay on Liberty* says that "since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied." The function of a paradox is to introduce this "adverse opinion", by collision with which the whole truth comes out. What more effective way, for instance of bringing home to us the value of leisure can be thought of, than Chaudé Tullier's paradox, "The time that is best employed is the time that is lost"? Or again, what better way of showing the absurdity of always stick-



Goethe 'Age does not make us childish as people say it only finds us still true children. What a contrast does it present! There is nothing flashy in it, no suggestion of the sparkling truth and yet we are slowly and imperceptibly led on to a new truth which strikes us at once as more noble and more rich than the traditional opinion. The same is true of the following from a French writer who flourished in the eighteenth century which depicts in a lucid manner the eternal tragedy of the world the tragedy of love sickening and changing into its opposite 'No man who at forty is not a misanthrope has ever loved mankind

To conclude the task of the paradox is to present the dialectical aspect of truth. It is to exhibit that side of truth which we in the blindness of discovery and achievements are too apt to ignore. But it must never thrust this aspect of truth upon an unwilling world, it must never seem to

force an unfamiliar truth into acceptance by physical violence. It must patiently watch the slow process of filtration of a new idea, its gradual distillation, so to speak through the mass of preconceived notions and prejudices which form the heritage of mankind, and rest content with having started this process. It should always be remembered that if the paradox is a protest against the traditional views of life it is mainly a protest against its restless activity, its mad race for a little more space under the sun. It is therefore a fatal error to look in the paradox for any brilliant effect. Paradox accepts the view of Benson that 'life is no longer a race where I wish to get ahead of others it is a pilgrimage in which we are all bound. There is no sense of stirring adventure, of exaltation about it—it is just an infinite untroubled calm

MANJANATH GHATAK

## THE 'ROYAL PRIEST'

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW M.A. B.L. PREMCHAND ROACHAND SCHOLAR

## XIV

## VEDIC PERIOD

The royal priest (*purohita*=lit placed in front, appointed) is an important personage from the very earliest times of which we have record.

NAME OF THE PRIEST'S OFFICE, AND CEREMONY  
FOR APPOINTMENT

His office is called *purohita*<sup>2</sup> or *purohita*<sup>2</sup> and his formal installation to this office was celebrated by the performance of a sacrifice named *Brihaspatis'va* mentioned in some of the *Brahmandas*<sup>3</sup>

### SACRIFICIAL PRIESTS' DISTINGUISHED DUTIES

His post should be distinguished from

those of the sacrificial priests (*ritvijah*) whose duties were solely with the performances of the sacrifices. The *purohita* also took part in the sacrifices as *Hotri* the singer of the most important of the songs, and as general supervisor of the whole conduct of the rituals of which particular portions were entrusted to particular *ritvijs* with special names and when later on there was a decline in the importance of the hymns recited by *Hotri* and greatest weight was attached to general supervision and repairing of flaws in sacrifices by the priest's direct exercise of supposed supernatural powers the *purohita* acted in the new capacity of "Brahman" instead of as *Hotri*. In addition to this

1 RV y 60 12 83 4.

later      Mentioned in the Atharva Veda (v 24 1) and

3 Ta t t r i y a B r a h m a n a II 7 : 2      P a n d a v m s a  
B a h r a n a x v    11 4    x x v    I    1    7      C f K a t h a b a  
S a m h t s x x x v    7

There is a difference of opinion between Oldenberg (Religion des Veda 380 ff) and Geldner (Vedische Studien 2 143 ff) as to whether the use of the sacrificial rituals (general supervisor Veda The former is correct according to the V I pp 113 114, and has been followed here (See also V I 118)

sacrificial duty, he was the adviser of the sovereign in all religious matters<sup>1</sup>.

PUROHITA'S PECULIAR DUTIES GIVING HIM INFLUENCE, POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE.

It was spiritual and religious duties that gave him influence over the monarch not only in domestic and religious, but also in all important secular matters including the public and political<sup>2</sup>. It was through these duties that the tie between him and the sovereign was knit tight. Upon him depended, at a certain time of the Vedic period and later on, the propitiation of the gods on king's behalf, for the gods would not accept the offerings otherwise than from his hands<sup>3</sup>. The sacrifice for the monarch was intended to bring about not merely his personal welfare but also indirectly that of his people without whose prosperity no king can be prosperous. Hence, the "prayer for welfare"<sup>4</sup> in sacrifices, though expressly mentioning the priest and the king, refers indirectly to the people also in connexion with the prosperity of their cattle and agriculture. The *purohita* procured the fall of rain for the crops,<sup>5</sup> guarded the kingdom like a 'flaming fire' for which he was called *rashtragopa* ('the protector of the realm'), ensured the king's power over his subjects,<sup>6</sup> and his safety and victory in battle.<sup>7</sup> Divodāsa in trouble was

rescued by Bharadvāja<sup>1</sup>. The *purohita* accompanied the king to battles at times and was not perhaps like the clergy of Mediaeval Europe unprepared to fight<sup>2</sup>, e.g., Visvāmitra<sup>3</sup> seems to have joined Sudāsa's enemies and taken part in the attack of the ten kings against him, while Vasishtha assisted him<sup>4</sup>. An indication of this close relation may also be found in the reproach of king Tryaruna Traidhātya Aikshvāka to his domestic priest Vṛisa jāna when both were out in a chariot, and owing to excessive speed in driving, ran over a Brāhmana boy to death. As Vṛisa held the reins, they accused each other. The Ikshvākus being consulted threw the responsibility on the priest who revived the boy.<sup>5</sup> The good will of the priest and his intermediation with the higher powers were looked upon as essential by the king and the people for the prosperity of the kingdom. The connexion between the *brahmanas* and *kshatriyas* was recognized generally as indispensable to the welfare of both, and the close relation between the monarch and his *purohita* was but an offshoot of that connexion, where amity was more needed than anywhere else.<sup>6</sup>

1 Panchavimsa Brahmana, xv, 3, 7.

2 See RV III 53 12, 13 I, 129, 4, 152, 7, 157, vii 83, 4, x, 38, 103 &c. Ludwig, Transl. of the Rig Veda, 3, 220-226, Geldner, Vedische Studien, 2, 135, n 3.

3 Hopkins J A O S, xv, 260 ff (V I, II, 275).

4 RV, vii, 18 The Bhṛgu appears with the Druhyas perhaps as their priests in the above battle, but this is not certain. See RV, viii, 3, 9, 6, 18, 102, 4, vii 18, 6, ix 101, 13 (Hopkins, J A O S, xv 262 n).

5 Panchavimsa Brahmana, xii, 3 12 In the Tāṇḍaka recension cited in Sayana on RV, v, 2, Grāsadaśyu is given as the king's name. The story with some variations also occurs in other works, e.g., the Brihaddevatā, and Jaiminiya Brāhmana.

6 Taittiriya Samhitā, v, 1, 10, 3, Maitrayani-Samhitā, II, 2, 3, III, 1, 9, 2, 3, iv, 3, 9, Kāthaka-Samhitā, xxix, 10, Vajāsaneyi Samhitā, v, 27, vii, 21, xviii, 14, xxv, 5, xxxviii, 14, &c. Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xi, 11, 9, Aitareya Brāhmana, vii, 22, Satapatha Brāhmana, 1, 2, 1, 7, III, 5, 2, 11, 6, 1, 17, vi, 6, 3, 14. Kshatriya's superiority to all other castes is asserted in the Taittiriya Samhitā II, 5, 10, 1, &c. Brāhmana's superiority to Kshatriya is sometimes asserted, e.g., in the AV, v, 18, 19, Maitrayani Samhitā, iv, 3, 8, Vajāsaneyi Samhitā xxi, 21, Satapatha Brāhmana, xii, 1, 9, 1, 3, 7, 8. The rājasuya sacrifice of the king is inferior, in Ibid v, 1, 12, to the highest sacrifice of the Brāhmana the Vajapeya, and though the priest goes after the king in the ceremony, he is yet stronger (see Ibid., 4, 2, 7, and v, 4, 4, 15). Cf. Hopkins, J A O S, xii, 76 (V I, I, 204).

1 V I, I p 113

2 V I, II, 90 214

3 Aitareya Brāhmana, viii, 24 Zimmer (Altin disches Leben, 193, 196) thinks that at this stage even, the king could not act as his own *purohita*, citing king Visvantara who, according to him, sacrificed without the help of the Syāpṛiṇas (Aitareya Brāhmana, viii 27, Mut's Sanskrit Texts, v, 436-440) and Devapi, who acted as *purohita* for his brother on a particular occasion (RV x 98, 11). The V I, II, 6, 7 opposes this view on the grounds that the text quoted does not say that Visvantara sacrificed without priests, and that Devapi is not regarded as king nor as a Kshatriya and brother of Santanu in the Rig Veda, it is Yaska who in his Nirukta (II, 10) expresses the opinion which there is no reason to suppose as correct.

4 Vajāsaneyi Samhitā, xxii, 21, Taittiriya-Samhitā, vii, 5, 18, Maitrayani Samhitā, iii, 12, 6, Kāthaka Samhitā, v, 5, 14, &c.

5 RV, x, 98

6 Aitareya Brāhmana viii, 24, 25.

7 AV, iii, 19, RV, vii, 18, 13 from which Geldner (Vedische Studien 2, 135, n 3) holds in opposition to Hopkins (J A O S, xv, 263, n) that the priest (Visvāmitra) prayed in 'the house of assembly' (*sabha*) for the victory of his *yajamāna* against Sudāsa while the former was on the battle field. Cf. Asvalayana-Gṛhya Sūtra (S B E.) adhyaya III, Kandikā 12 (especially last two paragraphs) 19, 20.

prais and astrologers requirements of kings & to be performed by them; royal unct on duties to be observed for some days after coronat on &c, &c  
Ibid Vol I MS No CCCXLVI p 196

(3) KOTACHAKRA

It was in the possess on of the late Raja S r Radha Kanta Deva Bahadur Calcutta.

Ground plans of eight kinds of forts and the descriptions. This is apparently a fragment of one of the *Tantras*.

Ibid, Vol II MS No 534 p 8

(4) SAMBASARA

(with commentary) by Ramachandra Attached is a commentary in prose by Sivadasa son of Surya dasa Yati by Valaksha

It has several commentaries enumerated in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* part I p 697 Another name of the manuscript is *Svarodaya* (Ibid)

P.D. Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta

An essay in verse on supernatural means for success in warfare Contents. Calculat ons to be made from the names of the bell gents as to the potency of success (onomancy) The same from those of the day of the week the age of the moon And of the *nakshatra* when war is declared Calculat on from int al letters of names, accents &c of Deo, Deo, from the pos t ons of armies on the d ferents des calculat ons from the d rect ons of the wind (austromancy) Peculiar stellar conjunct ons Times improper for war The snake d agram for calculat ng success in war Calculat ons from the breath Considerat ons about the left and right sides Connexion w th women, Success of embassy by the nature of the breath Success by patt ng on particular drugs Various d agrams for assaults blockade &c Reduct on of forts &c (O n thoman cy) Place of depos t Asiatic Socy Calcutta.

Mitra's Notices Vol II MS No 79 p 204

(5) ASYAMEDHA OR ASYAMEDHA PRAYOGA

Ibid Vol II MS No. 801 p 206

(6) VAJAPEYA PADDHATI

by Lakshma Dēva  
Ibid Vol II MS No 803 p 211

(7) NARAPATIYACHARVA

by Narapat In the possess on of Brahmavrata Samadhyay Dhatri grama Bardhamana

Means both supra tural and physical for securing success in warfare

Ibid Vol III MS. No 1093 p 58

(8) RAJAMUSHANI OR (PRIPABHUSHANI)

See Aufrecht Pt 521 by Kamananda T tha.  
In the possess on of Kal dasa V dyavasa Sants-pura.

A treatise on pol'ty. Contents: The uses of k ngs the importance of Governments punishment the attr butes proper for m nsters Do of k ngs Do of pries Do of Brahmanas, Do of k ngs Do of ambassadors royal robes rules of warfare treaties &c military exped tions d urnal duties of k ngs rules of Government; punishment of pries who fail to perform their duties Jaugurat on of k ngs  
Ibid. Vol III MS No 1207 p 176

(9) RAJAVALSA KAUSTUBHA

The author's name is wanting Comp led under the patronage and orders of King Rajayaba In the possess on of Her schandra, Benares

A treatise on polity A *Raja Kaustubha* is noticed in Buhler, III 281 where too the author's name is not given

A Telugu *Rajavahana jaya* by Ad tyasurya Kavi is described in Taylor's Catalogue II p. 703

Mitra's Notices Vol III MS. No 1222, p. 189

(10) PANCHAKALPA TIKA MULASAMHITA

P D Calcutta Government of Ind a.

A treatise on pol'tical duties as also on moral and other duties. Comp led in Kashmir during the reign and under the auspices of Ranavira Simha.

Ibid Vol IV MS No 1700 p 272

(11) MANASOLLASA

by Bhulokamalla Somesvara of the Chalukya Dynasty

In the possess on of Pandit N tyasanda Misra's Zilla School Bhalagpur

This is a different recast on of the work noticed under No 1215 (vol III p 182) It is deficient in the chapters on arch tecture and conforms more closely to the main object that of supplying miscellaneous collect on of rules and instructions regarding duties of k ngs select on of officers characteristics of different orders classes and profess on duties (mostly d mstr rules) prohib t ons food dress ornament arms games erotics and a variety of other topics regarding which k ng should have a general knowledge Mitra's Notices vol VI MS No 2203 p 265

(12) RAJANITI WAYUKHA,

by Nilakantha Bhatta son of Ramanatha Damodara Nr s mba and grandson of Bhatta Sankara.

P D Bettiya Maharaja Rajendrak sora s mba Bahadur

On kings and their duties Contents The word *Raja* applicable to all kshattriyas coronat on its varieties and rituals, the seven accessories of k ngs (i.e. mun sters &c) the attr butes of k ngs duty of keeping subjects in happiness merits and demerits of ministers royal benefactions royal table aquatic excursions hunt ng, daily duties rules regarding negot at ons war &c. princes the r duties good bad and indifferent m nsters &c pries courtiers &c; royal treasury kingdom defined metropo s fortresses rewards and honours army elephants horses d sputes of k ngs embassies omens encampments n mcal conduct or *casus belli* warfare s n of running away from the battlefield encouragement of heroes chess play

Mitra's Notices vol v MS No 2278 p. 48

(13) RAJANITI

anonymous

P D Calcutta Raja Rajendranarayana Deva Bahadur

A treatise on Government and the duties of k ngs comp led princ pally from the Mahabharata and Ramandakya N t

Mitra's Notices vol VII, MS No 2473 p 229

(14) VIRACHITAMANI or DHANTRYEDA SAMGRAHA

by Sarvagadharā The colophon is so worded that the first name appears to be the name of a comprehensive work of which archery forms a part but the introductory lines leave no room for doubt that the work is complete as it is and that the two names are aliases.

P D Ajmgany Ramchandra Pand t

A treatise on archery and warfare. Contents: Praise of archery; style of holding the bow, rules for presenting the bows, measure of bows; bow-strings, arrows, arrow-heads, tempering and sharpening arrow-heads, iron-shafts, tubes or guns, eight kinds of attitude, five kinds of bows, three kinds of aiming, five kinds of advance, four kinds of target, rules for gymnastic exercises, rules for piercing targets, quick aiming, shooting from great distances, rules of trajectory, missing, computation of direct velocity, quadrangular motion, breaking of arrows, lasso, cutting of wood with arrow, shooting at globular objects, shooting at objects in motion, shooting at objects from their sound (without seeing them), repelling of the missiles of opponents, rules of warfare, division of armies into brigades, &c., marshalling of troops. Mitra's Notices, vol. IX, MS. No. 3084, p. 169.

(15) RAJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA, by Mahadeva. Contents: kings, their characteristics and defects, characteristics of queens, ministers, royal priests and astrologers, requirements of kings rites to be performed by them; royal unction; duties to be observed for some days after coronation. A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, by R. L. Mitra, p. 444.

(16) RAJYADHISHEKA-PADDHATI, by Visvesvara alias Gaga Bhatta, son of Dinakara of the family of Bhattacharyaya. This codex is a part of the "Dinakaradyota," MS. No. 829, p. 386 of the Catalogue. Contents: directions for the performance of the coronation ceremony. Ibid, p. 445.

(17) AINDRIMAHASANTI-PRAKOGA, by Kamalakara Bhatta, son of Ramakrishna. Contents: it deals *inter alia* with the ceremonies connected with the rite of coronation. Ibid, p. 358.

(18) KAMANDAKIYA-NITISASTRAM OR KAMANDAKA-NITISASTRA, with fragments of a Commentary.

A work, in verse, on *niti* or statecraft. The present MS. differs considerably from the printed editions (Madras, 1880 and Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1849-51), inasmuch as it consists of twenty-one consecutively numbered cantos, which are preceded by an introductory work in three sections, &c., &c.

C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum, 1902, p. 70; MS. No. 161.

(19) KALAVIDHANA-PADDHATI, by Trivikrama Bhatta with Singhakesa interpretation.

A manual of ceremonial and religious procedure on domestic and public occasions. The work appears to be fairly well-known in India and used to be regarded as a Hindu manual adopted and to some extent probably adapted by the Buddhists, especially by the astrologers of Ceylon. Its connexion compare the "Nava-patala-samgraha," described below (MS. No. 202), and the general observations at the end of the description. The subsequent chapters relate to very varied topics of daily and ceremonial usage, such as marriage, entering on lands, ploughing, sowing, buying and selling, new clothing, offerings to the preta, coronation of kings, use of elephants.

A work of similar title and authorship occurs several times in Oppert's "Liste of MSS. in the Southern Presidency" and another in Burnell's "Tanjore Catalogue," p. 78, Sec. 6, relates to the distinctly Hindu ceremony of "Upanayana" (adapted as it would seem by Buddhists) bringing a boy to his teacher and the commencement of the study of the Vedas and all sciences. The commentator is a Buddhist. He explains the expression "Vedarambha" by "Vedasastra-patangenemhi" an expression which would not necessarily convey to a Buddhist reader the "Vedas" properly so-called but would cover sciences like Jyotisha, Dhanurveda.

C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum, 1902, p. 77; MS. No. 202.

To be Continued.

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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### CHAPTER XIII

ON his return Madhabinath gave his daughter the happy news that Gobindal had been released. He told her that he had asked him particularly to come over to his lodgings immediately after he was let off, but he never saw him, and was gone no one knew whither. However, Bhramdar, in her father's absence shed many grateful tears, thinking how God had heard her prayer to spare the life of her husband.

Gobindal, however, did not leave Jessore. After his acquittal he was sorely in need of money, and he went to Prosadpur for the purpose of selling the furniture of his house. But he was painfully surprised at what he saw. Of his goods there was not a single piece of furniture left, and his very house was a dismantled house, without doors or windows. For a small sum of money he sold the materials of the building to a man, and went down to Calcutta.

Here he began to live in a very humble

style, keeping his whereabouts as best as he could from the knowledge of any of his friends or relations. His days thus passed until at the end of a twelve month from the time of his leaving Prosadpur his funds were exhausted and he was in distress. Then after six years he thought he would write a letter to his wife.

He took the writing materials and sat down to write. And he could scarcely keep the tears out of his eyes as he was about to put pen to paper. Was his wife alive? If she was not, what was the good of writing? But he must know the fact. If his letter was not acknowledged he might be sure of the worst.

For a long while he thought how to word his letter. At length he began thus —

"Bhramar  
After six years this bad man is writing to you. Read through the letter, or you may tear it up without reading, just as you like if you do not care to know the contents.

'You will have heard all. It was as luck would have it, but I fear you will think that I say it not as I feel but only because, being in distress I need your help very much.

I do feel it and have felt it often though really I am in great distress. I am penniless. I earnestly ask you to send me some money. If you refuse, I have no alternative left but to beg my bread from door to door but I had much rather die of hunger than stoop to that.

'I have no one to go to. Had mother been alive (I am sure you have heard of her death) I would have gone to Benares to her. But Fate is resolved to make me unhappy.

I am suffering hunger. I think I will go to Haridigram. You will ask how I can show my face there—I who am a disgrace to the name of Roy, I who committed murder. But what care I now for what people will say? Do you, however, not think worse of me than you can help. For the pang of hunger I ask you to send me some money. Will you comply with my request? Will you for pity's sake?

Gobindalal  
Gobindalal posted the letter wondering what the answer would be.

The letter duly reached Bhramar, who knew the hand at a glance. She opened it with a trembling hand and went and

shut herself up in her room. When she was alone she read it through not once or twice or thrice but many times over the tears streaming down her face, and she wiped them away as often as they threatened to fall off and blot the letter.

Bhramar did not open the door again that day. When her sister-in-law called her to come to supper she told her she was feverish; and she was believed as her health had, for a long time, become very bad.

She had passed a sleepless night. When she got out of bed the next morning she actually felt feverish, but she seemed calm and resigned. She had decided what reply she would send and she now began at once without thinking —

I am in receipt of your letter.  
'The property which is legally yours, I have long made over to you. Although you tore up the deed of conveyance (you remember you did) there is a copy of it at the Registrar's office.

I wish you would come home.  
In your absence I have saved a large sum of money. It is yours.

Out of this money I shall, if you will let me take a small sum. I ask no more than eight thousand rupees. This I want for my own maintenance.

I will go to my father's. Kindly let me know when you are coming, home so that before I leave I may arrange things against your coming.

I think it is better we should never meet again and I am sure you wish it too.

I shall look to hear from you again by an early post.

Bhramar  
In due course Gobindalal received his wife's letter. He was struck by the singularly cold manner in which it was worded. He wrote back to say that with respect to going home he had changed his mind but that he would feel very thankful if she would kindly send him a monthly assistance.

In reply to his letter his wife wrote again to say that she would send him monthly five hundred rupees which she thought would be sufficient to make him comfortable. She would have wished to send more had she not feared that the money might be squandered. Furthermore she said that she had not many days left and that she saw no reason why because he would not live

with his wife, he should live away from his native village and his home.

Gobindalal, however, could not make up his mind to go home; and he continued to live in Calcutta.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

It happened that Bhramar fell so ill again that she became confined to her bed. On hearing of it her sister, Jamini, came to Haridragram to nurse her. The doctor, under whose treatment she had been placed, was not without his fears about her. Her disease was rapidly on the increase, eating into her vitals, until her strength completely failed. Then it seemed that death was not distant. Madhabinath was now constantly by his daughter's bedside, feeding her, and administering medicine, with his own hands.

A month flew by. She was worse and worse. The doctor could well see what the end would be, and ventured one day to pronounce that her case was hopeless.

"Dear sister," said Bhramar to Jamini, "I shall never get well again. It is no use my taking medicine any longer, for I feel that the cold hand of death is upon me. I love a moon-light night. If I die next month I wish it could be on the night of the full moon. I shall wait the day, sister. Some thing in me tells me that I shall not outlive it."

Jamini wept.

They urged her no more to take medicine, for they felt it was no use. However, as time went on she was found more and more cheerful till she again seemed as jolly and jocose as in the happy old days. In vain did Jamini entertain a hope that she might yet recover when, for the first time for many days she found her sister in such good spirits. She little thought that her cheerfulness was only like the flash of a lamp about to go out.

Her end drew nearer and nearer; yet she was calm and wore a smile on her face. At length arrived that last terrible day and she knew it by Jamini's silent weeping and an exchange of significant looks among those about, who had called to see her. "There was an awful silence in the house. 'I feel very uneasy; I fear to-day is the last day of my life,' she said when she was alone with her sister.

Jamini burst into loud sobs.

"Do not weep," she said, "oh, do not,

dear sister, until I am gone. I have only a few hours left. I wish to talk to you while I can."

She wiped away her tears and nestled closer to her, trying to look more easy as she smoothed back a few stray locks that fell over the pale brow.

"I wish to be alone with you for a while, sister," said Bhramar. "I wish for something."

Evening drew on, and then it ran into night.

"Is it a moon-light night?" asked Bhramar.

Jamini stepped up to an open window and said it was.

"Open the window nearest me, top and bottom, and let me look upon the moon-light," she said. "I love it very much."

Jamini did as she was asked, and let in a flood of moon-light, that lit up a portion of the sick-room.

"Dear sister," she said again, "will you open that window there and see if there are any flowers growing in the garden below?"

Seven years before, in summer-time, Gobindalal used occasionally at day-break, to stand at the window indicated, to enjoy the freshness of the dawn and the sweet perfume of flowers wafted from the garden below. That window had never been opened since, and her sister had now some difficulty in throwing it open, for its having for long been allowed to remain closed.

Jamini looked attentively. "I see nothing," said she, "except a few withered trees and a rank growth of weeds and other useless plants."

"Seven years before there was a garden there," said Bhramar, sighing. "For want of care the trees have withered and died out."

A silence fell between them. After a while she said again, "I love flowers. Will you order a maid to get me some?"

The order was quickly given to a servant woman, and in a little time she brought in a quantity of roses and other sweet-smelling flowers.

"Strew these on my bed," she said, "as on the night following my bridal."

Jamini did it with an affectionate care. "That I will do," she said. "But—oh, how I wish—"

She stopped, and a big tear slowly coursed down her cheek.

"What else you wish done, dear? Oh, u

tell me I cannot bear to see you weep '  
said Jamini

—How I wish he had come ! When he left me I proudly told him he would repent and seek me again some day Oh if I could but see him at my death—if Then—then I shall have forgotten all my sufferings through seven long years

'Be comforted love' said Jamini You will see him very soon Rest assured you will

Ah never It is God's will that I should be denied even this momentary happiness for I am on the very threshold of the next world

Dear sister I did not think it proper to tell you without preparing you for the news lest the excitement should have any very bad effect on you He is come Gobindal is here I father wrote to tell him of your illness He arrived only about two hours ago

She made a feeble effort to rise but Jamini prevented her Tears flowed fast from her eyes: Oh bring him here she said as soon as her emotion allowed her to speak 'Go quick—leave me alone There is no time to be lost

Jamini rose and left the room In a little time with a soft faltering step Gobindal after many years entered his own chamber

There was death like stillness in the room where in one corner a lamp burned low

Sadly and softly he approached her and sat down by her side on the bed Both remained mute for a while as they gazed at each other with eyes which overflowed with tears

'Come nearer to me she said when she had the control of her voice

He crept closer to her and took her wasted hand in his Oh can you forgive me Bhramar! he said speaking hysterically

I have forgiven all—all before you could ask May God forgive you

There was a pause

'Kiss me she said again one last kiss to say that you love me yet

He bent over her he gently pushed the hair from her brow and kissed her the tears gushing from his eyes Oh I was mad when I left you he said in the greatest anguish of his heart

I am happy And her features lit up in the brightness of a smile 'I try

your hand in a farewell blessing on my head' she said again 'and—and speak the wish that I may be happy—hereafter Then before he knew it and while her hand was held in his death stole imperceptibly upon her and she passed out of life as quietly and peacefully as a child falls asleep on its mother's breast

## CHAPTER XV

Bhramar's eyes were for ever closed upon this world Gobindal's mind was torn with grief poignant as his sorrow was he bore it calmly—a hurricane within a deep tranquillity outside With the help of his relations, to perform the last rites, he carried the remains of his wife to the place of cremation And by the time all was over it was near day break when with the rest he entered the water to bathe

On his return home he sought his chamber where a ghastly vacancy stared him in the face on every side He avoided company and kept indoors to brood over his sorrow in solitude

The day drew to a close, and night came on He sat on where he was, reflecting upon the past and the present till after many weary waking hours sleep stole over his senses and he forgot his sorrow and slept

It was soon morning The sun rose again and the birds chirped among the trees and he awoke to find the dull monotonous sky of daily life and she gone for ever

Gobindal had loved two persons—Bhramar and Rohini His love for the former lay in his heart and she was his true and devoted wife The latter he loved for her looks His love for her lay in his eyes and therefore it was bound to be shortlived His senses had been caught by her beauty although his heart was elsewhere When he left his wife he knew that he was doing her a great wrong but he was so mad after Rohini that he was determined to have her at any cost The moment he was disenchanted his eyes opened Then he was filled with remorse Then he fully realised the difference between these two kinds of love The one pure and unselfish, the other impure and selfish The one love the other desire The one heaven and the other hell His behaviour to his wife broke her heart and finally led her on a

bed of sickness which she never left again. When she died he felt that he had murdered her with his own hands just as he had murdered Rohini, and great was the agony of the remorse he experienced. Away from his wife he had never for a moment been able to forget her. She had filled his heart as completely when he had been touring, as when he had been leading a voluptuous life at Prosadpur. She was within ever and always, and Rohini—without.

The sun was high in the sky, getting gradually brighter and stronger. Gobindal went downstairs and strolled out more mechanically than otherwise to where was once a beautiful little garden overlooked by one of his chamber windows. It had been enclosed by a hedge; but the fence was nearly all gone, and not a trace could be seen of the once lovely garden his own hands had reared.

Out of there he went straight to his favourite garden on the embankment of the Baruni tank. Almost ever since he left home it had been quite forgotten, so that it was everywhere overgrown with weeds, nettles, thorn-bushes and other useless plants. Most of the marble figures stood without heads or limbs, and one or two actually lay prostrate upon the ground. But Gobindal was quite indifferent about all this. The one thought that completely occupied his mind was the thought of his dead wife whom his conscience told him he had killed by his cruel and reckless behaviour.

There were now many bathers in the tank; and a few young lads were noisily gay as they made an attempt at swimming, dashing and spluttering water. Gobindal, however, took no notice of anything. He went and sat down at the foot of a broken marble figure near by and was soon lost in his own thoughts.

There he remained till it was noon. He felt not the scorching sun overhead, so swallowed up was he in the thought of his wife whom he had lost. Suddenly arose the thought of Rohini in his mind, and he shuddered at the recollection of the horrid deed he had done. Then his thoughts were divided between Bhramar and Rohini. At one time he thought of Rohini, at another he thought of Bhramar. This continued for a long while till he fancied he saw his wife's vision before him. It faded away, and in its place there rose up the beautiful

apparition of Rohini. He mused and mused away till in every tree near about he imagined he saw a likeness of Bhramar—of Rohini. If there was a rustling of the leaves he thought it was Rohini speaking in a whisper. If the birds warbled among the trees he fancied she was singing. The loud talk of the bathers in the tank sometimes sounded in his ear like the voice of Bhramar, at others like the voice of Rohini. If anything stirred among the bushes near it seemed as if Rohini flitted past him. The noise of the wind murmuring among the leaves appeared to him like the sobs and sighs of Bhramar. In fact he was so deeply under the spell of his own imagination that he fancied he heard them in every sound and saw them in everything around.

The hours passed on to afternoon, but Gobindal was there still at the foot of the statue, and as motionless as the statue itself. Then the afternoon lengthened towards evening, and the evening towards night, but he knew nothing of the hour. Since morning he had not tasted a morsel of food. His relations, having sought him in vain, concluded he had left for Calcutta.

Darkness now fell upon the quiet village and enveloped the garden and the tank. The stars shone out one by one in the black azure of the sky; everything was still. But Gobindal saw nothing. He was in the midst of a waking nightmare in which only Bhramar and Rohini prevailed.

Suddenly in the midst of his deep meditation Gobindal's heated and fevered brain conjured up before him a vivid figure of Rohini. He thought he heard her say aloud:

HERE—

Gobindal did not remember that Rohini was no more. He unconsciously asked the fancied vision—"Here, what, Rohini?" and he heard Rohini's voice say again:

IN THIS TANK!

Gobindal asked again, "Here, in this tank, what?"

Again Rohini's voice sounded:

I DROWNED MYSELF!

An inward voice, born of his own unsteady head, seemed to say, "Shall I drown myself?"

The answer from within came, "Yes; at once—die. Bhramar is looking out for



She will redeem us by her own virtue from the penalty of our sin.

In wonderment and dismay Gobindalal closed his eyes. A cold tremble came over him. Presently he felt so faint that he fell in a stupor off the foot of the marble figure where he had sat.

In a trance in which he was he saw before his mind's eye a resplendent form of Bhramar. It said: Do not die. Why should you? You have lost me. But there is One dearer than myself. Live, love Him, you will be happy.

There Gobindalal lay all night in a half-dreamy, half-senseless state. Next morning his relations hearing of the plight in which he lay hastened to him, restored him to his senses and brought him home. Soon after this he fell very ill. He had a fever and a fever of the worst kind for it attacked both mind and body. Some days later he became delirious and for a week after that hung between life and death. He was treated with great care. After about three months he was well again. Then all expected he would continue to stay at home, but they were mistaken. He left the house one night without being noticed by any one and was gone. But whither he was gone no one knew.

Seven years elapsed, and Gobindalal was not heard of. The natural inference from this was that he was no longer amongst the living. His sister's son Sachikanta of whom we had no occasion to speak before, came into his estate, having attained his majority.

Sachikanta had heard an account of the errors of his uncle's life and of the sad consequences which resulted from them. He used pretty often to come out to the garden, which was once his uncle's favourite resort but which now had the look of a desert. Often would the young man's eyes fill with tears whenever he mused over the mournful end of his uncle's life and the sufferings his good young wife had been through.

Months had gone by. Sachikanta reclaimed the garden. In it he planted varieties of flower trees, constructed spacious gravel walks and set up new marble figures in place of those that were either broken or deformed, so that it looked as beautiful again as in the old happy days of Gobindalal's life.

One day when Sachikanta was taking a stroll in his garden there came to him a man who was habited after the manner of an ascetic. He wore long matted hair on his head, and his beard almost kissed his breast. 'Do you know me?' said he sadly, 'I am your uncle, Gobindalal Roy.'

Sachikanta was struck dumb with astonishment. For a while he looked at tentively at his uncle and knew him. Overjoyed to find he was alive he fell on his knees before him and kissed the dust of his feet. Gobindalal laid his hand on his head and blessed him. The young man insisted on his going home with him, but he refused. 'I came just to see my native village after these many years. I must be off now,' said he.

'We should be so happy if you would stay, sir, and look after your estate,' said Sachikanta.

No, my boy. I can no more have any pleasure in anything of this world. I am happy in the life I am leading. After such fearful storms as I have seen in my life I have come to a haven than which a better and safer one can never be. God is my haven. My life as long as it is spared I will devote to His service. He helping me. Farewell my boy. May God prosper you.

When he had said that he left him and walked away with hurried steps and was quickly gone. After this he was never more seen in Haridigram nor ever heard of again.

Translated by

D. C. ROY

THE END

## CAMEOS FROM JAPAN

By E. E. SPEIGHT.

*(Kanazawa, Japan)*

## I

## BABY.

O thou who foldest thine untaught hands  
in adoration before the Eternal  
Beauty, blessed be thy baby years.  
All thou art and all thou doest cometh  
from the deep, the unremembered  
past.  
In what fierce age did thy enduring heart  
shape its first moan of prayer?  
In what forest sanctuary did thy first  
blessing rise to the Giver of sleep  
and another day's wonder?  
Blessed be thy tiny hands folded before the  
Eternal Beauty.  
All thou art and all thou doest abideth for  
ever in the deep of the Unknown.  
In what last glory shall thy faithful heart  
come to its inheritance?  
At what starry shrine shalt thou see His  
eyes who ever watcheth over thee?  
O thou who foldest thine untaught hands  
in adoration before the Eternal  
Beauty, blessed be thy baby years.

## II.

## THE WORMWOOD GATHERERS.

His little wooden sandals stand among  
the clusters of young grass on the  
river bank.  
With his mother he is searching the  
channelled holms for the first shoots  
of pale wormwood, to mingle with  
their soft rice dough.  
He is very quiet and full of wonder and  
resolve, as he listens to the tales of  
old heroes she is telling him.  
And who knows whether this may not be  
he for whom the world is waiting?  
For whom those myriads have been lost  
in slaughter that he should stand  
forth in the light?

## III.

## MY FRIEND.

He sat in the bows of a boat full of girls in  
brightly coloured summer robes.

The nearest girl sat knee to knee with him,  
on a thwart, playing on a mellow  
pipe old Japanese airs.  
Her fingers were near his face, but she  
heeded him not, playing on like a  
happy shepherd-boy.  
So the boat slid over the shallow river,  
poled by a white-robed youth of  
sternly noble features.  
And as I stood on the burning sands  
watching them, they sailed into a  
landscape of shimmering, ripening  
wealth,—rich green of waving rice,  
with the river running into a  
wonderland of trees and half-hidden  
villages; while beyond lay a city  
sweltering and flashing in midsum-  
mer heat, and far away purple  
mountains dimly looming through  
shifting banks of cloud and mist.  
My friend shaded his eyes to watch me, as  
I stood in the wellnigh unbearable  
sunlight. He waved his hand often,  
and I saw his kindly smile to the  
last.

## IV.

## A DAUGHTER OF JAPAN.

Dwelling among the mountain cliffs, she  
hears all day and night the noise of  
snowy waterfalls.  
But she knows naught of the craft and  
cunning of the city.  
At the rising of the sun her eyes dwell upon  
the mystery of trees that have their  
crests in the blue of heaven.  
But the learning of books is not hers.  
Children she hears, and herbs of healing  
can she swiftly find; her store-house  
is the stay of her husband.  
But she has no garment save the coarse  
web of her own weaving.  
Her heart is a treasury of comfort and  
sweet thoughts and she loves all  
things that live.  
For the storms and the harvests have been  
her teachers, and the stars and the  
flowers her guardian angels.

## V

## NIPPON-TO

I held an ancient sword of Japan in my hands, in deepest wonder  
 As I looked along the keen blade, I knew myself on a dizzy mountain ridge of pure snow, under the dazzling blue of heaven  
 Far down in the misty valleys on either side I heard a sound as of hammers beating swiftly and irresistibly, and sullen cries as of evil spirits daunted and in retreat

## VI

## THE OLD BARROW

I saw men building a funeral mound in a deep forest above a wide plain that ran to the sea  
 They were laying turf around rough-hewn stones from the river bed and the walls of the grave inclined inwards to a grey slab that sealed the tomb  
 An overseer in black and yellow robes, with a black Shinto hat, was standing apart, watching them with stern, unmoving features,—a strangely Assyrian figure  
 But there was no sound, neither of laughter nor of talk, no grating of tool on stone, for this was three hundred years ago  
 They little knew that they were raising this mound to be a resting place in the dim future for a stranger who should remember their toil and give a glad thought to their memory, as he lay among the osmunda and the brake fern and the mould of centuries, listening with indescribable joy to the ceaseless grinding of the *semi*\* and the music of the wind in the topmost boughs of the pines

## VII

## ONE LIFE

All the work of his hands was an offering to Them that are unseen  
 As the rain pierces the valley haze, as the stream winds among the mossy rocks, as swallows weave their flight, as red leaves fall to the frozen road,—such was the living beauty of his toil

\* Cicala.

As the harvest moon above the autumn hills, as the welling forth of cool waters, as the wind upon a high bridge, or the laughter of children,—such was the large joy of his soul  
 As tender words that linger in the memory, as the footprints of little birds by the margin of the waves, as the echo of a deep, old monastery bell, and as the scent of lovers' primroses,—such was the delight he left the world  
 And They, who need the death of no man, smiled upon the sacrifice

## VIII

## THE YOUNG SOLDIERS

The moat round our old castle is full of salt green grass  
 Long since the water wandered away to the sea beyond those shimmering dunes  
 Morning and evening ring the bugles over the happy city  
 In the dawn light they march out, our sturdy, sunburnt lads, to their hard play on strand and mountain and highway  
 Towards night they come steadily tramping home, hot and weary, to their rest in the cool, wide levels of the old castle grounds  
 And they see again the visions of their fighting forefathers,—dream of battle that shall glorify their land.

## IX

## TWO SPIRITS

In a classroom of first year students there lie on a desk a notebook, a text of old Chinese classics, and a copy of *The Death of Tintagles*  
 As I turn over the leaves of this fast I find one passage underlined with red pencil,—these few words  
 "A bird that flew, a leaf that trembled, a rose that opened,—these were events to me"  
 And I feel suddenly glad at the drawing together of these two spirits, the poet of Flanders and the student of Japan

## X

## THE TEMPLE FAWNS

The dappled fawns are not afraid of the laughing maidens who draw up their flowery robes and wade through the pools on the beach

Untroubled they watch the gambols of the clamouring boys who race along the sandy levels, bow in hand.

They move among the swarthy henchmen who stand gazing across the low tide to yon far mountains half lost in morning mist.

And they come to the call of that lordly leader of men who is passing with slow and solemn gait beneath those huge trees, that towering *tori* \* of mystery set up for them to enter who sail on the rising waves unto this holy island.

XI.

REVERIE.

My dear friend, roused by a strange sound, stood up and listened. It was sweet, and so faint that it could scarcely be heard.

Soon the ringing of a little bell became clearer, and two young priests, barefooted and in black gowns, came along the highway.

*Namu Amida Butsu 'Namu Amida Butsu'* He felt a sudden happiness, and release from all his burdens

The white face of the venerable mountain Iwozen appeared before him, and a procession of old cherry trees.

A mighty power was dissolving the world into beauty.

The clear stream of the Asano sang at his feet.

He wandered as a wind along the bank, gazing at the dusty city with no thought, no trouble in his soul.

Then when he had climbed a hill, a wondrous view cleared all the mid-space between him and the great ocean.

He stood there dreaming, until there came two horsemen and swept away all his memories.

How happy I should be, he thought, if I could find a world older than love or tears.

XII.

THE OLD GARDEN.

-Wine-red is the cool shade of the old garden; centuries ago these gnarled and withering trees were born.

Suddenly the lowly clustering azaleas have burst into snowy bloom.

Between the stepping-stones the fresh moss lies in thousands of green dots, each the promise of a world of delight.

In the evening stillness only the voice of the stream is heard, as it moves like a burnished dragon through the far-borne rocks.

Spiders are spinning their airy bridges across the quivering pools.

But in a corner where the first shadow of night has fallen lie the first thoughts of sorrow,—flowers of the scarlet camellia, like temple chalices shattered and strewn afield after a costly sacrifice.

XIII.

CONFESSIONS

My Japanese comrades told me the things they like best They are these.

A twilight mountain when the birds and the dew take their places for the night.

The man who shows unconsciously that he has the same interests as myself.

The sunlight which comes into the room through a fantastically shaped window, after a long, dark or melancholy day.

To tell an interesting story to some little girls seven or eight years old.

To read a book in a room of a house which is situated on a cliff

Children and old men, because they have innocent souls.

A starry night, for my elder sister passed away on such a night, and it reminds me of her.

To hear a ballad which a horseman is singing in a golden forest on an autumn evening.

XIV.

THE LAST CLASS

For three years we toiled together, discovering springs of laughter and tears along our hard road.

In the fierce storms of winter they came from their cold lodging and poured forth their pity for suffering souls.

The summer sun filled them with hope as they lay on the cool sward beneath the blossoming trees.

Stern were they in their self control, sparing in their praise and blame.

In the house of memory lay their riches; no glamour of the future marred their innocence.

\* Entrance to the precincts of a shrine

And for the easing of men's lives they go  
forth into the world

## XV

## THE GOLDFINCHES

Ye come from afar, little golden winged  
pair, and bring great honour into  
our winter saddened garden  
Sudden was your coming as the April  
sunlight, wondrous your knowledge  
of the way  
Flashing in the pools, curving through the  
pineboughs, dancing on the margin  
of the last snow,—what joy ye flash  
around!

Far have ye travelled, from the southern  
palm islands  
Far have ye to go, to the misty strands of  
the lonely north  
Rest here awhile, and free our thoughts  
from their prison  
This moment, in this our garden, keen is  
the delight of our meeting  
For we, too, have travelled a long road,  
and still have far to go  
So far have we come that we remember  
not the starting  
Into the dark we pass on, and the road  
hath no ending that we know.  
But happy were we could we lighten our  
rest with such revels as yours.

## COURTESY—"MANNERS MAKYTH MAN"

"**W**ORTH makes the man, and the want of it the fellow" is, of course, a trite saying, but how often do we forget its purport and meaning, conducting ourselves in our everyday dealings with our neighbours and our acquaintances and even with strangers! What is this "Worth" of Pope's worth without good breeding and *minus* polite manners? In the course of his Convocation speech, delivered at the Town Hall on the 6th January, 1917, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his capacity as Chancellor of the Calcutta University addressing the graduates said

"For you the task is a harder one. Your university is still young and though you have had distinguished alumni in the past and you have them in the present your tradition is yet not one of centuries. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on. It was not for nothing that the great educational statesman, William of Wykeham, gave as the motto of his great school, Winchester 500 years ago—'Manners Makyth Man'. Manners not in the superficial sense of to-day, but in the older sterner sense of the Latin *mores*, character. He did not leave to his successors to evolve the note which his school should strike. He struck it once and for all time and subsequent generations have bowed before his prescience, and marvelled at his insight into the heart of all education. And you with the innate imagination of your race can visualise this objective for yourselves more quickly than we of a Western stock. I have no doubt then that you will accept this first objective of your university life."

David Hume writing on the subject in

the penultimate section of his essay on "An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals", says

As the mutual shocks in *Society*, and the oppositions of the interest and self-love, have constrained mankind to establish the laws of *justice*, in order to preserve the advantages of mutual assistance and protection in like manner, the eternal contrarieties in *company* of men's pride and self-conceit, have introduced the rules of *Good Manners* or *Politeness*, in order to facilitate the intercourse of minds and an undisturbed commerce and conversation."

Continuing, Hume writes—

"There is a *Manner*, a grace, an ease a gentleness, as I know not what, which some men possess above others, which is very different from external beauty and comeliness and which, however, catches our affection almost as suddenly and powerfully. It prevails in our estimation of characters and forms no inconsiderable part of personal merit. This class of accomplishments, therefore must be trusted entirely to the blind but sure testimony of taste and sentiment, and must be considered as a part of ethics, left by nature to baffle all the pride of philosophy and make her sensible of her narrow boundaries and slender acquisitions."

"We approve of another because of his wit, politeness, modesty, or any agreeable quality which he possesses although he be not of our acquaintance, nor has ever given us entertainment by means of these accomplishments. The idea which we form of their effect on his acquaintance has an agreeable influence on our imagination and gives the sentiment of approbation. This principle enters into all the judgments which we form concerning manners and characters."

Opinions, however, seem to be much divided on that weighty question—What constitutes a gentleman? There are, indeed,

as we find, few points more frequently agitated in social life, and unfortunately, though there is no dearth of codes of social conduct, individuals often essentially differ in their estimate of the comparative importance of each. No Blackstone has made a digest of its laws, common and statute, to the test of which every character can be summoned, and in consequence there is often a wide, even a ridiculous variety in the alleged evidences of gentility. Ask one person,—say your laundress whose services are so useful and indispensable to the society,—how she would distinguish a gentleman, and her reply will invariably be,—by the exquisite texture and snowy whiteness of his linen", ask another, and it will perhaps be, "by the lid and the boot", while a third will, in all probability tell you, that complexion and deportment are infallible indices to good breeding and gentility. There are others again who think to discover the secret by a strict observance of the applications and uses of certain important instruments in modern European civilisation—the fork, and more especially the knife—in the handling of which, they aver, there is a magical touch known only to gentlemen. It is said of a worthy who sagely observed that to break *bread* with one's meat was a sure mark of a gentleman!

Passing from individuals to sections of the community, we still come across discordant notes as to what constitutes a gentleman. The votaries of fashion strenuously hold that a man's lineage, and the blood that courses through his veins, at once stamp on him the superiority by which he may easily be distinguished from his fellows, while another class, mostly composed of the *parvenus*, the minions of wealth, believe that it is only gold—gold which is "yellow and bright, and hard and cold"—which can alone make the gentleman! If the word "gentleman" is to be thus defined and thus confused and confined, out with it from our vocabulary, or let us use it only as a name, conferring no more honour on its owner than that of "Diamond", Newton's famous dog! Let us have and treat with due respect and true regard nature's aristocracy, wherever found—the good and the great, not artificial titles or accidental circumstances, for not one of these things nor all of them put together, make a gentleman, the principles of the character of a

true gentleman lie deeper, and a much more scrutinising analysis can alone discover them, always bearing in mind the oftquoted but often misinterpreted lines—

'When Adam delved and Eve span,

Who was then a gentleman?"

My subject leads me another way, yet there is a connection between gentility and courtesy that may have warranted this exordium. Courtesy is the characteristic feature of a true gentleman, it does not absolutely constitute, but it chiefly distinguishes him. What then is this courtesy of which we speak and hear so much? It consists not in conformity to any set of rules but we must rather regard the habitude of the mind, the spirit of the heart. Selfishness is alien to it, its simple but beautiful motto is "in honour preferring one another." It, therefore, cheerfully sacrifices its own to the convenience of another, and with all due self respect, lays itself out for his happiness. He that is most courteous will be the least selfish. Generosity and good nature are inseparable from real courtesy. It is not a thing of high days and holidays, but a garment that must ever be worn and can never be cast off, it seeks not opportunities for its development in unusual times and situations, but is unceasingly active in the ordinary and not unoften trifling incidents of everyday life. Courtesy is a social virtue, and its special study is to learn what is most agreeable to another. Hence it cannot plainly be imbibed from the precepts of a *maitre de danse*. Circumstances so alter cases that what at one moment may be the very "pink of propriety," will at another be highly open to objection. There are persons however, who are apt to lose sight of this fact altogether, they tread upon a beaten track and it is not an easy task to turn them away from it. Others there are who will never permit any attentions being paid to themselves, while they will heap them upon you, but strenuously resist any attempt on your part to return the compliment, do they ever remember that it is often a greater pleasure to give than to receive? There are others again who act in a similar manner though from different points of view such, to use a sensuous illustration, if you hand them a plate of good things at table, imagine that your own wants suggested the act, and immediately seizing it, signify to you to help

yourself! With more than Cicero's vehemence we may justly exclaim,—“*O tem pora, O mores!*” A seeming act of courtesy may eventually prove unfortunate. It is not merely good but *intelligent* intention that is wanted, for the blunders of good-natured ignorance may much and do frequently annoy and cause offence. A story is told of an officer, who had recently lost his leg on the Somme, going to tea with a lady whose little girl had been carefully instructed that it was not polite to notice the loss. The child was introduced to the officer, but when shaking hands did so with face averted. Her mother was puzzled at this curious behaviour, and her wonder was increased when the little girl fetched her Noah's Ark and solemnly took out one animal after another and broke off a leg from each one. Then she remarked quietly to herself, with a side glance at the officer: “Useless things, legs!” This, of course, is childish and overdoing the thing in a manner ridiculous, for he that would be truly courteous must cultivate discriminating talents and generous sensibilities,—should make himself acquainted with the feelings of others, and *rigidly do what he then conceives* is most likely to conduce to their happiness. Courtesy, in fact, results from the right

appreciation of our relations to one another. Such relations have two modes of development—intercourse and association, and in these two branches it has a wide field of action.

Briefly, then, “it is virtue, gentlemen, yet, virtue,” as put by Lally, “that maketh gentlemen, that maketh the poor rich, the subject a king, the low-born noble, the deformed beautiful. These things neither the whirling wheel of fortune can overturn nor the deceitful cavillings of worldlings separate, neither sickness abate, nor age abolish.” In short, we must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that our happiness depends principally upon ourselves, and on the goodness and badness of our dispositions—that is to say, on our being virtuous or vicious. Bacon says “Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature, the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity, and without it, man is busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a vermin.” Far be it from me, however, to dogmatise further,—

“I only speak right on

To tell you all what yourselves do know.”

RAICHARAN MUKERJEE

## MR MONTAGU AND OUR DUTY

MR Montagu is coming out to India to confabulate with (1) the Government, (2) representative bodies, and (3) others. The Government of India is a thoroughly organised body, with infinite ramifications, and has at its command expert knowledge and all the materials for making out a case. The public bodies of India, headed by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League are not so efficiently organised, and suffer from the great disadvantage that the political leaders unlike the members of the Government of India, work for love, do not meet often, and cannot devote their whole time to the business. The ‘others’ probably include representative men of different communities, and they, as we know, are

an uncertain body, whose views are not always based on sound political knowledge, and many of them are likely to be in a peculiar degree susceptible to the influence of the powers that be in framing their opinions for Mr Montagu's consumption. It is therefore necessary that we should try to settle our plan of campaign at this critical juncture.

The vast mass of evidence recently collected by the Public Services Commission, and the use which has been made of it in the Commission's report, clearly proves, if any proof were needed, that a heterogeneous collection of opinions, representing conflicting interests, seldom serves any useful purpose, for it can be turned to any use and cited in support of

any set of preconceived theories Three lessons are to be derived from a careful perusal of the Commission's report which it is most important for us to remember and profit by They are (1) the absolute necessity, on the part of the popular leaders, to speak out the truth, and nothing but the truth, if they want to make an impression, (2) the bureaucracy is firmly determined to hold fast to all the advantages they possess, and to clamour for more, (3) the immense waste of energy, and the proportionate meagreness of achievement, which results, in our case, from an inadequate coordination of aims and methods We shall examine these three points *seriatim* with a view to indicate our duty at the present moment

As to the first point Plain, naked, honest truth, with no mental reservations actuated by the desire to be fair to your adversary or to gain a reputation for moderation and sobriety, is what is wanted, and what counts Any faltering, any giving away of your case from a spirit of compromise, is bound to introduce a fatal weakness in your chain of arguments of which the utmost advantage will be taken by your opponents, for which the whole country will have to repent at leisure This, no doubt, is the consideration which induced Mr Justice Rahim to write a separate minority report instead of recording a mere dissentient minute, as was done by some other members of the Commission, and the result is that his report has a moral value all its own, and will always be consulted by Indians and foreigners alike as the true exposition of the Indian point of view To put your case at the highest, morally speaking, that you are capable of, in others words, honesty in politics as elsewhere, is always the best policy It prevents those in whose hands the decision lies from judging your case from any mere makeshift stand-point of expediency, and compels them to examine the validity of your first principles, and if these be right, the authorities cannot, for very shame, bring the discussion down to a lower plane on vague and uncertain grounds of policy without betraying their hand The type of men who are needed as our spokesmen before Mr Montagu are not those professed politicians who are above all votaries of expediency and who are anxious to win certificates from official and non official

Anglo Indians for so called "moderation," "reasonableness," "sanity" and "impartiality", they must be sober thinkers who weigh their words and yet think it contemptible to make compromises with their conscience It is men of this stamp who, we hope, are meant by 'others' in Mr Montagu's pronouncement, for it is only opinion emanating from such persons that is really worth having That pronouncement, in the opinion of the Viceroy, "is a landmark in the constitutional history of India," as 'it points to a goal ahead' Whether it is a landmark or not will depend very much on the steps which are now taken for "the progressive realisation of responsible government in India" With a view to determine what these steps are to be, the Viceroy has invited the Indian leaders to examine the problems which confront us "from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and *above all what is right*" (the italics are ours) Since Mr Montagu has declared that "the British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance," the sole duty of 'that great unofficial India, now stirring into fuller political consciousness' (to quote the Viceroy again) "at this great epoch of our national evolution," is to examine the problems from the standpoint of what is right, and from that stand point alone As for what is judicious and what is practicable, it is for the British Government and the Government of India who reserve to themselves the right to judge the time and measure of each advance, to come to their own conclusions; the people having been by official declaration excluded from participation in that decision, questions of policy or practical difficulty need not deter them from giving full expression to what they think to be right Perhaps it will be found that in a long view what is right is after all the most judicious and the most expedient, so that the Government of India and the British Government will have the best assistance from the Indian leaders, for whose co-operation the Viceroy earnestly appeals, if they confine themselves exclusively to what is right, instead of making unwarranted excursions into those forbidden regions formally reserved for the practical administrators of the Executive



**Government** The Indian members of the Executive Councils, as part of the Government, will of course have their say on the practical and the judicious aspects of the changes proposed by the public, but having regard to the fact that too lively a consciousness of those aspects has always in the past been allowed to override the just claims of the people, it will be their duty to try to curb the propensity of their civilian colleagues to make too much of them. The Viceroy's speech shows that he places the justice of our demands above all other considerations of expediency, and he would not want any cooperation not based on an absolutely unfettered regard for what is right.

As to the second point. The Congress and the Moslem League have formulated their views, and the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Imperial Council, of which the Congress-cum League scheme is an elaboration, is also before the Secretary of State. It is needless to go over the same ground, nor is it possible to do so within the space at our command. But the suggestions made by them are divisible into two parts, namely, rights which we must have, and changes in the machinery of government necessary to secure us in the enjoyment of those rights. We shall try to fix the attention of our readers on one or two points under the second of these heads which have been dealt with in the above schemes, and which seem to us to be all important. A careful and prolonged study of Indian political problems has convinced us that so long as the State and the Civil Service in India remain synonymous as they are now, all reforms are bound to prove in the end as empty of substance as *Dead sea apples*. The poison tooth of the bureaucracy must be drawn, as advocated long ago by Sir Henry Cotton, and this must be laid down as the *sine qua non* of all other reforms. To do this, three things are immediately required. (1) The India Council, the headquarters of sun-dried bureaucrats, must be abolished, for, in the words of Mr. Montagu himself, "the whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State." (2) The English members of the Executive Councils must not be drawn from the ranks of the Civil Service, but from among men trained in the public life of England. In other

words, as in all other civilised countries, the permanent officials must not be allowed to dictate the policy of the Government as well as carry it into execution. (3) The Secretaries to the various Governments, who are invariably members of the Civil Service, should not have the large anomalous powers now vested in them of approaching the Executive Head of the Government direct over the heads of the members of the Council or of pressing their own views before the full Council when opposed to those of their official chiefs. These little known but very important powers give them a control over the policy of the Government even though nominally they are outside it, and tend very materially to curb the independence of the members of the Government. Unless and until these three *adjective* reforms are introduced, all *substantive* reforms which we are trying for will prove almost futile, and the domination of the bureaucracy, of the forces of darkness and reaction, of powerful vested interests, of organised opposition to liberal principles, of the spirit of centralised departmentalism, absorbed in the contemplation of its own perfection and determined to fight tooth and nail the encroachment of progressive ideas and the influx of new light, will continue to frustrate the best laid plans of Mr. Montagu, as they have frustrated those of Lords Ripon and Morley. As Sir William Wedderburn says "The complaint is not against the men, but against the system, which has placed them in a false position, making them masters where they should be servants. An *Imperium in Imperio* has thus been created at Simla, so that the permanent Civil Service, a privileged foreign body, with professional interests adverse to Indian aspirations, dominates the administration, and intervenes, as a non-conducting medium, between the goodwill of the British democracy and the reasonable claims of the Indian people." The bureaucracy have now learnt their part well, and are profuse in giving utterance to liberal maxims. They know that this much, by way of concession, is demanded by the Time-Spirit. But the bureaucracy cannot forget their vested interests, and so they are ever apt to devise new ways and means to prevent those maxims from being practically effective—witness the Islington Commission, which, originally intended to

widen the field of Indian employment in the higher branches of the administration, ended, first, and foremost, by making further liberal provisions for the Civil Service.

As to the third point: What splits and ruptures and divisions in the camp may be, is already becoming manifest. If the recent fiasco in the Congress Reception Committee in Calcutta proves anything, it proves the strength of feeling in the country in favour of the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the next Congress, and to read it in any other light would be to misread the signs of the times. We are not speaking of such divisions here. We refer to the meetings reported to have been held in various parts of India, Southern India especially, by some men belonging to, the "non-Brahman" castes, to the depressed communities, and some Indian Christians, Zemindars, Mahomedans, and the like. All these sectional agitations, however they may have originated, seem to have only one object in view—to decry the movement in favour of Home Rule. Even Mr. Gokhale's incomplete and hastily drawn up political testament has been resurrected from the limbo of oblivion with a view to draw a red herring across the track of the country's political progress. The forces of reaction are evidently at work, and are being employed to turn back the rushing tide for mere temporary and questionable sectional gains. Our political history during the last few decades is replete with instances of failure courted by ourselves in the effort to promote sectional advancement—failure not only of the larger interests of the country, but also of those very communal interests for the sake of which we were so ready to sacrifice the greater good of the nation. Yet we have not learnt our lesson, or having learnt it, are ready to forget it at the first touch of outside pressure. It is easy to understand who stands to gain by these suicidal moves which trade on our narrow selfishness and render us blind to the national welfare. There is no truth more self-evident than this, that if the country, as a whole gains self-government, the beneficent influence of such a radical transformation will infuse a new vitality into every pore of the body-politic, and the nation as a whole will be uplifted on a plane where all our thoughts and activities will be govern-

ed solely by the desire of national well-being, which includes the well-being of every part of it. It behoves us therefore sternly to repress all such dissipation of energy as is involved in mere sectional movements, and to combine to present a bold and united front. 'United we stand; divided we fall.' Our thinkers and public men should lose no time in laying their heads together, and devising the best means of presenting our united demands before Mr. Montagu, and of formulating them in as closely-reasoned a form as possible, supporting the whole scheme by statistics, figures and extracts from blue-books and other reliable documents, and by arguments drawn from the constitutional history of nations, so that our presentation of the case may not suffer in comparison with those of our adversaries and may, in every way, be worthy of a great and united nation, which knows its mind and is capable of giving the fullest expression to it. Special sessions and committee meetings should be held, for which the ensuing Dusserah vacation will furnish a favourable opportunity in this part of India. At the same time those representatives of the landed aristocracy and other special interests who are likely to be consulted by Mr. Montagu should be patriotic enough not to play into the hands of our enemies by repeating things which they know will please the bureaucracy, for in this momentous epoch of our country's history they should remember the sacred trust reposed on them by their mother-land, whose call they should honour even if they be not chosen representatives.

One word more, and we have done. The Viceroy has said that Indians will be employed in larger numbers in the higher branches of the public service in order to give them training in administration. Mr. Montagu has laid down the policy of "increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration". If this be their object, the recommendations of the Public Services Commission must be completely ignored and they must make a fresh start. We all know how essential it is to employ Indians in the higher branches of district administration, if the nation's character is to be built up from the foundations. Fawning, flattery, grovelling obsequiousness, is the prevailing atmosphere in the districts in intercourse between the

English officials and Indians. The fact that everywhere Indians are as a rule 'subordinates' is humiliating enough, but when the consciousness that the official superior is also a member of a close corporation and belongs to the ruling race is added to the sense of subordination, the divinity that hedges in the high district official becomes almost intolerable, and the consequence is that even the best men of the district can scarcely hold up their heads before him as man to man. Again, being a foreigner, the English official is more liable to be influenced by interested self-seekers whose characters they are unable to judge. This introduces an element of uncertainty in his dealings with the educated men of his district which precludes all effective cooperation. The result is that while the European official goes on drawing his fat salary and inditing long-winded reports and the educated and self-respecting Indian sulks in his tent, the public life of the country suffers an irreparable loss—all of which could be avoided by the appointment of Indians in district charges.

Mr. Montagu in his Mesopotamian Debate speech said 'I see the great self-governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and coordinated with the great Principalities—the existing principalities and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated into one central Government.' We shall not quarrel over words and shall,

for the nonce, accept Mr. Montagu's ideal of a federated and self-governing India. But let us not forget that in the coming reconstruction of self-governing principalities, all Bengali-speaking peoples are to be united under one provincial government. The partition of Bengal has been annulled, but all Bengal has not been united. In Bihar and Chota Nagpur on the west, and in Assam on the east, there are extensive tracts where the population is mostly Bengali. These outlying tracts should be brought into the fold and the new province formed on a linguistic basis. In cases of doubt, a plebiscite may be taken, and the views of the people of the affected tracts ascertained. The same will perhaps be demanded by the Marhattas and others whose homogeneity has been artificially sundered by their being placed under different provincial governments. All such claims of racial reunion should be sympathetically considered when the provinces are thrown into the crucible to emerge into self-governing states under a central federal Government, as outlined by Mr. Montagu. He will not need to be reminded that one of the main objects of Italy joining in the present war is to reunite *Italia Irredenta*—unredeemed Italy. Here as on the broader question of self-government, we cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India.

X.

## THE SOUNDS OF BENGALI

FOR some time past I have been endeavouring with the kind assistance of Mr. Daniel Jones, the well-known teacher of Phonetics in the University of London to make a fairly full and accurate record in phonetic script of the characteristic sounds of the Bengali language. I am now tempted to communicate the results such as they are, to readers of the *Modern Review*, in the hope of getting from them suggestions and corrections. In the following notes I do not use the phonetic script, now so universally em-

ployed in the discussion of questions of phonology. I doubt if the press of the *Modern Review* possesses the requisite types or if its readers are as yet familiar with them. That however matters little to readers in Bengal since they are familiar with the sounds themselves. Besides, I shall endeavour to show that our own Bengali বর্ণমালা is to all intents, itself a sufficiently accurate record of sound for purposes of discussion.

As we all know, the Bengali language,

in addition to the *tad-bharas* which it has taken from its parent Prakrit, has also freely borrowed an enormous number of *tat-samas* (chiefly nouns, verbal or other) straight out of Sanskrit. But, as we all also know, these *tat-samas* are not pronounced as in Sanskrit. Our pronunciation of them is affected by two circumstances, both of great interest from the point of view of the student of phonetics:

(1) The syllabic pronunciation of both vowels and consonants is, like that of the other great modern languages of India, Prakritic rather than Sanskritic. (2) Bengali, like French in Europe, has as its dominant audible quality, a phrase-accent of duration (not a stress-accent). This accent falls normally on the first syllable of a phrase, (in French it falls normally on the last syllable), the remaining syllables being enunciated rapidly and briefly. This circumstance, as I shall presently try to show, has affected the syllabic pronunciation of the language. As an example, take any longish word which is common to Hindi and Bengali and pronounce it in a Hindi and Bengali sentence respectively. In each case, you will find that the dominant accent is one of duration rather than of force (thereby differing from the accents of German, English, Dutch, &c.). But in the case of Hindi the accent is a fixed word-accent, always falling on the same syllable. In Bengali, a word only takes an accent when it begins a phrase. (In what follows, I use the word "phrase" to mean several words rapidly pronounced together, as in French and Bengali).

Take, for instance, the word *মৌকদ্দম*. Compare its sound in the two phrases *মৌকদ্দমটি উঠিয়া গিয়াছে* and *দেওয়ানী মৌকদ্দম*. সংখ্যা এই বঙ্গের কদ্রি বাইতেছে।

Now let me say that our Bengali alphabet has, like that of all modern and living languages, though not to so great an extent as most, become both redundant and defective. That is inevitable in the case of all languages like the great literary languages of Europe and India, which employ a borrowed vocabulary to which they inevitably apply the phonetic habits of the superseded speech. In fact, the main interest of current pronunciation, in India and Europe alike, lies in the fact that it may give us some clue to this superseded and usually forgotten speech. In vocabulary, its ruin and decay is common-

ly complete. In French, the number of surviving Celtic words is extraordinarily small; not more than thirty or so at most. In Bengali, the number of indigenous words recorded in dictionaries is equally limited, though others may still be heard in common speech, especially in districts like Sylhet and Chittagong. Here is a rich and unworked subject of investigation to which I draw attention in passing. But this is not the matter with which I am now trying to deal. It is a matter not easily set forth without the assistance of phonetic script. I must pray for the patience and forbearance of my readers if my exposition seems a little laborious and protracted.

First, then, our alphabet is obviously redundant. Take the case of the consonants alone. The three symbols *ক*, *খ*, and *গ*, express the same sound when they precede vowels. The difference between *ক*, *ঙ* and *ত* is imperceptible to the ear, I find, of a trained phonetician. *বুগাঁও* *ব* and *অড়ঃ* *ব* have the same sound. *ক* has come to have the sound of *খ*; *খা*—, *তা*—, *বা*—, *হা*— are now respectively *খা*—, *তা*—, *হা*— and *জ* or *ঝ*. I will not multiply instances. They are familiar to all students of the phonetics of Prakrit, and of the modern languages of India, their descendants. The point to note, as I shall presently show, is that these changes of consonantal pronunciation have also affected the vowel sounds accompanying them.

Let me here note, in passing, that we have one or two symbols which are not commonly recognised as such. We possess, for instance, a *ৱ*, represented by the symbol *ৱ* as in *বাক্ষ*. Which reminds me of another familiar instance of redundancy. We have the two symbols *জ* and *ঝ* to represent the sound of English *J*. This, however, is a peculiarity common to all the modern languages of India and Europe. Whether we ought on that account to adopt a system of "simplified spelling" is a moot point which has led to much spilling of ink. In Bengali, the need for such a change is much less evident than in the case of such a language as English, which contains such remarkable survivals of forgotten pronunciation as "though," "plough," "tough," "cough." The syllabic (Prakritic?) pronunciation of Bengali can



the parent Prakrit. As to the corresponding vowel changes, I am not so sure. Perhaps some reader of the *Modern Review* will note on this point.

What are we to say, then, as to the rules of *Sandhi* as applied to Bengali. Is it, as a phonetic fact, true that অ+অ=অ in Bengali? Is it true that অ+ই=এ, that অ+উ=ও? I suppose we must say that as a strict phonetic fact অ (as pronounced in Bengali) would not assimilate with উ to produce ও. But we can at least say that the spelling of words taken as *tatsamas* from Sanskrit is attended by perfectly regular pronunciation. It is true that অ+উ, ought to produce the sound of 'ow' in English 'how'. It does not do so in modern Bengali, but becomes something like 'O'. But it always produces that result, and the symbol ও has a definite sound attached to it.

I should like to say something about the phrasal accentuation of Bengali, but perhaps that deserves a separate study, especially with reference to its effect on Bengali metre. Let me merely state this theorem for more competent students to work out. The unit of pronunciation in Bengali as in French, is the phrase, not the word. Each phrase of several words rapidly but distinctly pronounced together has an initial accent of duration, which may (and no doubt is) also attended by a change of pitch-accent. The result is that Bengali verse is, like French verse, "syllabic" verse, in which the *রাজ* is the *অক্ষর* or syllable, each verse consisting of a fixed number of syllables. The *casura* is followed (in French it is preceded and announced) by a prolonged syllable, i.e., the syllable which carries the phrasal accent of duration.

If this account of Bengali phrasal accent is correct, what is its origin? Bengali does not seem to share it with the cognate Hindi of adjacent Bihar. Is it a survival from the language which was spoken in Bengal before Hinduism or Buddhism brought a Prakrit and Sanskrit vocabulary into the country? Is it, for example, a Dravidian survival, or borrowed from some such Tibeto-Burmese language as that of the Koches of Kuch-Bihar? That is a question which might be answered (not conclusively,

perhaps) by actual experiment and comparison. There we in India have an advantage over students of European languages. In Europe the Prakrits have practically obliterated the old indigenous tongues. In India many still survive and can be studied. I can promise anyone who works at the Tibeto-Burmese dialects of, for instance, Hill Tippera, or the Garo Hills, or Manipur, with still distinct traces of "agglutination" surviving in them, a very interesting experience. I have sometimes been tempted to believe that the long strings of conjunctive participles, which are used with such remarkably expressive effect in Bengali, are the result of disintegrated agglutinative verbs. In Kachari, a language akin to that of Hill Tippera, this change actually occurs. You can still use a verb composed of many agglutinative monosyllables (singularly like the monosyllabic roots of Bengali verbs), or you can add a participial termination to each of these monosyllabic roots and get a string of participles. It is possible too that here we may find the origin of our own Bengali "jingle" for reduplicate forms, such as *কাঁড় চোঁড়*, *বাঁড় বাঁড়*, &c., &c.

I must apologise for an obviously inadequate treatment of a difficult and complicated subject, and for a perhaps too positive and dogmatic statement of it. But I hope it will be evident that my sole object is to suggest rather than to solve a problem which can only be effectually handled by those to whom the language has been familiar from childhood. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has admitted, in his *দৃষ্টি*, that he did not realise, until he began trying to teach Bengali to a foreigner, how far from phonetic Bengali spelling is. What I venture to suggest is, that behind apparent irregularity is a substantial and easily recognisable uniformity which can be reduced to rule. To the native speaker, such a rule is unnecessary for practical purposes. But all disinterested study of any of the facts of human life is a valuable discipline of the mind, which, attempted in the right spirit, is truly scientific. Bankim used to complain that modern Hinduism has grown unscientific and unpractical. Perhaps the easiest and most promising remedy is to study the facts of language, accessible to us all, in a scientific spirit. To this matter, as to all subjects of enquiry, the old proverb applies

"नाना धनं नाना दत्त". Yes, but if all the *munis* are conscientiously striving to ascertain the actual facts, in the end we shall have certainty and agreement, results which are

in themselves valuable, and valuable too as the basis of further investigation

Cambridge

J D ANDERSON

June, 1917,

## THE POETRY OF SAROJINI NAIDU

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By JAMES H COUSINS

THE almost simultaneous reception within the pale of English literature of two poets, Indian by ancestry and birth, and acutely Indian in conscious purpose—Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore—is an event that offers a fascinating challenge to the student of literature. The challenge is capable, however, of only a partial acceptance its full implications and significance remain for the disclosure of the future. One special circumstance in each case makes a complete study at present impossible the chanting sage of Bengal is probably—only *probably*—beyond the period of his greatest utterance, but only a portion of his vast work has been put into English. We have, on the other hand, the complete expression of the Deccan songstress but it is premature to regard it as her utmost. There is, however, a more radical difference between them the work of Rabindranath, as it appears in English, is a translation, albeit done by the poet himself, and its title of poetry in the accepted technical sense is a courtesy title given in recognition of an invincible spirit that sifts the essence of poetry through the medium of rhythmic prose. Sarojini's work is English poetry in form and diction and, as an art, subject to all the laws and ordinances of that particular common instrument for the expression of individual souls.

If, however, we have still to wait for Sarojini's complete expression, there is beneath our hand sufficient work in quantity and kind to justify on a larger scale than a mere book review a study of her development to the point indicated in her book, 'The Broken Wing', which recently been published by William Heinemann of London. I have to confess

that this book has disappointed me. It does not add, except in quantity, to the poetess' revelation it goes no deeper and no higher than anything in her two previous books. In one respect, that is, in its preoccupation with love, it appears to go off into a *cul-de-sac*, and in the pursuit of this particular phase of her art, she sometimes achieves something that is perilously like insincerity, and an emotional untidiness that too often knocks her art to pieces. For example, in "The Time of Roses", she cries,

Put me in a shrine of roses  
Drown me in a wreath of roses  
Bind me on a pyre of roses  
Burn me in a fire of roses.  
Crown me with the rose of love

It may be too much to expect sequence in so abandoned a mood, but the mind sees something unworthy of good art, or even of common sense, in burning a person after they are drowned, not to mention the difficulty of crowning a person who has been already reduced to ashes. This is bad enough in the matter of technique, but the emotional fault goes deeper still in a song, "If you were dead," an expression of love so devoted that the singer wishes to die with the object of her affection. Two excellent lines, purely Indian, and in the manner of the earlier Sarojini, are these

For I feel like a burning veil  
That keeps our yearning souls apart.

They are followed by four lines in similar key, but of less power, but the song falls into the language and thought of the English ballad of the middle and late Victorian era of agnosticism relieved by sentimentality, an attitude foreign to Indian genius, and even in sharp contra-

diction, as we shall see, to the truer expression, of the poetess' real view of life and death :

If you were dead I should not weep—  
How sweetly would our hearts unite  
In a dim, undivided sleep,  
Locked in death's deep and narrow night.

Much nonsense is written in Western literary criticism about the relationship between art and philosophy ; but the fact remains that violence done to a poet's philosophy will show itself in the poet's art. Our poetess has flung herself into an emotional exaggeration that obscures the clear vision of the spirit, and she pays the penalty in positive ugliness in "The Pilgrim", in which slain deer are taken as "love's blood-offering"; and in "Devotion"—

Take my flesh and feed your dogs if you choose,  
Water your garden trees with my blood if you will

Keats truly said that poetry should surprise by a fine excess. But there is a wide difference between an excess that makes itself felt in all phases of the poet's consciousness, and an excessiveness that expands one phase at the expense of others. The most indulgent criticism could hardly call such lines as I have quoted "fine" in the Keatsian sense ; and it is not improbable that their redundant excessiveness is the complementary cause of such impoverishment of thought and figure as we find in,

Waken, O mother thy children implore thee,  
Who kneel in thy presence to serve and

The night is afish with a dream of the morrow.  
Why still dost thou sleep in thy bondage

Awaken and sever the woes that enthrall us,  
And hallow our hands for the triumphs

Whose hearts are thy home and thy shield  
and thine altar.

There is not an atom of cerebral stuff in the lines : they are exclusively rhetorical, and in the *rumtity tumtity* measure of the poorest English minor poetry. They have the characteristic inconsistency of such verse, in which some kind of sentimental emotion takes the place of the backward and forward vision that links idea to idea ; for they call on the mother, (that is, India,) to awaken and set the caller, (that is the people of India) free from their woes, while the caller professes to be the mother's shield. There is something very ineffective in a mother in a "bondage of

sorrow" and her children bound in woes that enthrall them.

When we place alongside such ill-done work, lines like these—"In Salutation to My Father's Spirit"—

O splendid dreamer in a dreamless age,  
Whose deep alchemic wisdom re-mailed  
Time's changing message with the undified  
Calm vision of thy Vedic heritage

and other lines that we shall quote later, we are moved to wish that the poetess would turn her attention deliberately, to some theme that would call out her own "Vedic heritage" of wisdom and song. We are picknickety persons, we lovers of poetry, and we are disturbed when the beloved shows herself worse than her best. For our comfort we hang on to poems like "The Pearl," which is as precious as its subject ; to "Ashoka Blossoms" that defies analysis as the true lyric should ; to "June Sunset" in its beautiful simplicity :

A brown quail cries from the tamarisk bushes,  
A bulbul calls from the cassia plume,  
And thro' the wet earth the gentian pushes  
Her spikes of silvery bloom.  
Where'er the foot of the bright shower passes  
Fragrant and fresh delights unfold !  
The wild fawns feed on the scented grasses,  
Wild bees on the cactus-gold.

The mind turns also to many an arresting phrase in interpretation of Indian life and nature, such as the temple bells :

Whose urgent voices wreck the sky ...  
or

The earth is ashine like a humming bird's wing,  
And the sky like a kingfisher's feather.

To get the full flavour of the last two lines, some acquaintance with Indian atmosphere, with its amazing variety of vivid colours, is necessary : indeed, all through Sarojini's work there are many lines of delicate imaginative beauty that must remain untrifled treasures to readers unacquainted with the East : for example,

Were greatness mine, beloved, I would offer  
Such radiant gifts of glory and of fame,  
Like camphor and like curds, to pour and proffer  
Before love's bright and sacrificial flame.

To the untravelled Western reader, "camphor" as a figure of speech will carry queer shades of meaning built up out of clothing and moths ; and "curds" will be flavoured only of dining rooms or convalescence. But one who has shared the offering of the substance of life to some Power of the inner worlds, or who has passed his hands through the smoke from camphor, that burns to nothing in token of the parti-



cipant's desire to be lost in the flame of the Divine, will find through such figures an entrance to the strongest place in the life of India, the place of religious devotion and the perpetual Presence.

It is five years since Mrs. Naidu's previous book was published—'The Bird of Time' 1912. In prefacing the volume Mr. Edmund Gosse declared that there was nothing 'or almost nothing' in the matured work of the author which the severest criticism could call in question. This is quite true up to that point and as we have performed the not very agreeable critical *dharma* of pointing out the subsequent development of the almost nothing we can now turn to the full enjoyment of the feast of song which the poetess of the Deccan has given to us in her first two books. 'The Golden Threshold' 1907, and 'The Bird of Time' 1912.

In his preface Mr. Gosse regrets how he induced the young Sarojini to scrap all her early imitations of English verse, and urged her to give some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere and penetrating analysis of native passion of the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East long before the West had begun to dream that it had a soul. So far however our poetess has not fulfilled all her counsellors' request. She has not given analyses of passion or religion but she has given something that the future may not consider less valuable: passion linked to all life not merely to one of its phases, religion in action not merely in theory. Mr. Gosse speaks of her astonishing advantage of approaching the task of interpretation from inside the magic circle, although armed with a technical skill that has been cultivated with devotion outside of it. Let us consider her work in these two aspects as Indian and as literature.

We have already observed the escape of India through phrases and figures of speech. Here are a couple more:

Why should I wake the jewelled lords  
Who offer oghs or vows  
Who wear the glory of your love  
Like a jewel on my brows

a reference to the Festival of Serpents, and to the notion (which may be a fact for aught I know) that the king cobra carries a gem in his forehead. She has another poem directly on the same phase of

India's religious life, without the human deflection of the foregoing:

Sw it are ye as streaks and soundless as the dew fall

Subtle as the light thing and splendid as the sun  
Seers are ye and symbols of the ancient's fence  
Where life and death and sorrow and ecstasy are one

The last two lines form a clue to Hindu polytheism and indicate the grasp of the spiritual unity behind the symbols lacking which slavery to the symbol—which is the only real idolatry—is inevitable. The living effect of the similes in each line is noticeable.

Besides these and many other so to say accidental revelations of India Mrs. Naidu has given us a series of deliberate presentations of phases of Indian life that have come under her eye and touched her heart and not the least successful are those that try to do no more than catch the simplest fancies or emotions of familiar scenes.

Palanquin Bearers for example, rests on no more substantial basis than the likening of a lady in a palanquin to a flower, a bird, a star, a beam of light and a tear. There is not a thought in it—it is without the slightest suspicion of literature, yet its charm is instantaneous and complete.

Dirge so vividly expresses the sorrow of bereavement that a recent English critic mistook it as indicating that the poetess was a widow.

Indeed in this latter respect, that is in her expression of the feminine side of Indian life our poetess brings us up at times against a threatened discussion of the problem of sex in poetry. We have to concede to her as much freedom to sing of human love from the woman's side as the poets have from the man's side. But there is a deeper aspect of the matter: an enlargement of consciousness beyond mere sex which strikes poetry from the best expressions of love and without which so-called love poems are merely poems about love. In the case of most masculine love poetry there is an idealization of the object which though in ironical contradiction to the facts of the marriage tie is capable of influencing an adjustment of the facts nearer to the heart's desire. But this is not the case with much of Mrs. Naidu's love poetry. We have already touched on one aspect of it in 'Devotion'. Let us take another example 'The Feast':

We are no scented lotus-wreath  
A Moon awakened dew-careless

Love, thro' memory's age long dream  
Sweeter shall my wild heart rest  
With your footprints on my breast.

Were this nothing more than a mood of the poetess we might accept it into memory, as we accept Dante Gabrielle Rossetti's love sonnets, as delightful—and impossible. In the case of Mrs. Naidu's poem just quoted, this is not so: it is a reflection of the whole attitude and custom of Hindu Society in relation to its womanhood; and the above stanza, despite its delicate beauty—or, rather, perhaps the more insidiously because of its beauty—is a menace to the future of India, because of its perpetuation of the "door-mat" attitude of womanhood, which is at the root of India's present state of degeneracy through not only its direct enslavement of womanhood, but through its indirect emasculation of manhood, and the stultification of action for national freedom through the possession of a bad conscience as regards their own womankind.

It is curious to observe that while, in both her private and public life, Mrs. Naidu has broken away from the bonds of custom, by marrying outside her caste, and by appearing on public platforms, she reflects in her poetry the derivative and dependent habit of womanhood that masculine domination has sentimentalised into a virtue: in her life she is plain feminist, but in her poetry she remains incorrigibly feminine: she sings, so far as Indian womanhood is concerned, the India that is, while she herself has passed on into the India that is to be. It is not often in literature that an artist is in front of his or her vision: but it is safest to leave the artistic implications of the circumstance for the fuller illumination of future volumes.

It is in such poems as those just referred to that we find those flaws of structure and expression which suggest a not quite authentic inspiration, a mood worked up till it becomes hectic and unbalanced; but when she touches the great impersonalities she discloses a fine power of phrase, a clear energy of thought, a luminosity and reserve that reach the level of mastery. Such qualities are seen in the verses addressed "To a Buddha Seated on a Lotus."

With futile hands we seek to gain  
Our inaccessible desire,  
Divine summits to attain,  
With faith that sinks and feet that tire;  
But nought shall conquer or control  
The heavenward hunger of our soul.

The end, illusive and afar,  
Still lures us with its beckoning flight,  
And all our mortal moments are  
A session of the infinite.

There you have the poetess rejoicing in the Shelleyan stretch of "inaccessible desire" and "heavenward hunger"; and there you have the *Indian* poetess, singing ostensibly of the Buddha, yet throwing the whole philosophy of the Vedanta into the last two lines.

There is another poem, of Mrs. Naidu's that here challenges attention as a fitting link between this brief consideration of her work as *Indian* and a glance at her work as *literature*. It is "Leili", and it is in "The Golden Threshold". The first stanza paints a typically Indian evening, with fireflies, parrots, sunset, and suggestions of the untamed life of nature, all in an atmosphere of stillness. Then she sings:

A caste mark on the azure brows of heaven,  
The golden moon burns, sacred, solemn, bright;  
The winds are dancing in the forest temple,  
And swooning at the holy feet of night.  
Hush! in the silence mystic voices sing,  
And make the gods their incense offering.

The immediate parallelism of elements in nature and in Hindu religious observance recalls the similar—and yet how temperamentally and racially different—method of Francis Thompson in his "Orient Ode", in which the pageant of sunrise and the ritual of Catholic worship appear to be identical:

Lo! in the sanctuaried East,  
Day, a dedicated priest,  
In all his robes pontifical expressed....

and so on through detail after detail. The symbolism in Mrs. Naidu's poem of the dancing winds as devotees in the temple of nature must surely stand among the fine things of literature; still, good as it is, it is poor in comparison with the splendidly daring piece of anthropomorphism of the first two lines. The figuring of the moon as a caste-mark on the forehead of heaven is in itself a unique achievement of the imagination in poetry in the English language. It lifts India to the literary heavens: it threatens the throne of Diana of the classics; it releases Luna from the work of asylum-keeper, and gives her instead the office of remembrancer "to Earth that the Divine is imprinted on the open face of Nature. And how miraculously the artist makes articulate the seer, and reinforces vision by utterance! State the matter directly and simply, and as a figure

of speech: "The moon burns (*like*) a caste-mark on the brow of heaven," and the meaning remains, but it is reduced to thin fancy. Now re-read the original visualise the images in succession—caste mark, brows of heaven, moon—note the immense conviction that the absence of "*like*" gives, lifting the lines from cold symbolism to the level of imaginative truth that is the home of the myths of all races; and you have come within hailing distance of the secret of poetry. But that is not quite all. The pattern, of which Stevenson speaks in "The Art of Writing", is there, and is not less remarkable for its inclusion than for its omission; but a detail of the pattern takes us a step nearer the secret. The two words "golden moon" are a perfectly simple statement of the burnished yellow of the rising moon in certain states of the atmosphere. Put it thus "The moon is the colour of gold," and it is true, but the truth depends on an act of memory, the moon herself is not present to the eye of the mind. But Sarojini's moon, through the very juxtaposition of the big vowels *oh*, and *oo* stands out ardent and palpitant, and makes the word "burn", which is false in fact as the moon only reflects, the one inevitable word to satisfy the imagination. We see the same effect in Thompson's lines which I have quoted, where, in the midst of a congregation of slender vowels, the priest enters in all the rotund importance of *oh*, *aw*, *ah* in "robes pontifical." Something is added to the effect of Sarojini's lines by the adverbs "sacred, solemn", ungrammatical though they be, by having their terminations docked—but the effect passes, unfortunately, into a pale anticlimax in "bright", a little unnecessary dab of phosphorescence beside the golden burning moon. It is said that Sarojini in her youth had dreams of becoming an Indian Keats. In this particular item she has out-Keatsed her ideal, for while his "gibbous moon" means convexity, it has to reach the mind by way of the dictionary it means, but does not create the spherical orb that Sarojini swings on a phrase into the firmament of the imagination.

It will take more evidence than is at present at our disposal, to enable us to decide whether or not we should have a grudge against our poetess for not giving more of the joy of such a combination of truth, imagination, and art. I do not

think her "caste mark" is accidental. I think it is integral to her genius, and permanent, I think also that the emotional strain of much of her work, and a certain restriction of method, are also integral, but temporary. The passage of years will subdue flame to a steady glow, and bring reserve which is power in place of excessiveness which leads to exhaustion. But in the matter of her restricted method, it is fairly certain that deliberate effort is needed if she is to escape from ruts into which she tends to run. This tendency appeared early, "Indian Weavers" in "The Golden Threshold" weave (1) a child's robe, (2) a marriage veil, (3) a funeral shroud. Corn Grinders tell of (1) a mouse, (2) a deer, (3) a bride, each of whom has lost her "lord." All through her three books we come across this habit of taking three aspects of a subject, and placing them in sequence, mainly without any vital unity, and hardly ever with any imaginative accumulation. Still, despite the mannerism, Mrs. Naidu has given us two haunting lyrics, both in "The Bird of Time." My first contact with Mrs. Naidu's poetry was through hearing "The Song of Radha the Milkmaid" recited by a young Oxford man. I shall never forget the mantic effect of the devotee's repetition of "Govinda" as she carried her curds, her pots, and her gifts to the shrine of Mathura. The other is "Guerdon," with its three refrains, "For me, O my master, the rapture of love! the rapture of truth! the rapture of song!" The objective may vary, but the rapture remains. It is not in the poetess to live at a lower degree, and in this particular case her energy has given us a song of the higher *kama* that will take its place among the lyrical classics. The poem justifies the method in its own case, but not for general application. Her metrical skill is capable of great variety. She gives us a specimen of Bengali metre reproduced in English.

Where the golden glowing  
Champak buds are blowing  
By the swiftly flowing streams  
Now, when day is dying,  
There are fairies flying  
Scattering a cloud of dreams

Each line, save the last, has two alliteratives, and these with the repeated *O* in the first line, and the interlinear rhyme of "flowing" in the third line, produce a haunting chime of bells and voices.

These things are, of course, the mere mechanics of poetry; still they contribute a very large element to the total effect, and may have a reflexive influence on the subtler elements for good or ill. In the matter of the thing said, as distinct from how it is said, we find the brain and the heart challenged by vibrant utterances from a will and an imagination that must surely triumph over recalcitrant emotion. Take a couple of examples of terse gnomic expression :

To-day that seems so long, so strange, so bitter,  
Will soon be some forgotten yesterday

That is an oft-sung truth stated with melodious and memorable newness. It is the passive aspect of

Let us rise, O my heart, let us gather the dreams  
that remain  
We shall conquer the sorrow of life with the sorrow  
of song

In these two pairs of lines there is the acute touch of sorrow and struggle. Those who know something of the heroic battle that Mrs. Naidu has waged against physical debility know that she sings of what she has lived. She does not gloss the facts of existence. She gives this message to her children :

Till ye have battled with great griefs and fears,  
And borne the conflict of dream-shattering years,  
Wounded with fierce desire and worn with strife,  
Children, ye have not lived : for this is life

At the same time, from the point of view of literature, we have to ask if there is no glumness of hope or of faith in a poet's work ; for life in literature, as in life itself, is positive and joyful : negation and pessimism are rootless and without progeny. We have not far to go in Sarojini's poetry to find the thing of life. Up to the present it has eschewed the reinforcement of the intellect : it is as delicate as

The hope of a bride or the dream of a maiden  
Watching the petals of gladness unfold,  
and looks toward the

.....timid future shrinking there alone  
Beneath her marriage-veil of mysteries,

(characteristic Sarojinian imagery) ; but it is there. We see it—the thing of life—in "At Twilight: On the way to Golconda," where the debris of history provokes the question :

Shall hope prevail where clamorous hate is rife,  
Shall sweet love prosper or high dreams have place  
Amid the tumult of reverberant strife  
Twixt ancient creeds, 'twixt race and ancient race,  
That mars the grave, glad purposes of life,  
Leaving no refuge save thy succouring face ?

Her answer is :

Quick with the sense of joy she hath forgone,  
Returned my soul to beckoning joys that wait,  
Laughter of children and the lyric dawn,  
And love's delight profound and passionate,  
Winged dreams that blow their golden clarion,  
And hope that conquers immemorial hate

It is further expressed in a spring song entitled "Ecstasy" :

Shall we in the midst of life's exquisite chorus  
Remember our grief,  
O heart, when the rapturous season is o'er us  
Of blossom and leaf ?  
Their joy from the birds and the streams let us  
borrow,

O heart ! let us sing  
The years are before us for weeping and sorrow . . .  
To-day it is Spring

I do not think our poetess has any need to borrow joy. The source of it is within herself in her grip of the fundamental verities that are hers by race and, I believe, realization. It is still as true as when Shelley uttered it, that "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought," but we are entering a new era in literature, at any rate in literature in the English language, in which the accent and joy of the spirit will be heard with increasing assurance and clearness. Certain of the younger poets have felt the first influences of the approach of that era, and their response has been made in attempted revolutions in the machinery of versification ; but the real revolution is from within : it is a matter as much of eye as of ear, for poetry is compounded of both vision and utterance, and heretofore the ear of the world has been confused with noises because its eye has wandered from the centre. The "sorrow of song" will be no less, but it will take on a new tone : it will drop the harshness of frustration, the sharpness of regret : its cry will not be the cry of pain inflicted, which comes from untrodden nerves ; it will be the cry of the intenser but less hurtful agony of bursting bonds ; the growing pains of expanding consciousness, as joyfully painful as the spring, as exquisitely pregnant as the sadness evoked by a glorious sunset, which is not sadness, but the call and response of immortal beauty, without and within, across the intervening twilight of mortal mind.

Mrs. Naidu has staked her claim in the new fields of poetry. Her eye is on the centre, and the singing circumference of her sphere will yet adjust itself. All things are

possible to one who can sing thus of "solitude"—even with the faulty metaphor of gleaning a glimpse—

Or perchance we may glean a far glimpse of the  
Infinite Bosom  
In whose glorious shadow all life is unfolded or  
Through the luminous hours ere the lotus of dawn  
shall re-blossom  
In petals of splendour to worship the Lord of the  
world

To anticipate that glimpse is to experience it to have found the place of reconciliation of beginnings and endings and to have touched the synthesis that is the genius of song

Sarojini Naidu's poetry belongs to the romantic school, but it is the romance that in its most passionate mood leaves no ashes in the mouth. She has lingered, like "Laurence Hope," in "The Garden of Kama," but with larger eyes and a less heavy chin. She has not become, as Mr. Gosse says she hoped to become, "a Goethe or a Keats for India", but she has succeeded in becoming a far more vital and compelling entity than a reflection she has become—Sarojini, with her own exquisite qualities, and with the not less interesting defects of those qualities. She has not yet shown signs of the constructive genius of either of her ideals, there is little "elevation" in the technical sense to the edifice of her song; it is an Indian bungalow with rooms opening off one another on the

ground floor, not a New York sky scraper, but she has already added to literature something Keats-like in its frank but perfectly pure sensuousness. Except in the use of a few conventional words, there is hardly any trace of derivative impulse in her work. She wrote to Mr. Arthur Symonds long ago, "I am not a poet really. I have the vision and desire, but not the voice." Since then she has found increasing utterance, imagination and emotion interacting, sometimes separately, as in "Indian Song", sometimes, as in "Street Cries," giving life and its emotional accompaniment in a single artistic mould. It is because of the measure of unique accomplishment and optimistic prophecy that emerges from the most searching criticism of Mrs. Naidu's work that one feels a pang of regret to find from the daily newspaper that the flares of the public platform often lure her away from the radiance of her "moon enchanted estuary of dreams." True, she is out for service to India at a time when it is urgently needed, she has questioned Fate as to whether she would fail ere she achieved her destined deed of song or service for her country's need, but while to those who cannot sing, there may be a distinction between song and service, such song as she has sung, and is capable of singing is among the greatest and most essential gifts of service which she can render to her country and the world.

## THE COMING REFORMS

By THE HON'BLE BABU SURENDRA NATH ROY

THE people of India, I mean those who live in British India, were on the cusp of expectation of having a share in a large number of political privileges after the termination of the war. This expectation was encouraged by the speeches and writings of British Statesmen in England and in India, and by the writings in some of the leading newspapers in England. What the form of those rights and privileges would be was the question which had been agitating the minds of the educated community of this country for the last two years. We have at last got a glimpse of what is to come. The announce-

ment that the Secretary of State The Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu was coming to India, coupled with the authoritative statement of his Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 5th September, have set at rest much speculation on the subject. We may not get at once self government in the true sense of the word, viz., control of the army, right to declare war or conclude peace, power to impose such taxes as the people may think proper. Our goal may be what Abraham Lincoln, the greatest modern American speaks of as "Government of the people, for the people and by the people", but I

think the "Reforms" to be introduced at present are only the precursors of more we are sure to get in the near future

I would say a few words about the Reforms in the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial. I may say at the outset that for the last few years various schemes of reforming the administration or rather for the gradual development of self government within the Empire on Colonial lines have been propounded by thoughtful men in England and by the leaders of progressive thought in India. They are certainly the legitimate dues of the educated and advanced communities in India. By the Minto Morley Reforms we have no doubt a larger number of representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council as well as the various Provincial Legislative Councils of the country, we have been given the right of moving Resolutions in the Councils, of discussing the Budget, the right of interpellation has been enlarged, an Indian member has been appointed in the Executive Council of the Imperial Government as well as in each of the major Provincial Governments, while two Indians and at present three have been appointed in the Council of the Secretary of State. These are no doubt valued privileges but they are not sufficient to satisfy the ambition of the rising generation of the Indians. The rights conferred were not sufficient to give the Indians a potent voice in the administration of their country. In the Provincial Legislative Councils there is a Finance Committee of official and non-official members, but they are consulted only with reference to certain items of expenditure in the Budget—the Committee having no voice in shaping the financial policy of Government. The now famous memorandum of the 19 non-official members of the Imperial Council suggests an increase in the number of members in the Legislative Councils of the major provinces to 100. It has also been suggested that in order to make the Legislative Councils really effective and the voice of the people felt in the Legislative Councils through their representatives, these councils should have control of the finances. The Council should have full and absolute control over such heads of expenditure as Sanitation, Education, Law, Justice, Co-operative Credit, Agriculture, Forest, etc., and a definite amount be allotted on these heads. It has been suggested

that there should be Committees of the House as there are in the Corporation of Calcutta. The idea is not a bad one, for I think there may be Committees to deal with each of the above departments to be presided over by the member of the Executive Council in charge of them. We have similarly in the Calcutta University not only a Senate which is a body similar to that of the Legislative Council and Syndicate which is the Executive Council of the Senate, but different Faculties or Boards of Studies. Different Boards or Committees may be formed, each consisting of a small group of members both official and non-official, for each important department of administration. The Provincial Legislative Councils are to consist as at present of a Governor, and an Executive Council of 4 (four) members and a Legislative Assembly of 100 members. The latter are to be elected by the Municipalities, District and Sub-District or Local Boards, registered Graduates and Fellows of the Universities, the land holding classes and the Mahamedan community, representatives of trade and commerce both Indian and Anglo-Indian, the educated community having a separate electorate. In the case of municipalities and District and Sub-District or Local Boards, the vote of each member of such bodies to be counted in determining the election. Gradually and within a short period of time the right of voting may be extended direct to the taxpayer in each municipality and to the cess payer in each District and sub-District Board with certain limitations.

It has been suggested that instead of giving the right of voting to the Council elections to Municipalities and District and Local Boards, the right of voting should be thrown open direct to the people. This is no doubt a good suggestion and the Mahamedan community have already got this right. But I think if the right of voting be thrown open to the people direct in addition to the qualifications to be prescribed by Government under the Rules, the voter must be literate.

I would however insist upon the candidate being a bona fide resident of the electorate, for which he is a candidate.

Each major province should be autonomous, having complete charge of the internal administration of the province and possessing full powers over provincial finance and legislation. The Indian mem

bers of the Executive Councils should be selected from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils for a period of 1 year. As regards the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Assembly, 4 of the members ought to be elected and 4 to be nominated and there should be a majority of elected non official Indians in the Council. Provision should also be made for the representation of important minorities and of special interests.

The Provincial Councils will have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans to impose and alter taxation. The ways and means of raising the necessary revenue will have to be submitted to the Provincial Legislative Council for adoption. Any Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly may be vetoed by the Governor only with the unanimous consent of the Executive Council. Should there be a difference of opinion among the Governor and the members of the Executive Council, the resolution will have to be sent back to the Legislative Assembly, and if again passed it will be binding on the Government. In any other case the Governor in Council may reject it. Bills may be introduced in the Legislative Assembly with its consent by the non official members.

I intend now to place my suggestion about the Supreme Government. The head of the Government should be as now the Governor General to be sent out from England and an Executive Council and an Imperial Legislative Assembly. The Executive Council should consist of six members half of whom should be Indians. The Indian members should be appointed by the Governor General with the consent of the Imperial Legislative Assembly out of a panel consisting of persons recommended by the Provincial Councils in the proportion of two from each major Province and one from every minor Province. The Imperial Legislative Assembly is to consist of 150 members as suggested in the memorandum of the nineteen members already referred to, three fourths of whom are to be non official elected. The members are to be elected by the Provincial Councils and also by the fellows and registered graduates of the Universities also by a certain class of rate payers of the capital cities and certain class of incometax payers.

The jurisdiction of the Imperial Government must include the army and navy, wars and expeditions, customs, tariff and Imperial taxation, currency and mints, foreign affairs and native states, the regulation of commerce and trade, railways and irrigation, famine relief and protective works, public debt postal and telegraphic service, relations of the different provinces and adjustment of inter-provincial relations and maintenance of direct relations with the Secretary of State for India. The Government of India should be vested with fiscal autonomy. It will derive its income from excise, salt, customs, post office and telegraph, mint, railways and also from interest and tributes. Each province, however, should pay a contribution to the Imperial Government whenever necessary. The above arrangements may continue for a period of 15 years and if the result of the experiment is satisfactory, larger rights and privileges may be conferred after the said period. This may constitute the first instalment of the Reforms. It is superfluous to add that mere increase in the number of members either in the Imperial Legislative Council or in the Provincial Legislative Councils will mean nothing if they are not invested with really larger powers.

I would suggest here one matter for the consideration of Government. Why should not the enlarged Legislative Councils be named the Indian Parliament? It may be that the Legislative Councils with their extended powers may not bear the least resemblance to the mother of Parliaments. The Parliament is supreme in the British Isles but here the government of the country which in common parlance is called the bureaucracy is supreme, there the Government is accountable to Parliament, here the Government is practically accountable to nobody. But if it is admitted that self government within the Empire on Colonial lines is our goal and to which we are gradually drifting, why should not the new and expanded Legislative Councils be denominated the 'Indian Parliament'? People may say what is in a name. I say it means a great deal. We are to have self government within the Empire on Colonial lines—such self government as Australia and Canada have got at the present moment. We can fairly expect a substantial measure of self government as a

first instalment after Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have had time to put their heads together and to consult public opinion on the subject on the spot. Australia and Canada have got their representative assemblies known as Parliament. Why should not the Legislative Councils in India be similarly known?

I shall now say a few words with reference to the larger employment of the Indians in positions of trust and responsibility. The appointment of two instead of one member in the executive councils either of the supreme government or the provincial governments will not be very much appreciated by the people if other positions of trust and responsibility are not similarly thrown open to the Indians. The number of high offices in the country to which Indians have hitherto been appointed is limited. It is admitted on all hands that there ought to be greater participation on the part of the people of this country in the government of the country—whether in the work of administration or of legislation. The Royal Commission on the employment of the Indians to the public services in India has no doubt dealt with the question of the employment of the Indians in the public services but the educated Indians think that the report if acted upon will not and can not satisfy their legitimate aspirations. A great deal of labour has no doubt been spent on the work of the Commission but truth to say the report is now only of academic interest, for if it is acted upon it can never satisfy the claims of the people of this country. It is our honest conviction that Government can employ a larger number of Indians to positions of trust and responsibility without waiting for any report. It requires no commission to inform Government of the capacity of Indians for employment on a much more extended scale to high offices than Government have hitherto thought fit to admit. I would suggest that at least half the number of appointments in the higher services ranging from membership in the Executive Council of the Governor General to the posts of District Judges and District Magistrates should be filled at once by Indians. I mean within a stated period, say within the next 10 or 15 years from the end of the war. This should be exclusive of the Indians now in the Covenanted Civil Service. Before the establishment of

the High Court in Behar, out of 20 Judges in the Calcutta High Court, 7 were Indians, that is more than one-third, while in Madras a little more than a year ago, nearly half the number of High Court Judges were Indians. If in the highest judicial tribunals in the country, half or nearly half the number of posts could be filled by Indians, it seems rather surprising that at least half the number of District Judgeships could not be filled by them. Similarly with reference to the post of the District Magistrate or Superintendent of Police, almost all appointments in the education department except probably a few Professorships of English literature, higher Mathematics, Science and Medicine, may be filled up locally. The same may be done as regards appointments in the departments of Engineering, Agriculture or Forest service. Qualified Indians, men of education and character, should be appointed. I think I am not wrong in saying that proper men would not be wanting to fill at least half the high government offices or at least that this can be done within the next ten or 15 years. There is, I need hardly say, much discontent in the public services, because better qualified Indians have been placed under Europeans admittedly less qualified—not to speak of cases in which Indians of equal qualifications have been placed in superior service to the Indians. Larger employment of Indians in the public services means, a reduction in public expenditure. An educated Indian of equal qualification to that of an Englishman would not mind taking a little less pay if he were only placed in the same service as the Englishman.

I shall now deal with the question of extension of Local Self-Government in the country. If reforms are to be introduced in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, there ought to be devolution of power in the District administration as well. Steps should be taken to allow all Municipalities to have their own elected Chairman and also their own Commissioners except in mill municipalities. District Boards should also be given the opportunity of electing their Chairman, specially those Districts where suitable men are to be found. Measures should also be taken to foster the growth of village organisation by formation of what is known as "Union Committees", which ought to be purely elected bodies.



'Union Committees' or 'Village Communities' are, to use the language of Sir Charles Metcalfe, "Little Republics", the indestructible atoms from which Empires were formed, ought to be fostered by all means. They existed at one time in this country but gradually have been disappearing with the growth of more polished civilisation. I am glad to observe that since the publication of my pamphlet in November 1915 on Local Self Government in Bengal, the Government of Bengal has taken steps to create a large number of union committees and introduce other salutary reforms advocated in my pamphlet throughout the Presidency which will have the effect of fostering Local Self Government to a very large and appreciable extent. There are, however, some who have manifested at the present moment an unusual anxiety for extension and development of local self government in the country and want to put aside the real grievance which is agitating the minds of the educated Indians viz a larger share, a more potent voice in the administration of the country. People are led to doubt the sincerity of those who have manifested this great and unusual interest in the extension of local self government at the present time. Local self government in India at least as it is understood at this moment is more than 30 years old. We are gravely told and that after more than a generation that we are still to serve our apprenticeship in self government only by devoting our energies in fostering local self government, that is in looking after village drains and village roads or the excavation of a tank here or a tank there without at the same time having any voice in the government of the country. That government could have done much more than it has hitherto done in cherishing local self government in the country is well known to those who have studied the question. I would cite only one instance in support of my statement. So far back as the year 1883, Mr Westmacott one of the most experienced members of the Indian Civil Service, was placed on special duty to prepare the way for the introduction of the Local Self Government Bill by the creation of a network of Village Unions throughout the Province of Bengal so that they might be in operation as soon as the Local Self Government Bill was passed. The Bill was passed in 1885. Mr Westmacott framed a scheme for

the formation of 180 Unions in seven subdivisions of the Presidency and Burdwan divisions and in the Munshigunge subdivision of the Dacca District. We find how ever in 1914 about 30 years after Mr Westmacott's report, that only 61 union committees had been established. There ought to have been at least 5000 such committees and not 61 only by the year 1914, if the Government had worked in right earnest since the passing of the Local Self Government Act. Let there be an advance and extension in Local Self Government by all means. That is however no reason why the people should remain deprived of the higher rights and privileges which it is the birth right of every civilised nation to possess—why they should not have a voice and a potent voice in the administration of the country.

The martial races of India have shown their valour in the continent of Europe side by side with their British and French comrades. Grant of commissions in the army and the opening of a school for the proper training in the army are the fitting recognition of their acts of heroism. Even the much maligned Bengali race has done and are doing their share in this world wide contest. The services of the Bengali Ambulance Corps have been appreciated by their Excellencies the Viceroy and by the Governor of Bengal.

On the 7th August 1917, H E Lord Carmichael was pleased to announce at a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held at Dacca that H E the Viceroy had sanctioned the formation of a Double Company of Bengali Army consisting of about two hundred and fifty men. The double company of 250 men is now a full fledged regiment and has left the shores of India probably for Mesopotamia. These are no doubt valued privileges and the educated community had been longing to get them for sometime past. Over and above all this we have been asked to join the Defence of India Force.

To show how sincere has been the desire of the educated Indians to fight in this war side by side with the British Army, I shall cite only one instance. Refused a commission in the British army, a Bengali youth a B Sc of an English University, entered it as a private and was killed in action in France on the night of the 23rd

May 1916. This is what the Captain of his regiment wrote to his brother:—

"His loss is felt very much throughout the whole of the Company as he was one of the most popular men in the Company. He always showed himself to be a keen and upright soldier and myself and officers of the company thought a great deal of him. The Lieutenant thus wrote of him—He was regarded as one of the best by his comrades and they one and all join with me in offering their condolence."

The pronouncement of H E the Viceroy with reference to the operation of the Arms Act is significant. His Excellency will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial distinctions.

His Excellency the Viceroy has made a survey of all the burning questions of the day—all questions in which the people of this country are vitally interested. We are pleased at the announcement that a definite advance must be made in the sphere of education, specially of primary education. It is useless to clamour for larger political rights if the masses of the people have not at least some education, unless steps are also taken to elevate their condition. If my memory serves me right it was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon when Sir Edward Baker was the finance member of the Supreme Government that a large sum of money, probably £900,000, were allotted for primary education. Probably no portion of the amount was spent for the purpose. No one knows why it was not spent. If there be a recurring grant of like amount every year for primary education, this question will be solved in no time.

Let England fulfil the hopes and aspirations and ambitions she has herself awakened in the minds of the Indian people. Let England only remember what Burke said more than a century ago, "that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have

obligations, that a superior race is bound to observe the highest current morality of the time in all its dealings with its subject race." The educated Indian is not in favour of revolutionary changes but of a substantial advance towards real self-government which would be the strongest safeguard against any revolutionary propaganda. India asks for justice. Indians want sympathy. "If you would gain mankind," said Bentham, "the best way is to appear to love them, and the best way of appearing to love them, is to love them in reality." England has nothing to fear in India. It is inhabited by a peace-loving and law-abiding people. England is destined to reap here a harvest of glory which has fallen to the lot of no other nation of which history bears record. As the late Judge D. P. Hatch of Los Angeles writes in the "War Letters from the Living Dead Man", "She (England) has carried the torch round the world. She has tied continents together and woven the chain which will bind men to each other in days that are to come." Under the vivifying influence of British rule, the Indians have awakened from the torpor of ages. The dry bones in the valley have become instinct with life. There has been an extraordinary intellectual activity within the last few years. There is manifestation of a new life which though it struggles convulsively under a mountain of difficulties, is life all the same. I have never despaired of the fate of my country, and countrymen. I have no doubt that we shall be able to surmount what seems to us at first sight insurmountable obstacles in our path. Let us gird up our loins and advance with the forward, flowing tide of time. We have a glorious future before us. Let us act heart within and God overhead.

## THE CYCLE OF SPRING

"THE Cycle of Spring" is the latest play of Rabindranath Tagore among the symbolical series first begun by him nearly six years ago. Up till now, Rabindranath had made no attempt to

interpret the philosophy of life, if there was any, underlying his great symbolical plays, such as the Post office, The King of the Dark Chamber and others not yet translated. For the first time, in the "Cycle of Spring," he felt the need of putting forth an interpretatory prelude or introduction, which

although it is a part of the play itself and an excellent setting to it, is still palpably a conscious execution. But, fortunately, unlike Maurice Maeterlinck or Leonid Andreiev, the great Russian writer of symbolical plays, he has not rushed into any well defined category or canon of the new form of dramatic art he has introduced, neither calling the future theatre like Maeterlinck as one 'of peace and beauty without tears' and therefore prohibiting all violent exhibition of passions within it, nor like Andreiev naming the modern symbolical type of drama as *Panpsyché* or all thought drama, thereby barring action altogether from the sphere of dramatic art. He has touched in the prelude on the fundamentals of art and life, but he has carefully avoided laying down any art canons or any schematic philosophy of life. The poet himself confesses that whether his play is "a drama, or a poem, or a play, or a masque he cannot say" and that there is no "philosophy in it, except that the theme of the thus undefinable work of art he introduces is 'life', which again is not easy of definition. This is a great relief that the poet does not dogmatise about his theories of life and art, like most others who are either his contemporaries or his predecessors, nor does he standardise the type that he creates. For, inasmuch as life cannot be defined since it moves from change to change, art which explores and expresses life must also be infinitely varied.

The prelude is however no prologue and apparently seems to have no connection with the main play itself. But it will be seen that notwithstanding their themes being different and the types of the plays being different—one being realistic and the other symbolic—both plays are vitally connected and belong to an organic whole. The prelude bids farewell to the old, old in every sense,—the old in religion, in society, in art, and in everything that affects life. The play bids the new. The poet stands as a witness between the two orders and it is he who wakes up from trance the bewildered king, the representative of a large section of people, who stick in pure habit to the old order yet whose hearts feel drawn towards the new. In the prelude, therefore, we discover our own country and ourselves as sunk in the depths of the 'ocean of renunciation' for centuries and ruled by greedy and selfish priests like *Shrutibhusan*. They are clever enough to have realised that the surest way of making lucre is to increase the dose of the opiate of passivism and quietism, with which they have been serving our people for centuries in order to ensure the permanence of their regime. So perfect has been their success, that when famine cries hard at the door, the answer is, "The burning of hunger is quenched at last on the funeral pyre." And is this not absolutely true of the Indian life as we know it?

The king, as I have said is nothing but a representative of a fairly large section of our people. Two grey hairs have appeared behind his ear—death has left his card of invitation and in vain his vizier calls his attention to urgent state business, such as famine and war. He must compose his mind and therefore he cannot attend to state affairs any longer. The cries of the starving people must be stopped, the foreign ambassador from China must be sent away. The latter is suggestive of the once cordial and spiritual relation that subsisted between India and China, between India and the outside world. The world is thus shut out and *Shrutibhusan*, the Pandit, is called in with his 'Book of Renunciation'. His verses of renunciation are very much appreciated by the king and when he is rewarded with gold,

the Pandit suggests that he would like to have a permanent treasure of a province and a good house and both are lavished on him and also the promise of a gift of ornaments to his wife. Thus, loaded with gifts, the priest sets himself to the practice of devotion and renunciation, because he finds worldly needs very very distracting. *Shrutibhusan* is a true type of the ordinary Brahmin priest and his philosophy has been and is still the philosophy adhered to by millions in India.

But times are changing fast. Poets and seers are coming with a new life, with a ring of the joys of life and activity and who make the glad announcements that deliverance is not in renunciation. They reject the old order. The vast body of rituals and myths and symbols, which had hitherto acted as cements to the building of society, and which had given millions of people shelter and nurture before, afford no shelter now. The creed of priests and Brahmins had long become outworn. The priest himself had become degenerate because the creed he had been imposing on the people was no living creed. In such a time of religious crisis seers must come and poets must come who will advise us to sweep away the rubbish heap that blocks the road to progress and to march bravely forward on the open highway of life. Such a poet and seer is Rabindranath himself. Therefore, it is mighty interesting that a poet with his message should be introduced to rouse the king up from his sloth and inactivity, from the inertia which the departing doctrines of *Shrutibhusan* have brought upon him. And the poet Shekhar appears on the scene.

His mode of renunciation is different. Although "deliverance is not for him in renunciation," he keeps and uses the term 'renunciation', only to invest it with a new significance. So when he assures the king that on that white ground, (his grey hair) Nature will paint new colours and proposes that he can be a fit companion in the king's practice of renunciation, the king is surprised beyond words. For poets were, in the past, in Sanskrit and ancient poetry, considered to be mere entertainers and poetry was a recreation. The role that the poet now offers to take up is really that of the priest, the Guide of Society. How can that ever be possible? But the poet tells the king that his renunciation means deliverance not from life immersed in passion, pulse and power, but from the low desires, from self-absorption, from the spirit of tradition and convention, into the 'highway of the open world'. He says, 'In the open world, all is change, all is life, all is movement. And he who ever moves and journeys with this life movement dancing and playing on his flute, as he goes, he is the true Renouncer'. He does not seek peace, but cries with Browning 'Strive and thrive, speed, fight on'. He does not pursue the permanent, because he knows that life is continually renewed through change and death.

The poet Shekhar's new message of renunciation naturally and inevitably reminds us of Walt Whitman's *Song of the Open Road*, which bears out a different mode of expression the same thoughts. Walt Whitman also aspired to build a new spiritual world. He says—

"All parts away for the progress of souls,  
All religion all solid things, acts, governments—all that was or is apparent upon this globe, falls into angles and corners before the procession of souls along the grand roads of the universe."

But all this doctrine of life movement, of eternally renouncing in order to gain eternally, may after all

appear to be a doctrine of frohesome sport of life, of living from moment to moment and leaping from pleasure to pleasure and the renouement may simply be a cloak for avoidance of that staleness and ennui which must follow the repetition of a uniform programme of life. The King's question is therefore very apt, "What can your youthful poet Renouers do to relieve sufferings?" For, acceptance of life means acceptance of the burden of human misery. And if the old ideas of *vairagya* or renunciation are to be eschewed, what will be their substitute to reconstruct man's ethics and practical religion on a wider and deeper basis?

In answer to this great question, the poet really expatiates on the oft quoted passage of Browning —

'O world! as God has made it all is beauty

And knowing this is love, and love is duty'

He says—love is duty—"We work, because we are in love with life." To love life is to live life. The poets "accept pain with all their strength and with all their strength they remove pain." The poets are the truest workers. The cry of famine and distress is therefore the "cry of life to life." Life must respond to life. And with this interpretation of life, he succeeds in rousing the king to action and sets before him the drama of the old and the new, the drama of life and death, the drama in which winter is disrobed and discovered to be spring, and death is unmasked and discovered to be the continuation of life.

## II

Is it not significant that 'Talgam' or 'The Cycle of Spring' was acted in Calcutta as a benefit performance to relieve the distress of the famine stricken people at Bankura? 'The Cycle of Spring' when it originally appeared in a magazine was without the prelude, probably the performance in Calcutta inspired it. For it was obviously incongruous that a distress owing to famine should be relieved by the frohesome sports of youth. That the spirit of eternal youth which the play represented was not mere impulse and abandon, exuberance and fun, but was something deeper, graver and sublimer, something that spun and wove in its very texture the sorrows and miseries, the doubts and despairs, the throbbing heart beats of humanity, was liable to be forgotten or misconstrued by the audience. They would find it difficult to grasp the idea that the spirit of youth was the spirit of the soul and the spirit of Nature. It is the old which is the Eternal Bogle, manifesting itself in various forms, as priest, law, code, custom, convention formula, creed and what not. The fear of this Bogle must be removed, if man is to take his seat in the theatre of the world, where the drama of life and death is eternally represented in Nature and in Humanity. Human Life is incessantly renewed through the series of change and death which fail to clog it and block its onward march; Nature is also incessantly renewed through the same process. The theme of the eternal world-drama is the eternal rejuvenation of Nature and Humanity.

And verily, must such a drama inspire a poet to renew humanity, renew society, art, religion and everything. The present world, with its frightful scenes of war and devastation, of miseries running rampant everywhere and increasing beyond measure and of groans of suffering humanity, is passing through the throes of birth and to the prophetic vision of the poet that birth of a rejuvenated humanity and civilisation is not far off. 'The Cycle of Spring' is breathing all over with the skyliving fragrance of that hope, is shining with the effulgent lustre of that

high faith, is lyrical with the joyous music of that bliss to come. Therefore it was only meet that when it was acted as a benefit performance, its message must be brought home to the audience and the prelude be added to bid adieu to the Old and welcome the New.

The play is dedicated to the boys of the Shantiniketan School, who have freed the fountain of youth hidden in the heart of this old poet and to Dinendranath, the guide of those boys.

It was first acted at Shantiniketan by the boys. Those wonderful boys unconsciously imbed so much of the spirit of the poet and of his love of Nature, growing in the free atmosphere of the asram, that any play which would elsewhere be reckoned as not actable, would be perfectly actable to them. Like the performance of Mysteries and Miracle plays, the Moralities or the Early Tragedies of the mediæval times and after in Europe, when the cathedral would be transformed for the nonce into a theatre by enterprising monks or any rude platform would quite suffice for an acting, or like our own Jatras, pieces of beautiful open air acting accompanied with music, the natural, unconventional, simple acting of the Bolpur boys appeals to all people except to those who have become hardened to the conventions of the Modern Stage. But when the play was to be represented to those very people and in an atmosphere where the background of the infinite space above and below, the sky studded with stars and the vast plain with its everlasting wash of air were absent, it was apprehended that the play might not be an equal success here, in Calcutta, under such obvious disadvantages. For 'The Cycle of Spring' is not a play for the stage, at least not for the stage as it is to-day. In the first place, there is little action. The theme is that a band of youths have set out to find the Old Man who lives in a cave, they take it as a play for their spring festival and they are inspired to it by their Leader. They have in their company the phisist of a 'Dada' at whom they fling all their aspers of humour, because he is wise and grave and averse to play and has interminable and untiring energy in producing and reciting dullest quatrains full of trite moral maxims,—just the type of the convention bound, routine ridden drybone. That is all. It might therefore be thought that this complete absence of action, this absolute dependence of the play on the inner movement of psychical ideas—the gradual accumulation of effect—could only interest an imaginative audience. But strange enough, the play was an unparalleled success in Calcutta, and the stage effect was marvellous. How? Not because the audience were possessed of a greater degree of imagination than found ordinarily, but because the execution of the whole play was supremely artistic.

It is said that the great musician Wagner had a theory that the highest form of art, in future, would be drama combined with music. The drama is the perfect form of the representative arts, and music is the perfect form of the presentative or the creative arts. The blending of both ought therefore to produce the highest form of art. We know that already there have been many cross combinations among the arts experimented upon. There is lyrical drama and dramatic lyric; symbolical drama and dramatic symbol in painting. Music has been made dramatic in opera and there have been colour representations of the drama. It is evidence of the superiority of Rabindranath as an artist that he has made an experiment of drama on an altogether new line by combining music and

masque or pantomime with the drama proper and interweaving the drama of nature with the drama of human life, which no other living dramatist has done today. He is bold enough to say, "The play of spring in nature is the counterpart of the play of youth in our lives." And he opens "the door of each act," by the key of song. There is a song prelude, the drama of nature, before each act. So when the performance began and the first scene opened with song pantomime, and tiny boys representing the bamboo and the champak blossom and a troop of girls dancing representing birds, appeared as heralds of spring with songs and dances, the audience seemed to listen, as it were, to the voices of Nature herself and a tremour thrilled them rocking them along with the bamboo and rousing them into the 'rapture of new leaves.' The supremely artistic execution of this song prelude cannot be overrated. This lyrical element in the play introduced by one, whose supremely lyrical genius has seldom been surpassed in the history of world literature, has made the play so extremely fascinating and was one of the causes of its stage success. But there are various other dramatic resources also. Wit, humour and sarcasm pervade the play throughout and these kept up the interest of the audience. But more than anything else, more than the nature representations of songs, more than the delicate humour and irony of the players, their songs at Dada and the Watchman and the Ferryman, the spirit of exuberance and gaiety of youth—more than all the appearance of the poet himself on the stage impersonating the blind Minstrel—his stately figure, his wonderfully expressive voice, his song touching the chord of every heart—accounted for the success of the play. The audience were in a trance, they sat fixed to their seats. Now they were led to the depths of nature's secrets now to deeper depths of the soul by the songs of the blind Minstrel. The playgoers of Calcutta were convinced that a play without action and characterisation, without any stage preparations, without that 'tawdry overdressing' as the poet calls them in condemnation, could be interestingly represented and enjoyed. This was an important advance in the history of the Bengal stage.

III

As I have indicated a band of youths have set out to find the Old Man and they take it as a play for their spring festival. They are all men. Why woman is left out in this play altogether why woman should not have her legitimate place in the finding out of the Ever New in the heart of the old and in the rejuvenation of life, is a mystery. Probably the quest of the Ever New and the enterprise that attends it suits man better, probably woman represents the conservative instinct of society more than the creative. However, here we are concerned with youths youths not yet crusted, not old hard fossils who fear to move or to set out on a new enterprise. These are youths bubbling and foaming with exuberance of life and mirth, of hope and faith. There are only two characters among them one is the Leader 'the guiding impulse in our life' and the other is Chandra, 'he who makes life dear to us.' These are the two stars, the rest are in a state of nebula. They are mere impulses, and indicate a mere movement. Hence they cannot be taken as individuals. In fact except the 'Dada,' who has already been introduced there is not any other realistic character in the whole play. The rest are pure symbols, either of life impulse or of the charm of life or of the dynamic process of life.

In the first act, the youths whom the April air has 'filled with bewilderment of mirth' confront Dada, who is described as one 'to whom duty is the essence of life, not joy,' but who is better described, it seems, as nihilism incarnate, as the archpriest at the shrine of the old life is the protagonist of the poet Shukhar. He boasts that 'he has never written a line not inspired by an actual fact' and in Bengal 'there are lots today who could-mim poets like Shukhar and their school on the ground of unintelligibility and mysticism and claim that poetry must be based on facts. Therefore, Rabindranath holds out for them their 'tastutantra' poet in Dada. Finished philistines like this gentleman can never appreciate the literal child in man. So when the youths in their boisterous exuberance of spirits propose to burn Dada's manuscript book and to strip off his grey philosopher's cloak and point out to him in their own justification that the 'Earth and are ever striving to be new,' he laughs over their 'childishness.' For, philistines like him are unaware that genius has been defined as the power to become a child and the world's greatest poets and artists have shown the spirit of the child, in their lives and works. Shelley was a child in his unconventionality, his impulsiveness. Kingsley boasted that he was a child. Rossetti was extremely childlike. All the interest of Dickens' novels lies in his children and wonderful children they are. Stevenson was Bohemian till the last. Charles Lamb it seems never grew old in his life and his Dream children, a reverie in Elia is quite an autobiographical bit. Wordsworth's 'Ode' is an unmistakable evidence of his childlike spirit. Mr. Chesterton somewhere says that in this bright world the creator keeps vigil over the pageants of seasons and shouts 'Do it again!' to the Earth and Stars because God is a child and loves to repeat untravelling. Mr. Wells in his new book 'God the Invisible King,' while he holds that children do not love God, says yet that 'children are sometimes very near to God. Creative passion stirs in their play.'

The child is always in touch with elementals, and so is the true artist, and the true poet.

Therefore, the youths, who are enamoured of Chandra, who is the charm of life and who is so childlike in his sweet ringing laughter, find it hard to tolerate the sleek complacencies of the routine wisdom of Dada, preaching to them trite moral maxims through quatrains and always proceeding to explain them elaborately, because he thinks that in poetry the meaning and the substance is the most important thing of all. When they propose to play in the spring festival, their creative play is misunderstood by Dada to be merely wasting time. They, therefore, sing about play and say that life is play and work is play. Creation is play and destruction is play. They might have added that God's creative energy is nothing but play.

Speaking of the likeness of God, Mr. Wells writes in his new book, 'God the Invisible King'—

'He should stand lightly on his feet in the morning time, eager to go forward, as though he had but newly arisen to a day that was still but a promise. He should bear a sword, that clean, discriminating weapon, his eyes should be as bright as swords, his lips should fall apart with eagerness for the great adventure before him and he should be in very fresh and golden harness, reflecting the rising sun.'

I have not read in literature a more beautiful picture that might suit the young God of this age and the spirit of youth of this age better. If I were

to picture the youths of 'The Cycle of Spring,' I could not call up a better representation of them.

But such spirit as theirs can never be comprehended by people like Dada, in this country or elsewhere, by people who have never felt in their veins the great primal joy that still bursts in nature, the perpetual sense of amazement and wonder before life and the universe. People who worship the old, the time-honoured Bogey, lose this joy, this sense of strangeness altogether. A critic of Maurice Maeterlinck has written that the greatest phase of his thought is his invincible sense that 'all experiences are equally penetrated by the genuine and the infinite energies of Nature.' Maeterlinck, that critic claims, is the seer of 'the truth, beauty and depth of the humblest and most ordinary events of life,' quoting in Maeterlinck's own beautiful words. If it can be said of Maeterlinck, it can be said with far greater truth about Rabindranath. It can also be said about the youths he calls up to fight the Eternal Bogey, to rejuvenate life.

Their whole attitude is summed up in the following song which they defiantly hurl at Dada when he questions 'Won't you ever attain Age? —

"Our hair shall never turn grey,

Never

There is no black in this world for us,

No break in our road,

It may be an illusion that we follow

But it shall never play us false,

Never

Our hair shall never turn grey

Never

We will never doubt the world and shut our eyes to ponder,

Never

We will not grope in the maze of our mind

We flow with the flood of things, from the mountain to the sea,

We will never be lost in the desert sand,

Never"

With this song, they set out in quest of the old Man who is said to live in a cave and to be of frightful and ominous portents. And in this onward journey of life, this bold adventure to go deep into the mystery of life and death,—the one quest of human life,—they leave behind 'all fears all quatrains all Fables and all Scriptures.' For them, all idols are shattered, legends of myths, symbols, rituals and ceremonials, all which haunt high as Authority, are hacked to pieces. They are the children of the new age and no longer look to the past.

#### IV

The second act is much in the same strain as the first. In the song prelude, in Nature drama, old winter is disclosed as teased by the boys and girls representing spring heralds. They sing to him 'We know you carry your jewels of youth hidden in your grey rags.' And, in the human drama, the youths are abroad in their quest of the Old Man and have arrived at the ferry, where in a parley with the Ferryman first and with the Watchman afterwards they try to explain the purpose of their adventure with the result that both the Ferryman and the Watchman are driven completely 'at their wit's end and are at last convinced of the utter insanity of the party. For everyone, like the Ferryman who knows about the 'way' and the Watchman who keeps vigil on the 'wayfarers' in the dark of nights, is mightily afraid

of the 'Old Man', who is Death and the various forms of death and decay that seem to overcome life. Humanity, up to the present age, has stood in awe before that 'veiled Being', as Mr Wells calls him, the mysterious and the dark Beyond, whose veil science fails to lift. He chills and freezes man's blood with a shudder on his approach at deep midnight, when the dearest treasures of our heart are snatched away by him from our midst, when the curtain suddenly drops and we are left to wait in the dark with no answer from behind the screen. The Ferryman confesses that 'his business is limited only to the path. But whose path it is and what it means he has no occasion to enquire.' The Watchman also admits that he knows the wayfarers but he does not know their features, for they are kidnapped suddenly in the night! So these two persons, hardened by experience of death, are still wholly ignorant of Death and the question that anything more may really be known about Death beyond what the everyday experience of the world tells us, seems to be preposterously absurd and mad to them. Besides, the youths propose to have him for their spring festival and such dalliance with the Arch Fear, the Bogey, which has haunted Man since the beginning of days, can only be accounted for as utter madness. Then again, these fellows candidly and unabashedly acknowledge that they are mad, childish 'neither too good nor wise',—in fact all the abusive epithets that the Ferryman and the Watchman fling at them in disdain. When they are called mad, their answer is 'we have been like this from the beginning' and 'we shall go on like this to the end. They sing and dance about their madness in ecstasy, saying 'we become frantic, we dance.' When they are ridiculed as 'childish', their reply is 'we have become confirmed children.' And again they must answer all questions by songs and contend that 'otherwise the answer becomes too unintelligible.' All this is too much, indeed, for the poor simple country folk, hardened and encrusted as they are in their superstitions, people who have accepted all the facts of the world as facts without question. They little doubt that earthquakes may be hatched at the bed rock of their accepted beliefs and that all their time-honoured verities may prove to be utterly false as soon as the human mind probes its dissecting knife into their apparently sleek and self-complacent but really hollow body of beliefs.

Here, incidentally, we may again bring in Maeterlinck to show that he also opposed on much the same lines, the old ideas about mystery. He has told us that the mysteries accepted by ages when science was not born, were artificial. Thus, the notions of the infinite, for instance, in ancient times, were the results of ignorance and fear. So he writes — "The thought of the unknowable and the infinite becomes truly salutary only when it is the unexpected recompense of the intelligence that has given itself loyally and unreservedly to the study of the knowable and the finite. There is a notable difference between the mystery which comes before our ignorance and the mystery which comes after what we have learned. 'That which was called 'the gods' is now called life. And if life is just as inexplicable as the gods, we have at least gained this, that in the name of life no one has authority to speak nor right to do harm.' " "It is much more consoling to observe that we follow the same route as the soul of this great world, that we have the same intentions, the same hopes the same tests and almost the same feelings." "This is why our attitude in the face of the mystery of these forces is changed. It is no

longer that of fear but of courage. It is no longer the kneeling of a slave before his master, but it permits the look of equal to equal for we carry within ourselves the equal of the most profound and the greatest mysteries."

We are reminded in this connection of the deep significance of the somewhat disparaging criticism of Ruskin concerning the two great epics of the world, Dante's Divine Comedy and Milton's Paradise Lost in his lecture on 'The Mystery of Life'. He underestimated them on the ground that the theological beliefs, speculations as to the other world, contained in those two great books were themselves discredited by the writers, for the beliefs were obviously violent, crude and narrow. In fact, in the ancient literature of the world except in some portions of the Vedas and the Upanishads, we shall hardly come across conceptions where the mystery of Death has been made one with the mystery of life, where death has been felt to be the fulfilment of life and not an awesome and gruesome force of Darkness. The Christian cosmogony is artificial in the extreme, it is violent and absurd. To think that there is any such division as heaven or hell actually existing is to disbelieve the fundamental unity of things. In modern literature, Death is growing less and less a dreaded object and more and more in unison with life and existence, with love, and with the eternal faith of Man in the One. Tennyson, Browning, Emerson, Carlyle, and Whitman have dealt with this eternal theme in this new mode of thought and have disabused the notion of fear from its being. But the 'triumph of life' is yet more gloriously to be sung. Death must dance to the rhythm of life movement. Death must eternally die in life. And that triumphant song has been sung here in The Cycle of Spring, in its clearest import.

So when the Ferryman and the Watchman cannot enlighten the youthful party on the eternal Mystery, their attitude towards it being one of fear, Dada appears on the scene with a quatrain which tries to prove that the tree which bears fruits is decidedly superior to that which is simply juicy. Fruitfulness (Siddhi), gain (Labha), rest (Shanti), peace (Shanti), Deliverance (Moksha), all these are the various terms indicative of attainment, which has been the goal of all spiritual endeavour and aspiration in India, for ages past. The ideas of the youths, i.e., the ideas of modern life, are diametrically opposite to this idea. There is no stoppage anywhere, no destination to arrive at, but a ceaseless movement from question to question and from answer to answer, from fulfilment to fulfilment, as well as from fulfilment to fulfilment. It is an eternal verb to go and an eternal enmeshment of the verb to stop. So the ideal of fruitfulness which Dada preaches appeals very much to the common folk and they only complain that the 'Scribe' was not there to take note of the splendid Pharisaical teachings of Dada! The village people get settled round Dada and his quatrains, while the news is brought to the youths that the Old Man moved past them in a car and the dust raised by his wheels was still whirling in the air. He was only here and then nowhere. He was always pointed out as 'there there' but when he was pursued there was nothing but dust. And the meaning of it is that death comes into life at every moment; for death is another name for change and change is persisting yet always fleeting. But the mystery has to be unfolded that death does not overpower life but is itself overpowered and lost in the eternal rhythm of endless life movement.

The author shows his greatest art in working up to the climax of his play. There is a stage in the history of every individual life as well as in the history of nations,—a stage which the Hegelians would love to call the stage of antithesis, but which may be better named after Carlyle a Sartor Resaurtus as the 'Everlasting Nay' and 'the Centre of Indifference,'—a negative stage when man denies everything and has no positive grounds of belief to stand on or to work on. This inner vacuity brings about such a depression of spirits that man loses faith in himself and begins to condemn himself for having placed all his trust in his free impulses and intuitions, rather than in any outward authority, scripture or priest or code of any kind. This stage comes now as a necessary reaction into the lives of the youths, just as it comes into the life of every individual and every people when they have progressed tangentially and have not completed the whole circle of truth. Action and reaction keep up the rhythm of life and history, just as the action of the systole and the diastole of the heart keeps up the blood circulation of our body. Therefore in the third act, we see, that the youths begin to doubt life, doubt movement, doubt their leader who does not actually lead. As I have said, this stage of doubt is a very important stage. In times of great crisis, when spiritual teachers fall off, our impulses and intuitions become our sole guide. Man is perfectly aware then, that he gropes in the dark, that he stumbles at every footstep, yet he has to avail himself of such light as comes to him from within. But these young men in their avidity to rush on with the tide of life, had no time or inclination to look within. They yielded to the wave of impulse in the current of life. They had no thought that deeper down there was the region of absolute calm. Movement and rest, life and night, are complementary and life is really incomplete without either. Modern vitalistic thought lays undue stress on the former, and the mystical thought of all ages lays emphasis on the latter only. If the latter be abused as quietism, may not the former be repudiated as disquietism?

When the youths begin to negate and deny life, Chandra, the charm of life, brings the joyful news that he has got track of the Old Man from a blind minstrel who is now introduced in the scene.

This minstrel leads by songs—"he cannot find his way if he does not sing." Again we are reminded of the poet-minstrel, Rabindranath himself, who played this part exercising such a wonderful spell on his audience. Does he not also lead by songs? And does he not himself find his way of life by singing?

In Maeterlinck's 'Les Aveugles,' or 'The Sightless,' the sightless people symbolise the profound depth of spiritual darkness. Here the blind minstrel's blindness symbolises the profound depth of spiritual illumination and wisdom. Maeterlinck's blind people smell scents of flowers and are guided with fine instincts and perceptions. Rabindranath's blind minstrel sees with his whole soul and 'hears with his whole being.' He is the type of the spiritual seer, the visionary, the poet who is in life yet has transcended it, who feels all the intense joys of the life of the senses yet breathes in the atmosphere of the super-sensuous. The youths must trust themselves in his guidance if they are to unravel the mysteries of life and death.

There is a type of spiritual culture in India, which Rabindranath can never by temperament be in sympathy with, the culture of absolute monism, which negates life and pronounces the universe as

illusion. Unfortunately, Indian spiritual culture has been too often mistakenly identified with this type alone. It has been forgotten that there are various other types of spiritual culture various schools of *Bhakti* in India types and schools which are aglow with an intense humanism, set in relief against the background of the cosmic and the infinite and which thus effect a rare synthesis of the human and the Divine, the individual and the universal. Schools of Ramanuja, the Bhagabats the Ramayats such as Kabir, Guru Nanak and various other saints represent the latter type and Rabinadrath, it must be remembered, is a spiritual descendant of this type. He has spiritual affinity with these visionaries and devotees. The new conception of life, such as we have derived from the west, unless harmonised with this conception of supreme spirituality of the East, will fail to rescue us from the 'blough of Despond' to which the sheer yielding to the life impulse will inevitably lead us. This is now borne in upon us vividly.

Wonderful is the scene, when the blind minstrel steps forward in the dark following the sound of his own song and the party of youths follow him in mute wonder, little guessing whether they are led by him. Here is the song which the minstrel sings when he moves forward towards the dark mystery —

'Gently, my friend, gently walk to your silent

chamber

I know not the way, I have not the light,

Dark is my life and my world

I have only the sound of your steps

to guide me in this wilderness

"Gently, my friend, gently walk along the dark shore

Let the hint of the way come in whisper,

Through the night, in the April breeze

I have only the scent of your garland to guide me

in this wilderness

The sound of the footsteps of that unknown friend who inspires the song and who is the spirit of the song himself, is symbolical of the dawn of the new faith.

In the fourth act, the Climax is reached. Winter is revealed as spring in the nature-drama. Flowers come and leaves come represented by tiny boys who sing that they say 'goodbye again and again, but come back ever and ever. Spring's flowers surround winter, singing the 'song of fresh beauty

'We waited by the wayside counting moments

till you appeared in the April morning

You come as a soldier boy winning life at death's

gate,—

Oh, the wonder of it

We listen amazed at the music of your young voice

Your mantle is blown in the wind like the fragrance

of the spring

The white spray of *malati* flowers in your hair

shines like star-clusters

A fire burns through the veil of your smile —

Oh, the wonder of it

And who knows where your arrows are hidden

which smite death?

But in the human drama the disclosure of death as life, is not so easy. There it is still deep night. The charm of life, Chandra, has gone away with the blind minstrel and the youths are more than ever troubled. Of all times in the history of humanity none seem so perilous as those periods of transition when the old order has departed but has not yielded place to a new.

But though troubled within, the hearts of the youths have been deeply touched by the minstrel's song. Their former indifference and negation have

given way to pathos and resignation and now they look upon the Earth with an 'intentness' and discover in her face an ineffable pathos of beauty. Formerly their watchword was 'life', now it has been transformed to 'love'. They dream of the 'land of lost love' they read in the stars the gazing of countless eyes they met in all forgotten ages, in the flowers the whisper of those they had forgotten. They were lured by the smiles of spring, now they feel that tears well up in its heart. They had never felt before that 'our sweetest songs are those that tell us of saddest thought'. They had never known that underneath their humour and irony lay such a deep pathos and underneath joy was such a well of tears. So they say 'we came out to capture somebody, but now we feel the longing to be captured ourselves'. They were Nietzscheans and knew that life was 'will to power' they never realised the deeper truth that Christ preached that life was really will to resignation. Although they were full of the zest of life, and were determined to fight Death and all forms of Death till they could vanquish them they had a fear lurking within. For they thought that the force they wanted to fight with was 'a dragon eager to swallow the moon of the youth of the world'. But now that fear is gone. Now the heart of the world lies bare to them 'the breath of the starry sky' is on them. And the minstrel comes back at this opportune moment when they are prepared to read the mystery of the world as he reads it, when resignation has become easy for them when sweetness and love overflow their hearts. He sings to them, Let me give my all to him, before I am asked whom the world offers its all.

But this overflow of tenderness and pathos may spend itself in ecstasies and raptures and thus the very spirit of inactivity and rest against which the poet contends may reappear in garb of this soft and tender apprehension of the Earth, this melodious self-abandonment to the heart of the world of love. It may be forgotten that we have fights to win against injustice, disorder, disease, foulness and blackness of life, that Death remains to be conquered. It must be borne in mind as Mr Wells writes that God fights against death in every form, against the great death of the race, against the petty death of indolence, insufficiency, baseness, misconception and perversion. Whitman said, 'My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellions'. This side of 'activism', as Lucken calls it, this energetic side of religion which makes God the co-partner in our activities our fellow-adventurer in the immortal adventure, rescuing us from the chagrins of egotism, Rabinadrath can never ignore. His call is also the call of battle. He calls modern youths to infinite energy of action, to rebellion against all that leads to death and decay. How can therefore the youths of his play enjoy the sweetness of repose, when the call of battle is on them?

The blind minstrel therefore announces to them that Chandra has gone to conquer Death, and the only message that spring has for him is the message that man's fight is not yet over.

Chandra said, "The spring flowers have woven my wreath of victory, the South wind breathes its breath of fire in my blood," and he has entered the cave—the cave of the mystery of Death itself.

The youths wait there at the mouth of the cave, plunged in infinite darkness. They hear wails and cries. They hear the crying and the weeping of women.

The minstrel turns towards the East. Although



there is not a streak of light, it seems to the youths that morning has dawned in him. He sings —

Victory to thee, victory for ever  
O brave heart  
Victory to life, to joy, to love  
To eternal light

Suddenly a ray of light hovers before the cavern and Chandra is discovered. He is the harbinger of the glad news that the mystery is disclosed and that the Old Man is coming. Now there is light, darkness disperses. And what is this wonder when instead of the frightful and ominous Old Man, their own leader, the guiding impulse of life, comes out of the cave? The Old Man was a mere phantasm and a dream. And Life because seen from behind was imagined in all sorts of frightful shapes. But life is ever young. Life is first over and over again.

In the end, Dada, appears on the scene once more and is a convert to the new faith. They crown him with wreaths, for he represents the type of the old and the traditional, which must be assimilated and rehabilitated by the New if a reconstruction of society and religion is needed. The revolt against the old is not necessary now, what is necessary is re-adjustment. For, after revolution comes reconstruction. Therefore in the last song of the festival of spring, with which the play is closed even Shrutibhushan is introduced on the stage and dances with all others.

All this is extremely significant. It shows that 'The Cycle of Spring' is not merely a play of revolt against the old order. Its first two acts are acts of revolt, the third act, the act of reaction or the turning point of thought and the last act, the act of regeneration and the final readjustment. Religion, society, civilisation, life, all are in process of decay and death but now when the time of transition has come—the time that the modern world is just now passing through—there must happen destructions and revolutions on the one hand and reactions and retrogressions, on the other. Thus, in politics, we notice the revival of the old monistic theory of the state on the one hand and the new pluralistic theory of creating different unions with different centres and giving the individual greater freedom of choices rising and making head on the other. Similar movements in society are going on. In religion, will to power and will to resignation, are both acting and reacting on each other and awaiting a new readjustment. Rabin dranath with all his resources of art shows us figuratively these forces and counterforces, these stages of the historical movement in a progression of thought and development. And he has emphasised more than any other modern seer or poet the need of some positive faith for humanity. The play of 'The Cycle of Spring' therefore is full of suggestive thoughts. The blending of thoughts with symbols makes the work a supreme piece of artistic creation.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRABARTY

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Reason, Ideals and Idealists

In the series of erudite articles appearing monthly in the *Arya* under the heading *The Psychology of Social Development* the writer acknowledges the great part reason plays and should play in all actions but he points out at the same time the loss we are likely to suffer if reason is allowed to override all our actions and thoughts. "If reason is to play any part," says the writer, "it must be an intuitive rather than an intellectual reason, touched always by spiritual intensity and insight."

Reason can indeed make itself a mere servant of life, it can content itself with supplying justification for the interests, passions, prejudices of man and clothing them with a misleading garb of rationality or at most supplying them with rules of caution or sufficient self-restraint to prevent their more egregious stumbles and most unpleasant consequences. But this is obviously to abdicate its throne or its highest office and to betray the hope with which man set forth on his journey. It may again determine to found itself securely on the facts of life, disinterestedly

indeed, that is to say with a dispassionate critical observation of its principles and processes, but without venturing too much forward into the unknown or elevating itself far beyond the immediate realities of our apparent or phenomenal existence. But here again it abdicates, either it becomes a mere critic and observer or else so far as it tries to lay down laws, it does so within very narrow limits of immediate potentiality and it renounces man's drift towards higher possibilities, his saving gift of idealism. In this limited use of the reason subjected to the rule of an apparent, vital and physical practicality man cannot rest long satisfied. For his nature pushes him towards the heights, it demands a constant effort of self-transcendence and the impulse on towards things unachieved and even immediately impossible.

On the other hand when it attempts a higher action reason separates itself from life. Its very attempt at a disinterested and dispassionate knowledge carries it to an elevation where it loses hold of that other knowledge which our instincts and impulses carry within themselves and which, however imperfect, obscure and limited, is still a hidden action of the Knowledge Will inherent in existence that creates and directs all things according to their nature. True, even Science and Philosophy are never entirely dispassionate and disinterested. They fall into

subjection to the tyranny of their own ideas, their partial systems, their hasty generalisations and by the innate drive of man towards practice they seek to impose these upon the life. But even so they enter into a world either of abstract ideas or of ideals or of rigid laws from which the complexity of life escapes. The idealist the thinker the philosopher, the poet and artist even the moralist all those who live much in ideas when they come to grapple with close quarters with practical life seem to find themselves something at a loss and are constantly defeated in their endeavour to govern life by their ideas. They exercise a powerful influence but it is indirectly, more by throwing their ideas into life which does with them what the secret will in it chooses than by a direct and successfully ordered action. Not that the pure empiric the practical man really succeeds any better by his direct action for that too is taken by the secret will in life and turned to quite other ends than the practical man had intended. On the contrary, ideal and idealists are necessary, ideals are the savour and sup of life, idealists the most powerful diviners and assistants of its purposes. Reformation which give too much to reason and are too negative and protestant usually create religions which live in wealth of spirituality and fullness of religious emotion, they are not repellant in their contents. Their form and too often their spirit is impoverished, bare and cold.

### The Function of the Story

in education forms the subject matter of a thoughtful article contributed to the *Educational Review* for July by Miss Corrie Gordon. The word "story" includes under it folk and fairy lore, legend, fable, parable, myth, biographical, historical and scientific narrative, and fanciful tales of various sorts. In the opinion of the writer, from the very nursery stories, as much care should be used in their selection as in the choice of companions.

It may be asked, what is the standard by which to measure a story as to its suitability for children? The answer to this question will be found in the following interpretation of the standard set forth by a German writer Wilmann

(i) It must be childlike that is it must be simple so that the child can readily understand it, and it must possess that other childlike quality fancy for without this it will not interest children. Some one has said 'The poetic forms of truth are more suitable than all ages than the prosaic'.

(ii) The story must influence morally. This does not mean that the moral must be attached in capital letters at the end or be in illuminated letters at the beginning, but that it must somehow afford, through its persons and incidents an opportunity to call out from the child a moral judgment of approval or disapproval.

(iii) It must be instructive, that is it must furnish or suggest some truth in regard to nature or man.

(iv) It should have literary merit and permanent classic qualities. Such stories invite repetition and are thus distinguished from the trivial things which please for the moment only. Children should early form a close acquaintance with stirring things in literature so that they may detect the counterfeit.

(v) It must have considerable length and be a connected whole, hence possessing the power to work a deeper influence and suggest many associated interests.

Then the writer quotes from Sara E. Wiltse to emphasise some qualities which a story for children should not have

'If we find that any story produces fear in a child to any great degree, if we find a story, I care not who invented it, or how long it has been preserved in folklore or in print, that tends to weaken personal responsibility for one's own acts if we know a story that tends to give false notions of life, like a belief that we may be idle or tricky and some well disposed fury will aid the lazy and shield the trickster, if we have a story of an angelic child that is oppressed and down trodden by a step mother who represents all feminine vices I am convinced that we have no right to use such stories for any purpose whatever in our training of children.'

Some of the lines of school work the story will help is thus enumerated

(i) Reading may grow out of it, the children's expression of the thought of the familiar story written upon the blackboard in a fluent, large, round hand by the teacher stimulating their efforts to master the written symbols of language.

(ii) Children are encouraged to draw the objects and scenes in which the story abounds. These drawings are often crude and uncouth but still they often surprise one with their truth and suggestiveness.

(iii) Much incidental information can be brought in concerning the animals and plants that are actors in the scenes.

(iv) The oral reproduction of the stories gives language drill and at the same time makes the story more dear through greater familiarity. This end is also furthered by a fifth kind of exercise namely dramatization of the story.

### Karma-Yoga and Swaraj

is the title of a brief though telling article from the pen of Bal Gangadhar Tilak occupying the place of honour in the Swaraj Number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajana Sabha* in which occurs the following

No one can expect Providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the indolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up and then only you may rely on the Almighty to help you. You should not however, presume that you have to toil that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come.

to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango trees the fruit whereof you have tasted. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle—action disinterested and well thought out. It does not matter who the Sovereign is. It is enough if we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called the immutable Dharma, and Karma Yoga is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of Dharma or material and spiritual glory. We demand Swaraj as it is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. Swaraj does not at all imply a denial of British Sovereignty or British rights. It means only that we Indians should be reckoned among the patriotic and self-respecting people of the Empire. We must refuse to be treated like the "dumb cattle driven." If poor Indians starve in famine days it is other people who take care of them. This is not an enviable position. It is neither creditable nor beneficial if other people have to do everything for us. God has declared His will. He has willed that Self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hands. Karma Yoga does not look upon this world as nothing, it requires only that your motives should be untainted by selfish interest and passion. This is the true view of practical Vedanta the key to which is apt to be lost in sophistry.

### The South African Imbroglia

Mr H S L. Polak contributes a telling article to the *Indian Review* for August which shows that the Indian representatives to the Imperial War Conference did not know their business when they talked about the position of India in the self-governing Dominions, and it is a matter of regret that they did not care to closely consult expert opinion in this country regarding the matter.

Mr Polak, who was in the thick of the passive resistance fight in South Africa is entitled to speak on the question with more authority than most Indians. Says he:

The Imperial War Conference, at its fifteenth meeting held on April 27 last, passed the following resolution:

That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position of India (Indians) in the Self Governing Dominions, presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

From a perusal of the memorandum, it seems clear that the reciprocity therein mentioned has reference only to the question of immigration, for no suggestion appears to have been made that Transvaal

Europeans, for example, settling in India should be refused the right to own fixed property in their own names, or should be denied the municipal franchise, or that Natal Europeans should be required to make application for the issue of trading licences to Municipalities which should have the unappealable right to refuse them without giving reasons. Even as regards immigration, it remains to be seen whether the Government of India will proceed to legislate on the lines of the Union Immigrants Regulation Act, which empowers the Minister of the Interior to exclude any persons or classes of persons "as being undesirable on economic grounds, and in terms of which he has declared all Asiatics to be undesirable immigrants. Will the Government declare all South African colonists to be similarly undesirable? Is it probable that they will issue a resolution, declaring that no Canadian will be allowed to land in India unless he comes by direct passage from his native land? Will they legislate to prohibit the entry into India of an Australian, unless he can pass an education test prescribed by the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival, and will that officer be instructed to set the test in, say Sanskrit or the Toda tongue?

The memorandum recommends, to use Mr Chamberlain's expressive language, that Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. The negative form in which it framed the recommendation is significant. Without raising the question of unrestricted immigration which as General Smuts has pointed out, was definitely and finally dealt with by the Union Act of 1913, why should not preferential treatment within the British Empire be boldly claimed by the Government of India for British Asiatics? Let us, however, take the recommendation as it is. Are the Government of India going to claim that Indian business men should be granted the same facilities as to landing at South African ports and carrying on their businesses as are apparently being granted to Japanese traders? And if they do make this claim, are the Union Government at all likely to admit it? The extension of Japanese trade in South Africa, since the war, has been enormous, and no one acquainted with Japanese commercial methods would, for a moment, suppose that it has been created by European agency. A few weeks ago two Indian graduates from Cambridge were refused permission to land at Cape Town, whilst permission was freely granted to European and Japanese passengers, these last were, presumably, not desirous of landing for the good of their health. But it is foolish to expect the Indian or the Imperial authorities to insist upon better terms for British Asiatics, within the British Empire, than are accorded to alien Asiatics. In the territories of Zanzibar and East Africa which are directly under the control of the British Government, and where a Portuguese consular officer may be found, Portuguese Asiatics are allowed to land where war, all kinds of restrictions are refused. Of course, in times of necessity, but that does not explain why a Portuguese Asiatic may be allowed to land on British soil, where permission is refused to an Asiatic of British origin, who has, of course, no consul to whom to appeal.

The memorandum expressly refers to the special privileges that are granted to Japanese immigrants, in respect of the admission of their wives and minor children, by the Dominion of Canada, over Indians.

who are already settled there. Here it would seem that, whilst urging the claims of British Asiatics to equal treatment with, for example, the Japanese, the Indian representatives have gone out of their way gratuitously to bring into discredit a perfectly legitimate demand. As is well known, by an Order of Council, the Dominion Government have prevented, under the "continuous journey" requirement, the introduction of Indian wives and minor children. "Much has been made in India," say the Indian representatives, "of this grievance, though it is very improbable that, in practice, more than a dozen or so Sikhs of the labouring classes would wish to bring over their wives especially since the Indian community in British Columbia has become so much smaller. The efforts made to do so were probably inspired by political agitators, who wished to, and did produce cases which aroused sympathy. But the average Sikh ready to travel all over the world to make money, does not in the least wish to be hampered by a helpless wife." Anything more cold blooded than this can hardly be imagined. Elsewhere the Indian representatives speak of resident Indians introducing "women of their own race," as though it were a matter of importing cattle for breeding purposes, or Indian women were to be introduced for other purposes than marriage. The Secretary of State for India and his colleagues do not appear to regard it as a matter of ordinary human nature for a resident Indian to want his wife and family to join him in his new life. Nor do they apparently realise that the population of British Columbia has diminished probably just because of this domestic difficulty, among other reasons, which is, no doubt, exactly what the Dominion Government were counting upon. It would be interesting, too, to inquire what proportion of these disgruntled Sikhs, returning to India may have joined the ranks of the disaffected. The Indian representatives do not seem to have understood that if every Sikh in Canada, and not merely a few, wished for the presence, help, and comfort of wife and family, he would be entitled, as a matter of inalienable human right, to have them. Nor, again, do they seem to appreciate that if, in fact, only a few Sikhs really do so desire, there is all the less reason for refusing it. What have "political agitators" to do with the matter? And would the right be any the less had the "political agitators" been "educated"? The right has been claimed, as it should have been claimed, for Indians resident in Canada, not only by "political agitators" in India—and Sir Jamsbedjee Jeejeebhoy, who presided over the famous Bombay meeting in 1912 at which a representation claiming this right was publicly and unanimously endorsed, can hardly be so described, nor can Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who refused to enter Canada, because of the treatment accorded to the Indian colonists there—but also by European citizens of the Dominion.

The next recommendation is that the freest possible facilities should be given to educated Indians for travel, study, or visits for any purpose, as apart from settlement. That is reasonable requirement, but why should not *educated* Indians be free to enter and reside in any British Dominion? It is extremely unlikely that any number of educated Indians would desire to settle in any Dominion. They would have to depend for their livelihood upon such support as they could obtain from their own countrymen or Europeans resident in the particular Dominion.

In either case, the number would be strictly limited by economic considerations, and would not arouse any fear of an Asiatic invasion, such as General Smuts referred to.

Lastly, it was asked that a kindly and sympathetic consideration should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions. In his speech on this occasion General Smuts somewhat cleverly confused the issue. He made it appear that the difficulties in South Africa had been overcome. He spoke as though they were only administrative, whereas the outstanding grievances of the Indians in the different Provinces of the Union are of a fundamental and a legislative character, and in dealing with them, the Union Government will often reply ordinarily, as they have already done in the Transvaal, that the matter does not lie within their jurisdiction, but that authority to deal with it has already been delegated to some other authority, such as the Provincial Councils or the municipalities. Exactly the same reply, in essence, has for many years been given by the Imperial Government, who say that they cannot interfere with a Self Governing Dominion. Take, for example, the old sore of the East London location by laws, which require Indians to reside, in certain circumstances, in a location. An Indian trader residing in the East London location may give his South African native servant a pass to be out until any time of the night. But he himself is forbidden to remain out after 8 p.m. as no one can give him a pass. The old Cape Government and the present Union Government have been appealed to procure the removal of this racial bye law, but they reply that the matter is one for the municipality to decide. In the Transvaal, municipalities have been granted the right to control the issue of certain classes of trading licences. The Provincial Council, to whom had been granted the power, by the Union Parliament, to confer such rights upon municipalities, did so on alleged grounds of public health. Certain municipalities have not only refused to issue new licences to Indians, but have refused to renew existing ones, or have renewed a licence to an Indian applicant for one of his stores, presumably on the ground that he is a desirable person to possess one, and have refused to issue to him a similar licence for another suitable store within the same municipal area, on the ground that he is an undesirable—i.e., that he is an Indian. These municipalities are composed almost entirely, as they are throughout South Africa, of the Indian's business rivals, and that Province has disfranchised him, municipally, as well as politically. When the Union Government are referred to, they reply that the matter is outside their jurisdiction. When the Transvaal Administrator is appealed to, he replies that he cannot interfere with the legal action of a municipality acting within the powers conferred upon it by an Ordinance of the Provincial Council. When the Transvaal Municipal Association is approached, it refers to a private letter of Mr Gandhi's to the Secretary for the Interior, dealing with quite other matters, and interprets it as a declaration that the Indian community agree not to demand any fresh licence, in other words, that it has been so foolish as to tie the hands of posterity, in the shape of the Indians born in South Africa itself, Similarly in Natal.

Perhaps, in conjunction with those South Afri-

identified so closely with the festival dance that the word 'ballad' itself means 'dance', and is another form of the word 'ballet'. Inasmuch, too, as these festival dances were choric in nature and the dialogue, of which the ballads are full, was doubtless assigned to different characters among the company of dancers, the medieval ballad, which was sung and not recited, partook of the nature of both ballet and opera. It was communal in performance and communal in its authorship. It is impossible to trace any given ballad to an individual poet. Handed down by oral tradition, constantly modified by each generation as they passed through the mould of its memory, the ballads of the folk were infinitely varied in form, and in theme surprisingly similar. The same stories in different versions were sung in times of merriment all over England, nay all over Europe, for we find variants of our English ballads in German, French, and the Scandinavian languages. Christendom had a common ballad stock. Such was the chief literature of the medieval people, a poetry corporate in its spirit and function, a poetry so close to living reality that its very form was determined by the sway of the human body in daily toil or festival dance, so catholic in its appeal that its themes were in common use all over the Christian world. It was the flower of labor, and the symbol of labor's solidarity.

Besides the ballads the village folk had a number of rude plays and games dating back for the most part of the pre-Christian era, which were also performed at times of festival. The Church too had its religious dramas, celebrating at the appropriate seasons, the lives of the saints or incidents from the gospel story. As towns grew up, and the people flocked to them in response to the demands for craftsmen of all kinds, a new species of folk literature was born: the child of pagan game and Christian drama. This was the gild miracle play, which had its heyday in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And here again there existed a close connection with the workaday world, for the 'pageants' or scenes into which the plays were divided were each performed by a particular gild; the Noah scene being entrusted to the shipwrights, the Last Supper to the bakers, and so on. The element of festival was equally prominent, the Feast of Corpus Christi being specially honored in this respect, and in some towns the actual performance extended over four, five, or even seven days, which affords a glimpse of the leisure of the medieval craftsman that his modern brother might well envy. But the chief feature, perhaps, to be noted about these miracle plays is their cosmic character. The drama of the Middle Ages was epic in quality; it figured the eternal conflict between the forces of Good and Evil. It was philosophic in scope; it provided a coherent and intelligible account of the universe and of man's place therein. It was comprehensive in form; it took up into its bosom all the accumulated dramatic traditions and devices of the medieval world, and welded them into one mighty divine comedy. And once striven upon its development it spread to every township and to most villages in the country.

### World Democracy without World Justice

N C A Rayhouser writes pertinently

on the above subject in the *Ohio State Journal*. He says

If the "world is to be made safe for democracy" it must also be made safe for absolute justice. And that justice must be measured by a single standard. Theories are nothing if not translated into deeds. Democracy is nothing in state papers if the principles of the democracy are trampled upon by law makers and executives. The foundation of all good government is law and order, the cornerstone is justice, and honour is its crowning capital. There never was, there never will be good government that does not rest upon the constitutional rights of every citizen.

If the world war results in a world democracy, will the Negro citizen participate in its blessings? Will courts and administrations establish an imaginary color line? Shall there be one interpretation of the law for the white citizen and another and harsher interpretation for the Negro? Shall he be discriminated against on account of race?

Can we harmonize injustice to the Negro in practice with the claim that we are in the war for democracy and humanity? The American people are pouring out billions of treasure and blood ostensibly to widen the bounds of democracy. Will the Negro be thrust outside of those bounds? Can we trample upon the rights of Negro citizens without ultimately imperiling the rights of the white citizens? Can we, with safety to our free institutions, deny justice to the Negro and keep him in ignorance? Nearly 12 per cent of the population in the United States is of Negro blood. It may be made an important factor in the material progress of the nation or it may become a menace. Which condition is to be preferred? It is for the interest of the white citizen as well as for the colored citizen that there shall be equality before the law of both races. There should be no color line drawn, all on one side of which be declared outlaws.

**America Fighting for Democracy,**  
as President Wilson in his address to Congress declared, is not very convincing. Benjamin Albin Arnold writing in the *New York Evening Post* says.

I wonder if he ever thinks that he can convince the world that America really stands for humanity so long as he never raises his voice in behalf of the down-trodden people of his own country. I wonder if he ever thinks of the State Governments of the South, many of them more despotic than any in Europe, of the thousands of American citizens deprived of the right of suffrage, guaranteed them by the Constitution of their country, of the Jim Crow cars, segregation acts, and other hardships heaped upon a defenceless people without cause. I wonder what he thinks of the affair at Memphis, when people came from miles around to see a poor wretch burned to death.

We hear a lot about the cruelty of the Germans, and that the world can only be made safe for democracy by the destruction of their power. I think if the President would notify the Governors of the Southern States that lynchings must cease, and that every unfair law be erased from their statute books, he would go a long way towards making this country the real champion of the cause of democracy.

The writer of this little pamphlet wields a vigorous pen, and his generalisations on certain aspects of India's social and political history show a mastery of the essential facts. He is evidently a thinking man, though his conclusions may not all be sound. The following extract will show that he can stimulate thought, and that is better far than cartloads of quotations imperfectly digested.

"India is dying, dying, dying for want of material, moral and spiritual food."

Indian youths are withering in their prime. India's great men die suddenly in the midst of their mature manhood. India's sublime womanhood is left to groan in a lence and in crass ignorance.

The babies of India die in millions. The infants of India starve in hundreds of thousands from year's end to year's end. The children of India are stunted in their growth and decrease in size and strength year after year and day after day. The scholars of India are surfeited with crammed and ill-digested knowledge. Indian brains are too feeble to persevere in strenuous thinking. Indian hearts are too flabby to feel strongly to desire with ambition and to reject the petty gains of life's inglorious compromises.

We Indians are born in misery and hence we are insensitive to the sights of untold misery around us. Indian aristocrats are too rich and too proud and they live so far away from the common life and habits of the people that they have ceased to be the natural leaders of the soil. The educated Indians are too busy with the task of driving the wolf from the door and of trying to put on an appearance of false comfort and complacency to care for the concerns of others. Indian business men are mostly mediators and commission-agents who are ever out for cutting a cheap bargain at either ends. The Indian agriculturists are poor and illiterate, sensuous and superstitious, incapable of adaptive reformation and never unwilling to continue to be the unbought slaves and unredeemed bondsmen of covetous usurers. The labourers of India are worse than the street dogs in their low status and scanty wages meted out to them by their caste elders and superiors. The priests of India are corrupt to the core and are ever startling the world with the depths of degradation they are prepared to jump still further down. Indian temples have lost their beneficent influences and together with the jewelled idols left within they have become the private property of certain privileged few who keep these fane as customs-house compounds for the perpetuation of pilgrimage taxes.

India is the country of caste and dirt; or, unacquired sanctity and undeserved contempt. Behold how men behave within the boundaries of our Motherland where each man abhors the other for the sin of his birth, where brother hates brother, where sons would not eat the food cooked by their mothers where fathers would not take their food with their own children and husbands abjure their wives society and person except when they are impelled by lust. Behold our holy men and boasted leaders, how they spend their lifetime in the service of the Eternal God! Their one business of the day is to bathe with scrupulous care to breathe in and breathe out with the solemn swelling of the nose, to wink their eyes only a limited number of times to stare at all things with an affected seriousness to hoot at every human dog that crosses their path and to make mathematical calculations of the length of polluting shadows and the angles of caste-depression and birth-degradation of their own fellowmen and brother neighbours. And caste is likewise an evil even with the educated

Indians. All progressive castes are jealous of each other, each educated community is absorbed in the thought of its own petty preferment and each helplessly accuses the other as being the author of all the prevalent evils.

II FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION  
*Extracts from the Proceedings of the Governor of Bombay on the Honble Mr. Patel's resolution, Poona Published by the Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay*

Principal Paranjpye of the Fergusson College contributes a foreword in which he contradicts the favourite tag "A little learning is a dangerous thing" and blames the Government for rejecting even so moderate a resolution as that of Mr. Patel, in which he wanted to introduce compulsion in municipal areas only. The debate has been published with a view to informing public opinion on this all important subject, and it will no doubt be appreciated by publicists in other parts of India.

III CEYLON COMMUNAL RIGHTS by C. E. Corea. Pearl Press, Delhwa, 1917

This pamphlet deals with the methods adopted by the Ceylon Government for the utilisation of waste lands and cognate subjects and is a good sign, for it shows that the people of the island are waking up to a sense of their needs and duties in the matter of the political and economic development of their native land.

IV OUR POLITICAL NEEDS an address delivered before the Ceylon National Association by Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M. A. (Cantab) 1917 25 cents

This nicely printed pamphlet is a further proof that Ceylon is waking up, and it is a significant and hopeful feature of the situation that the lead is being taken both in India and Ceylon by those whom the state has delighted to honour. Ceylon is ahead of India in point of literacy, but suffers from the same political disabilities, and we are sorry to learn that the small farmer of Ceylon, the *goiya*, is fast becoming a landless hireling, though it is the race of whom Robert Knox said that he had the elegant speech and the manner of the courtier. "Take a ploughman from the plough, wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom," it the peasants' saying which Knox quotes. "What superb self-confidence! What height might not such a people attain under the leadership of a statesman, a warrior, a statesman!" The learned lecturer points out that the small elective element in the legislative council, totally ineffective as it is to help forward the popular cause, serves to conceal the autocracy under which we live, for without it, the sole responsibility of the officials would be more patent, they would be more keenly alive to it, and the Secretary of State could hold them more strictly to account. In 1903 the Governor, Sir West Ridgeway, recommended the appointment of two non-officials to the Executive Council, as it would tend to satisfy public opinion and "would formally place at the disposal of the Government advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." The proposal was however overruled by the Secretary of State. Earl Cromer, in *Modern Egypt* says that the best policy is to employ a small body of well selected and well paid Europeans. "It is a mistake to employ second- or third-rate Europeans on low salaries. They do more harm than good." In Ceylon as the Europeans employed all enjoy

and sculptures as also to understand the aesthetic quality of old Indian music (thanks to the recent works of Clement, Mann and Fox Strangways) it was in the fitness of things that the specialities of old Indian systems of Dancing should be investigated if only to indicate the range of the aesthetic culture of India. While we are far as yet from a complete and adequate presentation of the Indian Dancer's Art, this translation of an old technical handbook which we owe to that indefatigable exponent of Indian Art—Dr. Coomaraswamy—will be welcomed as an introduction to the methods and ideals of Indian Dancing which is a branch of Indian Dramatic Science the *Natya-Sastras*, the practice of which in its complete state has died out and is now faintly lingering in the ritual dances of the South Indian temples. The traditions of the *Natya Sastras* are said to still survive in the practices of Cambodian and Javanese actors. As the author rightly points out that until a critical edition of Bharata's *Natya-Sastra* is published the methods of Indian Dancing cannot be properly studied, in the meantime the traditional practices of the art now in the possession of a class of undesirables are on the threshold of extinction.

The text of *Abhinaya Darpana* which is here for the first time rendered into English is one of many compendiums of dance gestures based on the original *Natya Sastras* and now generally used by all teachers and learners of the art in South India along with such well known handbooks as the *Bandhabhaya Hastalakshanam* and *Abhinaya Bodham* by Arana chalam Pillay. These handbooks together with the more important work *Natya-rasa-bhira* constitute a body of literature which has grown out of the original *Natya Sastras* bearing on the technique of Indian dramatic art and correspond to the class of literature known as the *Silpa-sastras* bearing on the technique of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

The traditional religious dances have been kept up in the South rather than in the North where it also flourished at one time. Emperor Akbar is supposed to have patronized a revival of the "ancient system of Dancing which must have been in a state of" decline in his time. And it is said that "for acquiring the grace of Emperor Akbar" [Akbar nripa rucyaṁ] the well known author Pundarik Bittala from Karnataka wrote a treatise on the ancient method of dancing entitled *Nartana-nirvana* (MS. No. III. D. 5, Bengal Asiatic Society's Coll.) which seems to be in many respects a more comprehensive work than *Abhinaya Darpana* the extant texts of which are mostly in a very mutilated condition. Dr. Coomaraswamy's translation is based upon a Nagri transcript of the second Telugu edition of the work published by Tiruvankatachari in 1887 and not on any original Sanskrit MS. one of which exists in the collection of the Tanjore Palace Estate Library (Burnell Catalogue p. 60, No. 7).

The dance poses and gestures which are described in this text is only one branch of the art known as *Abhinaya*. It is identical with what is known as *Bhava-bhata* in modern practices of naïve girls. These *Abhinaya* poses constitute a highly formalized and cultivated gesture language devised to graphically delineate and translate, word per word the language of the song. The expressive power of this language is very well demonstrated in the illustrations on plate XIII where by the gesticulations of the hands the acts of Krishna raising Mount Govardhan and driving cattle are so expressively rendered. By devising innumerable poses of the five fingers a com-

plete vocabulary has been established which is quite adequate in translating into intelligible movements of the hands and the fingers the words and moods of any given subject. Thus there are different poses of the hands to indicate the seven famous rivers of India, the lion and other animals, the different important trees, the seven oceans, the four castes, the various incarnations of the gods and also gestures indicating the various relations, e.g. the husband, the wife, father, mother and so on. These dance gestures have considerably influenced the practice of Sculptor's art in India and these conventional poses and gestures have offered to the Indian artist rich motifs of vital aesthetic quality. And the analysis and description of these gestures in this publication will supply an indispensable key to the understanding of the many peculiarities of Indian Sculptures.

In view of the puritanical prejudices which still continue to govern our society it can hardly be expected that our educated brethren, at the present moment, will offer any enthusiasm for a revival of the ancient methods of Indian Dancing—the secrets of which, in the possession of professional nautch girls and 'devdasis', are on the point of being lost just as our musical traditions and practices, now in the keeping of a similar undesirable class of *Ustadis*, are vanishing from the boundaries of our national culture beyond all hope of recovery. It is certainly due to our educated friends to seriously consider their responsibility with reference to the recovery and preservation of the traditions of our national culture.

In the meantime the traditions of our art are being utilised and exploited by many European artists. Miss Ruth St. Dennis acquired fame by her interpretations of the aesthetic qualities of ancient Indian Dancing, the most illuminating and spiritual effort being her 'Soul Dances of Brahma'. Quite recently, Miss Roshanara's Indian dances took the Calcutta Stage by storm. She is the daughter of a Colonel in the Madras army and it was during her stay in South India that she was first attracted to the religious dances in the temples, a study of which she developed for her signally successful career on the stage. Everybody who saw her 'Incense Dance' realised how great a loss India has sustained spiritually by relegating its art of dancing to unworthy hands.

O. C. G.

(1) THE ESSENTIAL OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION By R. R. Joshi, Assistant Master, London Mission High School, Benares. Pp. 142. Price 1/6 net.

The method is old and antiquated.

(2) AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG HINDU GENTLEMAN OF BENGAL by Rai Jaganath Mazumdar Bahadur, M.A., B.L., Vedanta Vachaspathi, Pp. 54, cloth; price Re 1. For students.

The "appeal" appeared in the columns of the Indian Mirror and is now issued in the form of a booklet.

(3) THAKUR DAYANANDA AND THE ARUNACHALA MISSION: Published by Atalbehari Dasu, Girdi, Pp. 99. Paper Price 8 as.

The book describes the ideal of the Mission and shows that the allegations against Thakur Dayananda are malicious and unfounded.

(4) **LIBERALISM IN RELIGION** Published by the Theistic Endeavour Society, Madras E Pp 55 Price six annas

It contains twelve papers, viz —

(1) Religion and Science by S A Mello, (2) Spiritual Freedom by E R Menon, (3) Theistic Endeavour by B S Rao, (4) Belief in God, by C W Wendt, (5) Indian Womanhood—A National Asset by Margaret E Cousins, (6) Scientific and Spiritual Knowledge by James Drummond, (7) Fatherhood of God, by J E Carpenter, (8) Rammohan Roy The Reformer, (9) Atma Jnan or the Path of Self Realisation by T I Vaswani, (10) The Religious Ideal and the Temporal Task by Annie Lyman Sears, (11) Why Should a Reasonable Man Pray, by J T Sunderland, (12) Religion in National Life by Annie Besant

A very useful production

**SREEGOPAL BASU MALLIK FELLOWSHIP LECTURES** 1907 1908 by Sahityacharya Pandeya Ramavatar Sarma M A, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College Pp 88 Price 1 Rupee

In this little volume Vedantism has been treated as a critical system of thought. The author has not followed any particular expounder of the Upanishads but has boldly taken an independent position of his own. He speaks highly of Badarayana but is not blind to his defects. 'The gravest defect of the great Badarayana' writes our author 'is that he did not clearly distinguish the historical the mythological and the positive portions of the Upanishads and this lamentable confusion led to his squeezing every Upanishadic Text into the selfsame Brahmic mould'

The author has rejected the Illusion Theory of Maya and has propounded what he has called the *Dehmatation Theory*. According to him 'it is always either an addition or subtraction of ideas or in short it is either mistaking a part for the whole or vice versa'. The objective world is a series of waves in the Unitary Divine ocean of knowledge. The identification of this whole knowledge with either the world or with the body which is a part of it is a delusion inasmuch as it is mistaking a part or a group of parts for the whole. It is not an illusion appearing in the vacuum or in something that is quite different from it as Sankara fancies

The book has been divided into 12 Chapters viz — (1) Early Development of the Indian Thought, (2) Systematic Philosophies of India, (3) The Vedantic Doctrine briefly stated, (4) Refutation of Other Doctrines, (5) On the *Pramanas* (The Ordinary View), (6) On the *Pramanas* (The Critical View), (7) On the Causal Relation, (8) On the Three Stages of Cosmic Delusion, (9) On the Existence of God, (10) Transmigration, After life and Mukti, (11) True Asceticism and *Yogas*, (12) Life of a Vedantin.

The author is an acute thinker and the book he has written is a valuable production and should be carefully studied by the students of the Vedanta

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

## GUJARATI

**SANOCCHAR SHABDA SANGRAHA** (संक्षेप शब्द संग्रह) by Rustomji Hormaji Mistry published by the Parm Lekhak Mandal Bombay Paper Cover, Pp 57 Unpriced 1917

The **Parm Lekhak Mandal** is always well intentioned and works to the best of its lights for the encouragement of Gujarati Literature. We felicitate the body on harboring such intentions, the small book under review is the practical carrying out of their desire to help the cause. It is called a collection of (Gujarati) homonyms. Now the very essence of homonymity is that the words should have the same sound when pronounced, there should be no confusion between dental and palatal, and labials. By no stretch of the laws of pronunciation, can you say that **बद्धो** and **बद्धि** **बद्धा** and **बद्धा**, **बद्धि** and **बद्धो** emit

the same sound when spoken? The non observance of this simple rule in fact of the first principle of the laws of pronunciation has marred the whole work, and we wonder what those one or two Hindi scholars to whom the editor says he had referred, had been doing when they passed the collection. Searching for correct homonyms in this collection is like searching for a couple of pins in a box of nails. In words like **मुरत** and **मूरत**, one finds that the collection has hit upon the right path. We are sorry to see all this trouble of collection wasted and energy misdirected

**PUSTAKALAYA, (पुस्तकालय)** by Keshavprasad Chhotatal Desai B A I I B published by Saharal Bulakhidris Bookeller, Ahmedabad Cloth Cover Pp 101 Price Re 0-8 0 (1917)

Library keeping has developed into an art in Europe and America. We are very much behindhand in the subject. This little book—a pioneer in its line—shows how a library is to be arranged and managed. Few reference has been made in its pages to the admirable work being done by the State Library Department at Baroda which is the only model of its kind in India. This little book furnishes much useful and interesting reading

**NIRITI VINOD** निरितिनुद by Prof. Atisukha Shankar K Trivedi, M A, LL.B., of the Baroda College printed at the Satya Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad Pp 160 Cloth Cover Price —One rupee and four annas (1917)

Prof. Trivedi now and then writes on important subjects. These essays are written in a simple effort less style, and are the results of unlabored thought. They embrace many topics practical and sentimental, and while reading them, one thinks as if the writer were consciously or unconsciously affected by Lubbock's work on the same lines. They make up pleasant reading and the reader feels that they are written straight from the heart of the author. There are three 'Skits' at the end, which seem to relieve the monotonous seriousness of the previous pages

K M J

## HINDI

**SWARAJYA AUR PRAJAVAD**, by Prof. Balkrishna M A, Professor, Gurukul University, Haridwar Printed and published by Mr K C Bhalla, at the Star Press, Allahabad Crown 8vo Pp 295+10 48 Price—Rs 1-4

This book deals historically with the process



through which political freedom has been gained by different countries. Thus incidentally the constitutional histories of China Japan France, U S A and many other countries have been given. The accounts given by the author are correct and the publication will have a good educative influence. Some very notable books have been consulted by the author in the writing of the book. The language and mode of description is very satisfactory and the book is in keeping with the new taste for scientific and technical literature which the Hindi reading public have fortunately acquired of late. The author has given English equivalents of the Hindi terms used by him and the collection will form a very nice vocabulary indeed. We commend the publication and the elaborate way in which everything has been dealt with therein.

3} *CHANDRAPADMA CHARIT*, translated by Pandit Rupnarayan Pandaya and published by the Hindi Jain Sahitya Prasarak Office, Chandwari Gurgaon Bombay. Crown 8vo pp 188 Price—Rs 1 Cloth bound Rs 1 4 0

This is a Hindi translation of an ancient Sanskrit publication by a Jain author. The translation has been very nicely made and reflects great credit on Pandaya Jee who has already established his reputation as a good Hindi writer. The original Jain author is Viranadi and some of his lines may well be compared for their pathos and picturesque delineation with the productions of the best Sanskrit poets. The original is no doubt in the old style of Sanskrit poets and much of this may not be liked by the modern reader. Though some quotations from the original author have been given it would have been much better if the whole book in the Sanskrit original would also have been sub-joined to the translation. The printing and get up are excellent.

*TRIBHAI*, compiled and published by Kumar Debendra Prasad Jaina, the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo pp 48 Price—as 3

The author has again shewn himself forth as a unique compiler. In this booklet he has collected together all the qualities things names mottoes, emblems etc. which are found three together. The collection is singular indeed and has a marvellous beauty about it. Every one will find interest in it. The get up is excellent as is the case with all the publications of the author.

3} *BHAYANA LAHAR*, compiled and published by Kumar Debendra Prasad Jaina, the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo pp 29 Price—as 2

This is a collection of twelve bhayanas by the author with two more by other authors added. There is no doubt much of Jainism in the book. However, we must say that the poems form very interesting and pleasant

reading indeed. The author has pluckily styled it "a Rosary of twelve beads" and that it is so we must say. The booklet will, we hope, be perused enthusiastically.

*TILOTTAMA* by Shree Maithili Sharan Gupta, Printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad and Published by Shree Ramkushore Gupta, Manager, Sahitya Sadan Churgaon (Jhansi), Crown 8vo pp 104 Price—as 8

Our talented author has gone generally for his materials to Pauranic stories and in threading them together in his literary attempts, he has invariably succeeded to a large extent. The book under review is a nice drama and the verse portions in it are particularly edifying. The author has not failed even to teach a moral through the good old adage, Union is Strength. The drama depicts the downfall of the Daityas through disunion brought about by the quarrel between the two principal Daitya warriors over an apsara named Tilottama. But the plot consists of many more things than this and the drama will repay perusal from the literary point of view as also from that of diversion. The get up of the book is excellent and we need hardly say that the publication adds one more laurel to the glories won by the author in the field of Hindi Literature.

*FRANCE GERMANY YUDDHA*, by Babu Jitan Singh and published by the Ruran Darbar. Printed at the Union Press Allahabad. Royal 8vo pp 458 Price not mentioned

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewari is doing a yeoman's work in helping in the publication of these books on the European Wars. The book under review has been made as comprehensive and grand as possible and it can most suitably find a place in all public and state libraries. We would only suggest that there ought also to be low priced popular editions of the book printed in smaller type though the very valuable illustrations given in the book should be reproduced in their entirety in these editions as well. The book has been written with more than ordinary care and will form a valuable addition to Hindi Literature in point of the special characteristics of the book. Its phraseology and manner of description will help other writers on akin subjects. We have gone through the book carefully and from a historical point of view we have no criticisms to offer against it. It has been compiled in an up-to-date fashion and besides the bulk of the book which consists of neatly printed 458 pages there is a copious index as also some valuable appendices. The pronunciations of European names have been given in Hindi in a separate appendix. The book is decently bound and in short it can be said that the compiler has done everything practicable for the improvement of the book.

## PARTY STRIFE IN CALCUTTA

## A FEW STRAY NOTES

## Questions about some Congress Meetings

**P**RINCIPAL Herambachandra Maitra's letter in the *Bengalee* has succeeded to convince us that Mr Baikunthnath Sen did declare the meeting held on August 30 for the election of the President of the next session of the Indian National Congress, dissolved, though it is also clear that Mr Sen's words were not heard by many. We are also satisfied that the meeting had grown disorderly before Mr Sen dissolved it. We are sure that the Chairman has the right to dissolve a disorderly meeting. The question which we ask and are not competent ourselves to answer, is: What kind and degree of disorder gives the chairman the power to exercise this right?

From the reports of the meeting published in the papers it is difficult to determine who was to blame for the disorder. It is probable that both Mr Baikunthnath Sen and Mr Hirendranath Datta were to blame, though it is not practicable to apportion the blame. Not having joined the Reception Committee, we were not present at the meeting, and were absent from Calcutta on that date. Mr Hirendranath Datta it seems, got somewhat excited which is rather unusual with him. He used the word 'honest' or 'honesty'. But as two equally honest persons may truthfully give opposite accounts of the same event owing to lapse of memory, inattention, failing to catch certain words, or to see certain things it is best to avoid the use of such words.

Has the Chairman of a meeting the right to confirm the proceedings of a previous meeting before objections taken to any part of the minutes have been disposed of? We think not. Perhaps he may overrule such objections as out of order. But did Mr Baikunthnath Sen do so?

What makes a man a *pucca* member of the Reception Committee according to the Congress constitution?

Does a resident of the Province where the Congress is to be held become 'auto-

matically' a member by paying Rs 25 and signing the Congress "creed", or does he also require to be formally proposed, seconded and elected? We are unable to answer. Nor does the Congress constitution help us to answer. Whatever may be the theoretically correct answer according to the Congress constitution or according to law, cases of men becoming "automatically" members in previous years without election have been cited in the papers without categorical contradiction.

Regarding the meeting held on the 11th September to depose Mr Baikunthnath Sen and elect Sir Rabindranath Tagore, we have asked ourselves many questions. Taking it for granted that Mr Baikunthnath Sen had forfeited his office of chairman by his conduct at the meeting of 30th August, did he forfeit it "automatically" before Mr C R Das moved his resolution affirming this forfeiture and, to set all doubts at rest, also proposing his removal? If so why was it felt necessary to move a resolution to "depose" him? If not why was the requisition for calling the meeting not sent to the man who was still formally the chairman, before the notice calling the meeting had been issued? Supposing Mr Sen had "automatically" ceased to be chairman, had five secretaries out of nine also ceased to be secretaries 'automatically'? If so, why? If not, why was not the requisition sent to them, as we are assured it was not? Even a single Secretary is held in practice competent to call meetings to transact ordinary non-contentious business. But is a minority of four secretaries competent to call a meeting to transact contentious business without consulting or in spite of the protest of the majority of five or any of them? Is a meeting called under such circumstances constitutional or unconstitutional? As we are not lawyers and as we do not at present have before us any authoritative books dealing with the rules governing public meetings, we are unable ourselves to give a decisive reply to these questions. From a com-

mon sense point of view, however, it seems to us that the meeting was unconstitutional, and all the business transacted there was, therefore, null and void

### Constitution Not a Fetish

We do not say that under all and any circumstances a constitution is to be treated as a fetish. What is unconstitutional may not be wrong under some circumstances though we do not mean to suggest that the circumstances under which the meeting of 11th September was called were of that description. Even in the affairs of a country constitutions are sometimes ended when they cannot be mended and the course of history has frequently sanctioned such ending. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Cromwells do not pretend to act constitutionally. Nor have we any Cromwells in our midst, Alexanders cut Gordian Knots but they do not pretend that they have untied them in the orthodox fashion.

Should the chairman and secretaries or majority of secretaries of an organization refuse to take action in furtherance of the objects of the organisation even after being requisitioned, an impasse would be the result. In such a situation citizens in public meeting assembled, it seems to us would be competent to take necessary action. Such meeting should, of course be held after due notice and be open to all.

Such an impasse had not arisen in Calcutta, as the chairman and the majority of the secretaries not having been requisitioned could not be said to have refused to call a meeting to transact any necessary business.

### Election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore as Chairman of the Reception Committee

We are not quite sure whether the election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to the office of Chairman of the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress has been quite constitutional. But whether it is constitutional or not we fully believe that he has accepted the office only from a compelling sense of public duty and from the purest of motives. It is undoubtedly an honour to be elected chairman of the Reception Committee. But it is not of such a character as to make a man who has been honoured

so highly in his own country and abroad hanker after it. That he has acted from a compelling sense of duty can also be presumed from the fact that the party which has elected him contains among its more prominent and vocal members some men with whose aims and ideals the Poet has little in common and some of whom have been among his worst detractors.

We do not like the way in which his acceptance of the office has come to pass or been brought about. It would have been more to our liking if he had accepted it only in the event of Mr. Baikunthanath Sen's resignation. But at the same time we have no hesitation in saying that the aspersions made on him by some Anglo-Indian papers should be dismissed with scorn. The worst that can be said against him is that he has had incomplete or incorrect information and has consequently arrived at a wrong conclusion. In the particular circumstances which had arisen and for which Sir Rabindranath was not responsible he may have thought it necessary to accept the office, but we have not yet been able to perceive how his acceptance of office has brought us nearer to a solution of any difficulty.

*The Bengalee* has characterised him as a novice in politics. If by politics is meant the alternate cajoling and bluffing the childish brag and the hollow declamation to be found in many newspapers or if politics mean unworthy electioneering tactics loyalty mongering journalistic quibbling party stratagems and things of that sort—if such be the meaning of politics Rabindranath Tagore is not even a novice in politics, for he has never practised or sought to practise such arts. Indeed it is no disparagement to him to say that he is unfit for political life, as, for one thing he lacks the caution the astuteness and the suspiciousness which characterise successful politicians. A political career is not necessarily ignoble, it may be and often is honourable and useful. But Rabindranath Tagore was meant for something higher and finer.

*The Bengalee* has instituted a comparison between Mr. Baikunthanath Sen and Sir Rabindranath Tagore. It ought not to have been done. We will not do it ourselves. Respect is due to Mr. Sen for his public services and we would willingly pay it to him. We should like to say only this that Rabindranath Tagore's know-

ledge of history and of the principles underlying politics and his insight into human nature, which lies at the foundation of all politics, economics and sociology, are at least not inferior to those of any politician in Bengal. And, therefore, if it should fall to his lot to deliver an address as chairman of the Reception Committee, it would certainly not suffer in comparison with the address of any past chairman,—though, we are sure, it would not be entirely to the liking of the new party or the old, or to Government either. That is the least that we can say. As for his political services, he has not indeed had much to do with the details of politics, but can anybody who is not a blind partisan refuse to give him his share of the credit for the national awakening in Bengal and indirectly in India, brought about by his addresses and songs? and it is not a small share. We suppose this is political service. It should not be forgotten, too, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore presided over the Pabna session of the Bengal Provincial Conference and delivered an address which has taken a permanent place in Bengali literature. Is political service rendered only when such addresses deal with current topics?

### Facts connected with the Election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The last sentence of the letter which Sir Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Babu Moti Lal Ghosh, Mr B Chakrabarti, Babu Harendranath Datta and Mr C R Das on September 10, 1917, runs as follows —

Please do not use my name in any way as a rival candidate standing against the present chairman or as leading any party acting counter to the final decision arrived at by the All India Congress Committee.

But at the meeting held on 11th September, his name was used in a way in which he had desired it not to be used, as the following extract from the report of the meeting published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will show —

Mr Pal said true the atmosphere had changed and that because they saw Sir Rabindranath Tagore and told him that the compromise had failed and they gave him their word of honour that the compromise was at an end because without that assurance from them he would not tell them what he was going to do in case they asked him to be the chairman of the reception committee. If they postpone the meeting they would lose him and in losing him they would lose the chance to have as a chairman of the reception

committee a man who was known to the whole world, and a lady to be their president who was also known to the whole world (Cries of vote, vote).

Mr B K Chakravarty said that in view of the disclosure made by Mr Bipin Chunder Pal they could not enter into any compromise with the other side.

The *Patrika* wrote on the 13th September —

A mischievous report has been circulated by some unprincipled men that Sir Rabindranath has accepted the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee on the understanding that Babu Boikuntha Naik must resign his post. This is absolutely false.

There was a substratum of truth in the report, as Sir Rabindranath had written on the 11th September in a private letter (since published) to Babu Lahit Mohan Das, "I shall not accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee unless Bai kuntha Babu resigns." He changed his mind afterwards owing to circumstances which, in his opinion, required and justified such change. Thus the report was neither mischievous, nor had it been circulated by unprincipled men.

A statement, received from Mr B K Lahiri, appeared in the *Indian Daily News* and some other papers early in the morning of the 13th September, which contained the following sentences among others —

Sir Rabindranath Tagore we are further authorised to state has accepted the position. This is of course if the venue of the Congress is not changed by the All India Congress Committee and Mrs Besant be the President of the next Congress.

Evidently Mr B K Lahiri's statement was written on the 12th. But the public are aware that the letter containing Sir Rabindranath's acceptance of the office was written on and dated the 14th September and appeared in the dailies on the 15th. Who then authorised Mr B K Lahiri to write the above statement on the 12th and publish it on the 13th?

In his letter to the Press, dated the 13th September, which was despatched after midday on that date, Sir Rabindranath wrote "I have not given any further assurance than that contained in the above letter," i.e. the letter written to the "new party" leaders on the 10th September. This shows that Mr Lahiri had no authority to send to the Press the statement that he did.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote on the 18th September —

What has been Sir Rabindranath's fault to provoke the abuse of the Bengalee? Well he was persuaded

to believe by some friends of Babu Surendra Nath that his acceptance of Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was subject to the sanction of the All-India Congress Committee. He said so in a letter to the Press, but which he immediately withdrew when he learnt that he had been deceived.

He did not say so in a letter to the Press. What he did say was, "It is for the All-India Congress Committee to judge whether the conditions [for the acceptance of the office] laid down in my letter have been fulfilled." We personally know when, where and in whose presence the letter in question was drafted, copied and signed. We are, therefore, in a position to say that it is absolutely false to insinuate that anybody deceived him. Nor was there any persuasion. Of the three persons, besides Sir Rabindranath, who were present on the occasion, only one belongs to the party of Babu Surendranath, and he happened to be present only accidentally; the other two are no more friends of Babu Surendranath Banerjea than of Babu Moti Lal Ghosh. They are non-party men.

The conditions referred to above were mentioned in Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter, dated the 10th September, addressed to Messrs. B. Chakrabarti, C. R. Das, Moti Lal Ghosh and Hirendranath Datta, and are as follows:—

"I am willing to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Congress only in the event of the seat being vacant and subject to the sanction of the All India Congress Committee being given to the holding of the Congress in Calcutta and to Mrs Besant being its President."

The opinion expressed by Sir Rabindranath in his letter to the Press dated 13th September that "It is for the All-India Congress Committee to judge whether the conditions laid down in my letter have been fulfilled," seems to us correct. When there are two Chairmen of the Reception Committee elected by two parties or sections, who is to decide who is the properly elected chairman? Who is to decide whether there has been a vacancy, which the second person elected is asked to fill? Clearly it is the All-India Congress Committee, as is evident from Article XVIII of the Congress Constitution, which runs as follows:—

"Article XVIII

"(a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purposes of the Congress,

in addition to matters specified in this constitution as falling within its powers or functions (The italics are ours)

"(b) The decision of the All India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it."

### Brahmoism and Anti-Besantism.

It is greatly to be regretted that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has imported into the party strife in Calcutta some amount of *odium theologicum*. It has in effect said that in the old party the Brahmo element is very strong and therefore that party is against the election of Mrs. Besant. Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose has shown in the *Bengalee* by giving the actual numbers and names of the Brahmos for and against the election of Mrs. Besant among the members of the Reception Committee and the secretaries of the old and new parties, that the *Patrika's* allegation is not true, that in fact there are more Brahmos in her favour than are against her. And to what community does Sir Rabindranath Tagore belong? We do not know the exact theological opinions of Mrs. Besant. But she once declared and it was published in *New India* that she was carrying on the work of Raja Rammohun Ray in many directions. And she is an opponent of caste and of child-marriage. She is in favour of a thorough education being given to girls and women. In all these respects her views are in agreement with those held by Brahmos and opposed to those preached by the *Patrika*. How then is she necessarily an object of greater dislike to the Brahmos than to the conductors of the *Patrika*? We would advise the journal to be sure of its facts and not to import any irrelevant malice into its controversial writings.

### Political Parties in Calcutta.

Strictly speaking, Sir Rabindranath Tagore does not belong to any political party. It is greatly to be regretted that he should even temporarily appear to be identified with any party. It would be better if he could always remain above any party struggle. Leaving him aside, it may be said of the two political parties in Calcutta that the political and allied services rendered to the country by the leading men of the "old party" are on the whole greater than those rendered by the leading men of the "new party", though their services also have been considerable.

The fault we have to find with the old party, is that though they had a political organisation at their command they had practically long ceased to do any work either of propaganda or of agitation. The new party started a Home Rule League in a hole and corner fashion but have since done hardly anything worth mentioning particularly when the activity of the Home Rule Leagues in Madras Bombay U P, &c are borne in mind.

For any party the only proper means to capture any organisation to have pre-dominant influence over the country and thus to triumph is to work vigorously and courageously for the country. The adoption of devices is a poor substitute for work. But unfortunately before and after the recent "split", men belonging to both parties have had recourse to such devices, though of course, every man or even every prominent man belonging to each party cannot be held responsible for any or every stratagem adopted by his party or some men of his party.

Rowdiness and the menace of physical force have of late also been in evidence. We know we are not yet as rowdy as some Westerners are. We are also far from the adoption of lynch law. But the British or Yankee standard of rowdiness is not a thing to work up to. It is sufficiently disgraceful that anybody should shout approvingly at any of our meetings that if a certain man had acted in a certain man-

ner in a certain country, "He would have been lynched." No Sir, he would not have been lynched. But supposing he would have been lynched or mobbed by 'civilised savages' are we uncivilised and backward folk to imitate their example? We think a dignified and calm bearing more fitting. The object of public meetings is that reason and not brute force should prevail. The atmosphere of such meetings should be conducive to that end.

We deplore the party squabbles and recriminations which have recently marked public life in Calcutta. But they have not made us utterly pessimistic. Bengal had grown somewhat apathetic. Party strife has brought with it at least a semblance of political life. Let us hope soon to have a true revival.

Under no circumstances should we lose hope. We should despair of no man or party. There is always time, it is never too late to say to any man or party, "You are able to rise to the height of the Ideal." We do hope we shall all be able to work towards the goal in a spirit of co-operation and good will in spite of our differences, as, at the present juncture, it is our bounden duty to do.

And we hope, too, that before these stray notes are published a compromise will have been effected between the old party and the new.

September 23 1917

#### MAN'S PROGRESS

##### 'Progress is

The Law of Life—man is not Man as yet.  
Nor shall I deem his object served his end  
Attained by genuine strength put fairly forth  
While only here and there a star dispels  
The darkness here and there a towering and  
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows when the host  
Is out at once to the despair of night  
When all mankind alike is perfected  
Equal in full blown powers—then not till then  
I say beg us man's general infancy

#### WHAT LINCOLN SAID

Lincoln on the battlefield of Gettysburg is an immortal address closed with these words

That we here highly resolve . . . that the nation shall under God have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth

Lincoln placed the paramount power of the Government in the hands of the people and forty-six of the forty-eight state constitutions has reaffirmed this doctrine by declaring 'All political power is inherent in the people

## MOVING PICTURES

## A UNIVERSITY OF COMMON MANKIND

## INCEPTION OF MOVING PICTURE INDUSTRY.

**T**HE moving picture, with its shifting scenes, its irresistible attractiveness and impressiveness and compelling reliability, its limitless range of subjects, represents the most highly evolved, entertaining and educational instrument which the latter part of the nineteenth century has bequeathed. It is indeed one of the greatest wonders of this age, though in its infancy, but yet its growth has been phenomenally amazing. Its total contribution to the progress of civilization has been so great in this short period, that there is no parallel to it in the history of mankind. It has also made more millionaires in its short life than any other single industry yet known.

Man learned to speak long before he learned to read and write. But even before he spoke intelligently, he learned through his eyes. The visual appeal came first of all and it will remain true as long as humanity exists. There is no escape from this natural law.

## PHOTOGRAPHIC AGE.

G. D. Porta, an Italian philosopher, who lived during the latter part of the sixteenth century, was the father of photography, but J. H. Shultze, a German, was the first to obtain photographic copies of writing in 1727; however, it was left for K. W. Sheele, to further investigate the darkening action of sunlight on silver chloride, but the honor belonged to Thomas Wedgwood, an Englishman, to produce the first actual photograph in 1802.

EXPERIMENTAL STAGE OF  
MOVING PICTURE.

Then the Napoleonic wars came on and they hampered the normal development of the new art. It was not until 1833, that W. G. Horner began to experiment with the Zoetrope or "Wheel of Life". It consisted of a hollow cylinder turning on a vertical axis and having its surface pierced with a number of slots. Round the interior was arranged a series of pictures

representing successive stages of such objects as a galloping horse, a running man, and the like, and when the cylinder was rotated an observer looking through one of the slots saw the object apparently in motion.

The pictures were at first drawn by hand as in the case of animated cartoons of to day. But Edward Muybridge further developed this idea, and in 1877, obtained successive pictures of a running horse, by employing a row of cameras, the shutters of which were opened and closed electrically by the passage of a horse in front of them.

This most useful art for the welfare of mankind was brought to a successful stage, but it was, however, left for Dr. E. J. Marey of Paris to render possible the modern moving picture art by the invention of the celluloid roll film in 1889.

## WHAT IS A MOVING PICTURE?

Most probably a great many patrons of the moving picture palace might be wondering how the marvellously realistic effects of life are obtained. As a matter of fact, there is no object that actually moves, but it is merely "an optical illusion", or as it is usually called, a psychological phenomenon, "the persistence of human vision." The fact that the retina of the eye has the power of retaining for the tenth of a second the impression of an image after the object which has produced it has disappeared, makes it evident that when an image is placed before our eyes ten times in a second, the idea of discontinuity is lost and the images appear to be in continual evidence.

A film ribbon, made of celluloid, is generally one thousand feet in length, and an inch in width, with 16,000 pictures, each being  $1 \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches, and this series of pictures represents closely successive phases of a moving object or happening of an incident. These pictures, sixteen to a second, are exhibited in rapid sequence by a motion picture projector on the screen, with the assistance of calcium.

light, and owing to the persistence of vision as above explained, they appear to the observer to be in continuous motion

### ITS GROWTH

The first photograph of a human face in motion was exhibited in a photographer's window in Sloane Street, London, in 1889, by William F. Greene, the experimenter. He made his own film emulsified it and projected it with the same mechanism he had used in his camera for making the negative



Mr. Subet Singh and Charlie Chaplin

It created a great sensation in London. At the same time the French were also making extensive experiments upon this new art, and in 1893, Thomas A. Edison in America, brought out his kinetoscope.

The industry did not make any material progress until George Eastman in America and Dr. E. J. Marey of Paris, perfected the film. Then Messrs. Lumiere in Lyons, France, made their machine for projection on the screen. Simultaneously, Dr. Marey

and Demeny of Paris began their experiments, making a great improvement in the mechanism of both the camera and the projector.

At first the industry was followed by the ordinary traveling showmen, who took it up as a mere curiosity. Then the pictures were mediocre in quality and ridiculous in taste. They were very largely devoted to the comedy of the "slap stick" type and were very unsteady. The novelty of the movement to the public was so great, that the quality of the subjects was altogether overlooked. After this, pictures of scenery, sea side views, fire brigade drills and the like, appeared on the platform of this art.

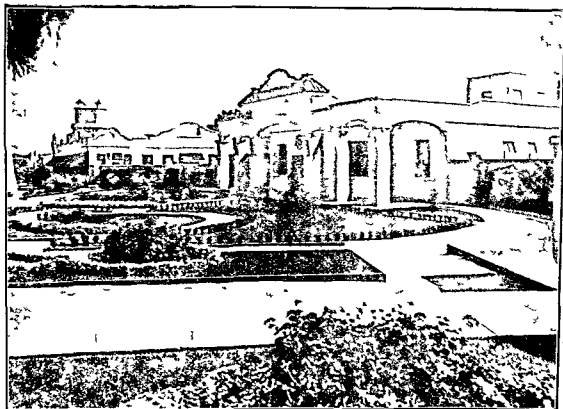
The length of the film then was from twenty to fifty feet, but after the discovery of a method of joining, which made it possible to increase the length of the negative film to two hundred, three hundred or four hundred feet, and the positive to the present day standard reel length of one thousand feet.

The potential possibilities of the industry in the amusement and educational field were not really discovered until 1896, as previous to this time it was followed by individuals here and there, in a haphazard fashion. Any subject made by them was exhibited. Most of the early subjects were made by the French, Pathe Freres, and they were exported to England and America. Ninety-five per cent of them proved to be entirely too broad for the more particular taste of those countries. It is more so in the case of India to-day.

Gradually the stock companies were formed to carry out the work on a larger scale and they began to act complete plays under the direction of expert stage managers. The scenarios were frequently based in the earlier stages of the industry, upon the train robberies, hold ups, burglaries, shootings, elopements, and domestic infelicities. Then pictures of familiar plays and stories and carefully staged dramas, such as "Macbeth", "Richard the Third", "Life of Washington", "Oliver Twist", "Life of Jesus" and the like, were produced. Now there are very elaborately and artistically staged spectacles, like "A Daughter of the Gods", "Civilization", "Joan of Arc", and "Intolerance", each costing not less than Rs. 15,00,000.

A decidedly forward step has been taken in producing current events or "newspapers





Main Entrance to Universal City

in moving picture, and magazines, or "making people think. They have a tremendous social force, with power to form and direct the public taste, the public mind, and public morals.

To keep pace with the production of plays and dramas, the mechanism of the camera and the projector has been very much improved and standardized. The old calcium light has been replaced by the arc light, the victrola and piano music by the expensive organ and orchestra, and the store show by the up-to-date theatre.

A great many efforts have been made to substitute color moving pictures for the present black and white, but no successful process has been yet found. Mr. Edison brought out his "kinetophone", and Messrs. Gaumont the "Chronophone", to make a harmonious combination with moving pictures, so as to produce a normal talking effect, but unfortunately, both instruments failed to produce the desired result. There is, however, every likelihood of such a combination, and also of the colored moving pictures in the time to come,

and they will make the art more charming and effective.

#### MOVING PICTURES IN THE AMUSEMENT WORLD

From time immemorial the spoken drama has been one of the most important agencies of amusement of mankind. But preliminary requisite of its patrons has always been a certain amount of knowledge and intelligence, which unfortunately the masses do not possess, and so this serious obstacle coupled with the extraordinarily heavy demands upon the purse, has been the main reason for its narrow and selective patronage.

This state of affairs has been prevailing until a little over two decades ago, when a new agency, "moving pictures", was discovered, which, breaking the chain of too rigid demands of knowledge, as well as costliness, made a most popular appeal, not only to the few privileged ones but to all classes. Now the great dramas and plays have become the common property of all mankind. It has, beyond comprehen-

sion, revolutionized the amusement world, and is gradually invading the so called legitimate theatre. Already a great many play theatres in Europe and America have been turned into moving picture palaces, and also a very large number of the best regular stage actors and actresses, like Sir Herbert Tree, Madame Sara Bernhardt, Lillie Ferguson, and so on, have entered the fold of the moving picture stage.



Helen Marie Osborne Four half years old photo player

The moving picture drama has a very wide and natural range of settings, as one scene of the play may be taken in the Arctic zones another may be in the Sahara desert, and still another may be in mid ocean, and the patron sitting in a comfortable chair, views the whole play in its realistic atmosphere, while to accomplish the same on the limited stage of regular play is altogether impossible.

It is many many times cheaper than the regular play, because the actors are employed only once in its making, and that is done under the most favourable conditions and once a play is completed can be exhibited at as many places as desired.

It has created the shortest cut to amuse

ment. It does not make a double draft upon the patron, he has not to use both the ear as well as the eye, he is not puzzled with hard words or construction. His imagination, if sluggish, is stimulated, and if active, is whipped. The popularity of graphic presentation has always been universal. Man's interest in the image artificially presented, whether rudely or artistically, has always been a very important factor in civilisation, and to that interest has been added the charm and fascination of motion.

The moving picture to day presents quite vividly and effectively the great master pieces in a marvelously realistic and impressive manner, and this is within the domain of every man or woman to see, to appreciate, and to be inspired. Indeed it has become and is becoming more and more a formidable tool of amusement of common mankind.

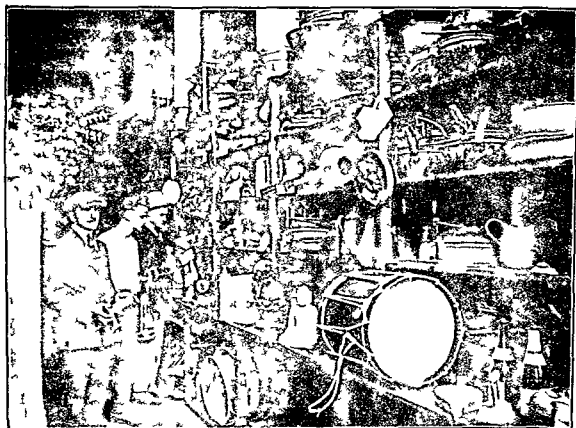
#### MOVING PICTURES IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

Visual education has been the most important factor in human society, and it is more so in a community of people where illiteracy predominates and a common language is absent, such as in the case of our country. The first lesson that we learn after appearing on this earth is through the eyes, and whatever the impression which is made upon the highly sensitized and delicate mental faculties through the eye lenses, it is non erasable and everlasting. No written or spoken sentence can reach the mind as swiftly and concentratedly as the thing seen.

Music comes next in the suddenness of appeal, but it solely appeals to the emotions, while the seeing of objects appeals to the mental faculties.

If such has been the case in the past history of mankind, what wonder that, when modern science set, the pictures moving, their attraction and effectiveness have become irresistible. Particularly irresistible it is to those unused to reading or unable to read and write at all, and blessedly this art presents the quickest and easiest short cut to the increase of sound knowledge, to such people and to all.

Before the 'movies', the clever Bengali, the stalwart Punjabi the sturdy Gurkha, the indomitable willed Marhatta, the proud Rajput, the fearless Pathan, the enterprising Parsee and the shrewd



Corner of Openly Run

Madras may sit elbow to elbow and vibrate quite sympathetically for here is the only universal lingua franca that has been yet invented by the genius of a human being a lingua franca of moving images that is understood by all regardless of illiteracy or dialect and knows not the artificial boundaries of land or the continents widely separated by oceans.

Let us hear the testimony of Thomas A. Edison one of the greatest inventors of this age and a pioneer in the moving picture industry —

Moving pictures bring to every one an absolutely clear idea of foreign peoples through their customs through scenes of the world and through the industries and pursuits of man. They have a tremendous educational effect. This is true even of the seemingly purely amusement moving pictures. Little cross sections of life are staged, acted and shown better than are the cheap shows given at considerably higher prices. The motion picture is an important factor in the world's intellectual development. It will have a great uplifting effect on the morality of mankind. It will wipe out various prejudices which are often ignorance. It will create a feeling of sympathy and desire to uplift the dovin trodden peoples of the earth. It will give new

deals to be followed. For these reasons I believe that moving pictures present the right means in the hands of broad minded intellectual and informed workers for the world's good for the innocent amusement efficient instruction and moral advancement of the great masses of the people.

There is nothing impossible for the moving picture camera to illustrate right from the elementary subjects of the primary school to that of the advanced courses of the university. There is already on the market a large number of educational films and subjects like the following and many more are now available.

Agriculture	Geography	Mythology
Applied Sciences	Geology	
Architecture		Physics
Army and Navy	History	Sanitation
Aviation		Scenery
	Industries	Scientific Management
Chemistry		Sports
Classes	Literature	Surgery
Fine Arts	Mechanics	Transportation
Fishing	Music	Travel
Forestry		

Very elaborate catalogs of educational films have been prepared by Edison

Iaramount Educational Film Corporation  
of America New York U S A Gaumont  
Film Co Paris and Charles Urban  
London



Lu Weber Peer of Women Directors

Most of the schools and colleges in Europe and America are making quite extensive use of moving pictures to impart knowledge through vision the King of Senses In the United States of America they have been employed more extensively by the boards of education and universities than in Europe In Germany the University of Berlin Heidelberg University of Vienna medical colleges in Austria Hungary the University of Paris Lyons in France and King's College London University Cambridge Oxford Birmingham Leeds Manchester Edinburgh Glasgow and Aberdeen in the United Kingdom are the centers for moving pictures

The art is developed to such an extent that there has arisen a great necessity for the acquisition of systematic knowledge

To fill this need a great many schools have come into existence for this particular purpose and many universities have added photo play subjects to their curriculum The University of Rochester gives a regular course for four years in the art and science of moving pictures

Practically all the governments of Europe and America are using moving pictures to diffuse knowledge among the people especially on such subjects as agriculture sanitation hygiene commerce industry and the like A great many governments have their own moving picture staff and take the pictures themselves

Owing to the most direct and effective appeal of movies they are used to promote civic reforms to elect candidates to office to persuade the people back to the farm to locate criminals stolen articles and abducted girls for city planning the preservation of historical records for preparedness getting recruits advertising goods teaching the various industries and countless other usages

It has also invaded the pulpit and a great deal of modern religion is taught through the use of moving pictures Recently there has been formed a Bible Film Company in New Mexico United States of America with a capitalization of Rs 30 00 000 to produce solely religious pictures

We must not forget that the moving picture art is only of very recent development and its possibilities in the educational field are almost unlimited and its use in the future will be ever increasing

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND MOVING PICTURES

During the early part of 1892 the first pictures that were shown in America were French They were not quite suitable for the taste and ideals of Yankees but they merely appealed to them as some wonderland curiosity But Americans seeing the remarkable opportunity for themselves in this new art lost no time in engaging in the manufacture of motion pictures As they are a very shrewd and enterprising people they would under no circumstances have permitted the French to exploit their virgin and magnificent field The beginning however was small but from that has sprung up the fifth largest industry in the country About 2 75 000 persons are employed in the industry and a



In the Wardrobe Department.

stupendous sum of Rs. 1,50,00,00,000 is invested in the business of manufacture and exhibition.

In 1916, the American manufacturers turned out about 10,000 reels on 4113 different subjects, and from each of these negative reels of 1000 feet in length, thirty-five positive copies on an average were made. Thus the original and the copies made 35,000,000,000 feet of film, about 66,270 miles in length, enough to go around the globe about three times. That was only one year's production.

The cost of producing an ordinary kind of negative in America is generally Rs. 6 a foot, and this will make the cost of all negative production Rs. 12,000,000,000. The 35,000,000,000 feet of copies cost about 2 annas per foot and makes a sum total of Rs. 4,370,500,000. Both amounts of the negative, as well as the positive will make a sum of Rs. 16,370,500,000. In this calculation no consideration has been given to the so-called "Specials", and these have been quite a few last year.

One is really staggered by looking at the above figures, but the profits are also correspondingly very large, as we observe in the following. In the United States of America there are about 15,000 motion picture theatres, to which about one-tenth or 10,000,000, persons go daily. In the large cities the proportion is much higher, for instance, in Cleveland, Ohio, about one-seventh; in New York, one-sixth; and in Hartford, Connecticut, one-fifth. The admission ranges from two-half annas to 4 rupees. The box receipts for the last year approximately amounted to Rs. 1,000,000,000,000. Thus the gross profits of the entire industry in 1916, were Rs. 83,62,50,000.

The best known actors and actresses and famous writers are employed at fabulous salaries.

There are about two hundred producing companies in America, but the following are the largest producing and distributing concerns :



In the Scenario Department

	Weekly releases	Ex changes	Capital
Mutual Film Co		68	\$5,100,000
Paramount Film Co	10 reels	33	6,000,000
Vitagraph Film Co	8		7,500,000
Universal Film Co	32	72	12,000,000

## MOVING PICTURES IN THE EAST

China is awakening very fast from her long slumber and is tackling quite vigorously the most important problems of life. At the present pace of development it will not be very long before she will become one of the foremost nations. She has learnt the elementary lessons in the onward march, and now her watchword is "persistent effort". Among other agencies she is employing increasingly moving pictures, one of the most effective and twentieth century instruments. But however, the moving picture theatres are largely confined to the treaty ports. Each show lasts two hours, and the admission ranges from two half annas to one rupee and 14 annas. All the films shown are second hand and foreign.

In the early history of moving picture shows in Japan all the films displayed were foreign. But the Japanese true to their progressive spirit were not quite contented with such films as were thrown upon their market. Most of them were meaningless and others were of objectionable tone. Realizing that no progress can be made with such films solely prepared for a different kind of spectators they themselves launched upon the manufacture of local films with domestic taste and environment. To-day several companies are engaged in the industry, and almost the whole program of films is "Jap made". Very little use is made of the foreign films now a-days and they are especially comedies and special events.

The shows are very popular in Japan, and there are to-day about one hundred and fifty theatres in all but they are increasing quite fast. From six to eight reels are shown at one performance, lasting about two hours. The admission is from 2 1/2 annas to one rupee and a half.

## INDIA AND MOVING PICTURES

To-day in entire India there are not as many moving picture theatres as in the City of Washington the Capital of the United States of America with a population of only a little over 2 00 000. This statement may be a surprise to many but it is a bare fact. It is rather difficult to assign the specific reasons for this meagre display, but among others the following may be mentioned.

Lack of positive knowledge self confidence initiative adventurous spirit and predominating illiteracy form very serious obstacles in the pursuit and furtherance of any commercial or industrial organization. Modern industrialism emphatically demands a very comprehensively positive and specialized knowledge for the achievement of success and this unfortunately our B A s and M A s do not possess and the illiterate masses owing to their limited knowledge and experience can not gauge the possibilities of an industrial enterprise from the national as well as international view point. Most of the organizations so far have been launched by individuals on a very limited scale and they deserve the highest praise and sympathy, but alas this mode of organization is too ancient to make any headway in modern commercialism. In certain lines it may have some justification to exist but the twentieth century organization is the corporate form whereby the savings and co operation of an almost unlimited number of persons are facilitated. It would have been totally impossible to organize the Tata Steel Limited or the big cotton mills of Bombay on the individual basis.

For the establishment of a moving picture theatre electric light is very essential and unfortunately this is not found except at a few large cities and here some theatres are in operation. In some cases calcium light has been employed but this sort of illumination is most unsatisfactory for the commercial success of the moving picture show.

Almost all the films that are exhibited to-day in India are foreign and second hand full of blemishes and streaks. They are very injurious to the eyes and detrimental to the mental faculties. They are expressly made for western spectators whose taste and morals are quite different from

those of ours. Having been used in the west they cease to be of any value and are dumped upon our market at a considerably higher price than they fetch at home even when normal. There is no choice on our part but to accept them at the demanded price otherwise the theatre has to be closed. There is not any real taste and interest in the photo dramas because they are unintelligible and meaningless to our people and for this reason comedy and tragedy films or something sensational or exciting is generally shown. The people go to the shows not because it seems as a physical relaxation or mental food or of vital interest but merely as a novelty or curiosity. This sort of continuous and imperfect entertainment is very harmful to all the patrons.

Our ideals customs ethics and morals are so largely different from those of the Occidentals that if our photoplays made in India solely for our own people are to be shown all the time to the western spectators they will be bored to death. The attendance will rapidly fall off the interest and attraction will be wholly distracted and the enthusiasm and inspiration will altogether fade away and then the patrons will be only the curious and thrill seekers.

In order to make this most effective and blessed instrument serve a very important mission in our country where unfortunately almost inconceivable illiteracy predominates diversified dialects abound and heterogeneous institutions prevail it is necessary to establish manufacturing plants where our great epics classics dramas, melo dramas comedies stories romances fables historic biographic and current events films and the like can be pictured with our own actors and actresses settings and atmosphere and with our local genius. Then this new art with its universal tongue that knows not the bounds of territorial limits castes or creeds and literacy or illiteracy will become a common agency of all the people for genuine amusement and a common diffuser of sound knowledge.

Then, and then indeed this wonderful instrument will serve not only as a relaxation for physical faculties or food for mental faculties of the patrons but it will mould their characters shape their morals, stimulate their actions and set their minds thinking about the vital problems of life.

ST. CHET SINGH

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

## Indians in Fiji and the Duty of Indians

In the September issue of the *Modern Review* Mr Andrews has contributed a very suggestive article on 'India and Fiji'. That it is very thoughtful as well will be clear to all those who in the midst of the present political confusion retain enough interest in problems connected with the ultimate well being of India. It cannot be denied that the events that are happening immediately before our eyes are of a very engrossing nature. But as Mr Andrews rightly suggests, the situation in Fiji is neglected and the events there, if allowed to drift, will perhaps involve India in a great national calamity and strike a knock down blow to some of the most cherished ideals of the Indian people in this country. As Fiji really is 'a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific—This is India', it should be easy to perceive that the future of the immigration problem in India is very closely dependent upon the state of things in this island in the Pacific. It is already well known that a very unjust and harmful bar has been placed in the way of all Indian settlers in the Far West. What is not equally well known is that to some extent at least the basis of this unnatural prohibition is the ignorance and conduct of a section of the Indian settlers themselves. No doubt there is ample evidence to show that the average European over there hates the Indian because of the racial prejudice imbued from the very atmosphere on which he breathes. We should not however shut our eyes to the fact that the Indian labourer in Fiji or elsewhere does not always exhibit himself under very lovable circumstances. This explains to some extent the hesitation and halfheartedness with which even liberal minded foreigners sometimes come forward to help us. If in Fiji even after the emancipation of the Indians they are allowed to exhibit themselves and misrepresent us as heretofore the fault will be mainly ours. Those who never have been to India and see us only through our present representatives in Fiji cannot but form a very low opinion of Indians as a nation. And this opinion, in its turn, will influence the Western countries when they fashion the policy that regulates and will regulate in future the admission of Indians into foreign lands. The question of the uplift of Indians in Fiji is important from a humanitarian point of view but is also of great national import. The degeneration or the perpetuation of the present state of Indians in Fiji will certainly mean the degradation of the Indian nation in the eyes of the whole world.

The history of the emancipation and rise of the Negro race in America during what has been called the Reconstruction period suggests to our mind an analogy of the present affairs in Fiji. President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation set the Negro free but the prejudice against him did not die out soon. During the period that followed this great event the Negroes found themselves face to face with a very peculiar and intricate problem. The emancipation threw them out of slavery and work

all at once. Poverty and prejudice stared them in the face everywhere that they went. The injustice and hatred of their former masters who considered themselves robbed of what they had been accustomed to regard as their property, dogged their heels. Their own ignorance and illiteracy formed a drawback even more harmful and humiliating. But the wisdom of their leaders and their own efforts saved them after half a century of the keenest national struggle against these dark forces. As a result we see to-day the coloured man taking his place side by side with the White man in America. But the trials and hardships through which they had to pass can be adequately realised only by those who have studied the history of their rise. It is certain that the least shortsightedness on the part of their leaders, the slightest disinclination to sacrifice self-interest in the interests of the nation, the least desire to spare expense in educating the emancipated slaves and their children would have meant for the whole nation a form of slavery worse than before—or perhaps a complete effacement of the nation from the surface of the earth. The neglect of the Indian in Fiji cannot possibly result in a disaster of the like magnitude, because all our national interests are not vested in Fiji. But this decrease will undoubtedly mean a gradual decrease in number and importance of the Indians in Fiji, the strengthening of the prejudice against the settlement of Indians in Crown Colonies and elsewhere, and finally the confiscation of any immigration rights that we have acquired.

The problem being of such a grave importance the question naturally arises: What can we do to avert this national calamity?

Mr Andrews seems to suggest an excessive dependence on the Government of the Island. But it is very doubtful if a Government with practically none to represent Indian interests will ever tackle the problem in a manner calculated to benefit the Indian section of its population. Nor can we expect the Government of India to do much unless it is armed with a power to legislate in respect to what has been called reciprocal immigration—that is we should not allow in this country the immigration of a people who do not extend the same privilege to our countrymen. The real remedy now as ever must be in the hands of the people themselves. No time should be lost in spreading broadcast the seeds of education amongst the Indians in Fiji. The missionaries of organised missions such as the Brahmo Samaj or the Arya Samaj or the Ramakrishna Mission should not only visit the Island Indians and teach them how to live better but even make efforts to settle down amongst them. Enormous sacrifices have to be made before a people, more than a century behind the world can be made to march with it. The great difficulty here in India is a lack of organised effort. Many people individually may be prepared to help in this noble cause but the difficulty is about a man or men who can come forward at this juncture to demand their help. As these lines are being written our mind of its own accord runs to look up to Mr. Gandhi. Could not he who has suffered so much, done so much and felt so much for India, organise a



gods. It is four inches in diameter and was used in the construction of the huge temple. It would be interesting to trace through history the curious connection between religion and hair. Some religions



The biggest advertiser of religion in Iowa is John Wesley Fulton whose farm is covered in every available spot with scriptural warnings. Even the Fulton silver bear the warning "Heaven or Hell Awaits You," while the Fulton checkbook is inscribed "Jesus watches you."

The next time you happen to be in the Higashi Hongwanji Temple in Japan you'll be interested in seeing this rope. It was made from the hair of thousands of Japanese girls offered to the

deceit that hair be shaved off some religions are strong for beards. But all of them seem to have some hair laws. Even the barbarous ones.

Before making fun of the gentleman with the hardware gown let us remind you that he is a very eminent personage in his own country in Siberia—a shaman—as a matter of fact with rare ability in the banishment of evil spirits and the cure of everything from pip to housemaid's knee. This magazine asks to be helpful. Therefore we pass on the shaman's prescription for whatever ails you which is "Dress yourself up like this and dance continuously in a circle for one hour and twenty minutes."

—Every Week

### All France is Proud of Him

Not many years ago Auguste Rodin was rejected for the third time by the Beaux Arts, a society of artists who thought they knew exactly how sculpture should look. When he tried to exhibit his work at the Salon he was rebuffed again.

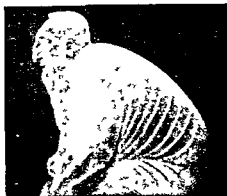
The work I sent in "The Man with the Crooked Nose" was not conceived after the taste of my judges, he said. I represented him as I saw him.



while they think it is legitimate to tamper with nature and *beautify* her."

While the popular sculptors of the day seemed to feel that every sculptured figure should have pleasing features, well rounded limbs, if not a Greek nose at least a Roman nose, Rodin felt that nature was the only thing worth copying. When pupils came to him, he could only say, "Study nature." He admired models who had large feet unmanicured by tight shoes, "because only large feet are natural and proportionate." For these heresies he was denounced as indecent and a madman.

Before he received any appreciation from art critics, this sculptor of whom all France is proud suffered nearly fifty years of extreme poverty. His parents were peasants, and for long periods he would have to give up his sculpture to work as a mere artisan, for the sake of getting bread for his earthly body.



Rodin labored fifty years to prove that sculpture is not necessarily pretty and pleasing. Now Mestrovic has sculptured this portrait of Rodin. Seems like the workings of Nemesis, but Rodin thinks the statue is great art and a good likeness.

Rodin's first wife died about a year ago, an old, old woman whom he married in his artisan days. She never advanced a step along the road that her husband took, and when great rulers and great artists and great writers came to his studio to pay their respects, his little old wife was always there knitting, in a little cap and shawl. All we know of her is that she kept his house for him and was glad that they had plenty of money for their old age.

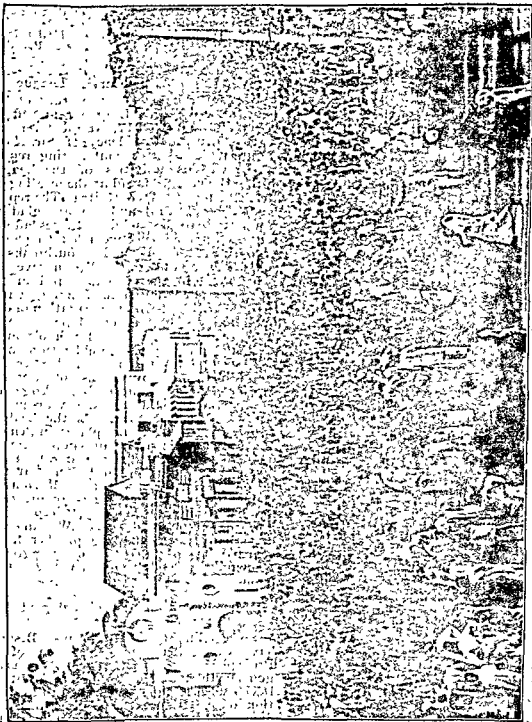
Strange to say, according to a notice that appeared in the Paris journals, Rodin—a patriarch of seventy-six with a patriarchal white beard—married a girl named Rose Beurre on January 20, 1917. Three weeks later she died, and the only people who can explain this wedding are the two necessary witnesses.

—Every Week.

### "Death Through Bad Citizenship"

"History shows us that with scarcely an exception, every great nation, after climbing laboriously to the zenith of its power, has then apparently become exhausted by the effort and has settled down in a state of repose, relapsing into idleness, and into indifference to the fact that other nations were pushing up to destroy it, whether by force of arms, or by the more peaceful but equally fatal method of commercial strangulation. In every case the want of some of that energetic patriotism, which made the country, has caused its ruin. In every case the verdict of History has been 'DEATH THROUGH BAD CITIZENSHIP'."

—Lieutenant General Sir Robert Baden-Powell.



The Release of Mrs. Beant and of Messrs. Arundale and Wedda.

Photograph by The Graphophone Co., Madras.

quality of the work done in this field will depend on the qualifications of the workmen, the conditions to which they are subjected and the spirit in which they do their work. If you encourage them to act as the Good Shepherd to their young flock you will have the happiest results, if you make them feel that they are mere hirelings the end will be ruinous.

If you honour our educationists and jealously watch to save them from insult, degradation and undeserved penury, you will be only guarding your best interests. You will be helping us to raise up a breed of honest manly efficient and chivalrous youth for the future good of our race and country.

The significance of what Prof Sarkar said need not be explained.

One other passage, a somewhat long one, we shall quote from Prof Sarkar's reply to the address, not so much for its personal interest as to show how a Professor, who is also a researcher, ought to work and how people should not expect him to be a society man.

Indeed as I take a retrospect of my life here on the eve of my departure from the scene of my nineteen years' work I am oppressed by a painful consciousness that I have failed in my social duties. I may have worked my hardest for my college. I may have pursued my investigations of Indian history and Indian economies making the night just labourer with the day and not dividing the Sunday from the rest of the week. I may have intimately shared the life of my boys outside the class room. But I have surely failed in observing the hundred and one amenities of life which a cultivated society requires from its members in their mutual relations.

I have rarely returned a visit. I have sparingly entertained and I have attended social functions as seldom. The result has been that no self-respecting gentleman of Bankipur has crossed my threshold a second time and my only visitors have been wild antiquarian, desperate students of Indian history, sworn devotees of literature and a few personal friends. Well gentlemen I am not a Misanthropos and I do not hate mankind, but I could not afford the time for a fuller social intercourse with you. For this I sincerely apologise with you.

My only excuse is that I have always regarded Bankipur as a capital field for my work. True I learnt Persian before coming here. But it was only here that I turned that instrument to the interpretation of original historical documents and the investigation of our country's past. The dry cold and bracing climate of Patna for six months in the year and the comparative lightness of my college work during the first ten years of my service here gave me an opportunity of storing knowledge and examining original records for which I shall always remember Patna with gratitude. Here I began all of my researches and here I have carried many of them to completion. Wherever my latter days may be spent Patna will be a loving memory to me.

Research is a brooding passion, the standard of perfection expected of an original investigator in the civilised world to-day is very high and is daily becoming more and more exacting and ponderous. The Indian who wishes to win a place for his country in the roll of those who have added to the world's stock of knowledge must not rest, must not enjoy himself, must not think of his worldly

goods, must be a stranger to society, he must even neglect his family. It is a heavy price to pay, but we have to pay it if modern Indians are not to be talked of as intellectual Pariahs in the congress of the learned at Paris, Berlin or London.

You appreciate my devotion to this ideal and you pardon me for my social failings here. For this I thank you again.

### The Bengal Social Service League

The second anniversary meeting of the Bengal Social Service League came off on the 18th August 1917, at the Overtoun Hall, under the Presidency of Sir K. G. Gupta, K. C. S. I. A very interesting report of the various activities of the League, during the year was read at the meeting by the Secretary, Dr D. N. Maitra. The report has been published and we are glad to commend it to the public. Besides affording prompt and effective relief to people who suffered from sudden outbreaks of fire, famine and flood, the League, we are glad to read in the report, helped in the matter of providing pure drinking water in several villages by the excavation of one tank and the sinking of 33 pucca wells, started and maintained 43 Schools in 9 districts, and by the publication and broadcast distribution of health tracts and leaflets and by means of lectures spread popular sanitary knowledge in many villages. During the year under review, 29 new branches of the League were opened at different places in Bengal and a systematic study and improvement of *bustees* in Calcutta were undertaken.

There can now be no question that the Bengal Social Service League no longer merely holds out the promise of a seed, but has germinated and struck deep roots into the soil of this country. We can only hope that it may grow and prosper from year to year and succeed in enlisting greater sympathy and co-operation of the public.

### Mrs Besant and Presidentship of The Congress

Some admirers of Mrs Anne Besant have called her an Incarnation of a Principle. Some of her followers have gone further, and called her a Saint, a Devi (which means goddess), an Incarnation of the goddess Saraswati and the Saviour of India. Every one has the right to his own opinions and enthusiasm. And it is not our intention in this note to criticise any terms used by Mrs Besant's

admirers and followers to describe her. We wish only to say that we do not subscribe to the views implied in these terms. It is on other grounds that we say that she is probably the fittest person to preside over the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress. In recent years she has used her voice and her pen most vigorously, persistently and fearlessly in her advocacy of self rule for India. The country does not know a more forceful, fearless and resourceful preacher of Home Rule. She it is who has made it a living issue. In working for Home Rule she has suffered heavily both in purse and in person. She has carried constitutional agitation to its furthest legal limits for she has been fighting her cases in the Privy Council. The question of self government is now before both Government and people. It will be the most important question to be discussed at the ensuing session of the Congress. For all these reasons and also because the majority of provincial Congress Committees want her, she ought to be chosen to preside over the next Congress. For a province in which the repressive policy of internment has been most vigorously pursued it would be in the fitness of things to have as president one who has herself undergone internment.

Objections have been raised against electing her. One is that she is a foreigner and in a movement for obtaining self rule the leading position ought not to be assigned to a foreigner. Our reply is that it is not in the year 1917 that the Congress has suddenly for the first time grown into an organisation for obtaining civic rights. It has been such for years past or probably from its very start though it may be not directly or quite consciously. We remember that the practical originator of the Congress was a foreigner, and its foremost guide, friend and philosopher even to day is a foreigner residing in England. We remember too that foreigners like Lyle Webb, Bradlaugh, Cotton and Wedderburn have presided over it without any objection being raised by the present objectors. We remember also that when it was proposed to have Mr Ramsay MacDonald as president it was this REVIEW alone which objected on the ground of his being a foreigner. The present objectors did not then object. When again Mrs Besant was about to be

chosen to preside over the U P Provincial Conference which she subsequently did this REVIEW alone objected. The present objectors did not then object. Of all the persons of foreign extraction named above the objection is least valid against Mrs Besant because she has made India her home. It may also be urged against our objection that if India had Naturalisation laws Mrs Annie Besant could have become a naturalised Indian and it is well known that a naturalised citizen ceases to be treated as a foreigner and has all the rights and responsibilities of autochthonous citizens. No doubt she has not been naturalised *legally*, as there are we believe no naturalisation laws in India, but her sufferings and sacrifices for India may be accepted as a baptismal rite conferring naturalisation on her.

The ideal of Indian Swaraj or self rule did not originate with Mrs Besant. It was very clearly and definitely described and demanded by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906 in a Calcutta session of the Congress. And his demand justly and logically went far further than the demand of Home Rulers, Moslem Leaguers or Congressmen of to-day. Even the expression Indian Home Rule did not originate with Mrs Annie Besant. We say all this not to minimise her political services but to show that she should be taken only as the most impressive spokesman for the year of the Swaraj movement but neither its originator nor its leader. And she will demand in substance what the Congress and the Moslem League have already jointly decided upon as the united demand of India under the presidency of born citizens of India.

It has been also said that her election would be a challenge to Government, it would be to flout Government. We do not think so. If the numerous protest meetings held before her release, were not a challenge her election cannot be a challenge and she has now been released. One of the ex-presidents of the Congress was once in jail though not for a political but a merely technical offence. Mrs Besant was simply interned, not sent to jail. Ex-political prisoners have been elected members of the British Parliament. Only recently two Sinn Féin rebels let out of jail, Mr Macguinness and Mr de Valera have been elected members of parliament.

It has been also objected that Mr Besant did not hold her present po-

opinions some years ago, that she has changed, and may change again. But it should be noted that her change has been in the direction of progress, not in that of retrogression. We are to take a person's opinions as they are, not as they were or may be in future. We do not wish to rale up unpleasant facts. But if Congresswallas will pass in review the names of all the past presidents, they will find that some men have filled that position whose published opinions as regards Indian politics were, before their occupation of the presidential chair, *nil*. Some past presidents have even gone back on some of their former political opinions, either directly or indirectly. Just as we do not take them now as representatives of Congress politics, so if Mrs Annie Besant should in future be guilty of similar retrogression, we would cease to look upon her as a Congresswalla and would not be bound by any views she might then propound.

Certain things which she is reported to have said or done during the Swadeshi agitation has given offence in Bengal. As to these, we are disposed to forget and forgive. For what she said against Arabinda Ghosh she has made ample amends by subsequently published warm appreciation of his worth. The Gandhi incident in Benares we have not forgotten. Probably it was due to an attack of nerves, or something worse. But we are not disposed to pursue the subject further. We hold no brief for Mrs Besant and do not contend that she is impeccable.

On the whole, we support her, though we do not think that there is no one else fit to preside, or that our cause would be irretrievably ruined if she were not elected. In conclusion, when anyone feels disposed to indulge in any criticism of her in conversation or writing, we would ask him to try to prove to his own satisfaction that every one of the past presidents of the Congress was or is more faultless in every respect than Mrs Besant.

### Party Strife and Self-rule

Some objections against Indian self government have been based on the existence of party strife in our midst. These have no great validity, as there is no self ruling country without political parties and more violent party strife than we have here. In our present condition, however, we dis-

like and condemn party dissensions, because they stand in the way of a united effort to win civil rights.

One particular objection of our opponents we wish to meet. It has been said that as, on the whole, the Indian members of the legislative councils form a standing opposition, if Government be defeated by them who will carry on the work of administration? This objection presupposes that things are to remain just as they are now even when India obtains complete self-government. But that is not the case. In a self ruling India, the position of the Viceroy and Governors would probably be like that of similar functionaries in the self ruling Dominions. And there is enough of political capacity in India and sufficient difference of opinion on many matters of detail to make it practicable for one party to form a government when another has gone out of power. So the existence of parties among us is really in one sense one of our qualifications for self government. The system of party government has its faults, and they are great. Partisanship and factionousness are maladies from which parties suffer. But there may be healthy party activity free from the taint of partisanship and factionousness. All nations which wish to advance should have in their midst, as Mill says, 'the antagonism of influences which is the only security for progress.'

### Mr Montagu's Visit and the Duty of Public Bodies and Public Men

By the desire of the Secretary of State an official announcement has been made regarding the procedure which will be followed during his approaching visit to India. It is said therein:

Representations and memorials on the subject of reforms should be addressed to him through the Governor General in Council. Deputations will be received by Mr Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy jointly. To such deputations it will not be possible to give a considered reply but it is hoped that great advantage will be secured from private interviews with selected members of the deputations after they have presented their addresses.

Persons or associations wishing to have interviews or to present addresses should make their wishes known to their respective Local Governments who will submit their recommendations to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State. This procedure is necessary in order to enable a daily programme of engagements to be prepared and every endeavour will be made to secure that all important associations and persons should be allotted a time for the desired deputation or address. It will be a convenience if copies of any addresses to be presented could be sent in some little time before

band in order that there may be an opportunity of appreciating the points to be raised and it will add greatly to the value of the discussions at private interviews if gentlemen who are accorded that honour will so early send in before and a summary of points they desire to lay before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.

It is desired that the views of representatives of all sections of the community should be heard and their suggestions have been made in order that the time at Mr. Montagu's disposal may be distributed to the best advantage.

Those public bodies and public men who desire to present addresses submit memorials and representations send deputations or have interviews will find the above instructions and hints useful. We hope they will do their best to arm themselves with detailed definite accurate and up-to-date information on the points which they wish to press on the attention of the Secretary of State. This is all the more necessary in view of the preparations being made for a tremendous agitation by the European sojourners in India.

In this connection we may be allowed to draw the attention of our brother journalists, representative bodies and public men to the able article on Mr. Montagu's visit and our duty contributed to the present number of this Review by V. We venture to think that it would be to the advantage of the public if it were reproduced and commented upon by our contemporaries.

It is necessary for us to redouble our efforts to obtain Home Rule. Anglo-Indians (old and new style) are up in arms. Our agitation must therefore be far more vigorous than ever, but it must be carried on by well-informed men who are able to keep their emotions well under control.

### Release of Well known Interned Persons

We are happy that Mrs. Anne Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia have been released. The people of India in all provinces particularly the people of Madras under the fearless leadership of Sir Subramania Iyer, tried to obtain their release by means of constitutional agitation. Therefore Mr. Arundale was partly right when in the course of the first speech which he made after his release at a public meeting in Coimbatore he said —

The release of Mrs. Besant and of Mr. Wadia and himself do not demand that thanks should be offered either to the Government of Madras or to the Government of India nor even to the Secretary of State. It is of course to the Government of Madras than to

any one else. The thanks Mrs. Besant would have given had she been well enough to address the meeting, would have been to the people of India. We gratefully thank with all our hearts the people of India for having freed us to them is the victory to them our gratitude and in releasing us India has shown to the world that she is no longer on her knees she is standing up upon her feet she articulates she demands she is able to insist with success. This is a magnificent achievement and one that should make all lovers of India rejoice that she can at last protect those who are her servants.

It is necessary that people should give up the obsequious habit of expressing gratitude in a fulsome manner whenever through stress of circumstances men in power recognise the claims of justice and human freedom which they themselves had overridden. Thanks may, of course, be given in a dignified manner.

The Anglo-Indian papers and the non-official European community look upon the release of the three interned persons as a sign of weakness. *The Bengalee* says that it is a sign of strength. Whatever else it may or may not be it is certainly a proof that the Government of India have the wisdom to recognise the needs of the situation. To the extent that any one, from the Secretary of State downwards, may have acted wholly or partly from a sense of justice and regard for the claims of human liberty he is entitled to praise.

Though credit is due to the constitutional agitation carried on by the people it should not monopolise all the credit. Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale have been released partly because they are persons of British descent and have influence, and influential friends in England and other Western lands. Mr. Wadia though an Indian has been released partly because having been interned along with Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale for the same imaginary offence he could not with any decency be kept deprived of his freedom after the release of his two companions in misery. If those innocent *detenus* in Bengal who are unknown to fame and who have no influential friends be set free that would be a proof of Government having acted solely from a sense of justice.

### Blindness to Discontent and Suffering in Bengal

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes —

If India bitterly wept at the sufferings of the sadly-lodged her release has on the other hand deluged the country from one end to the other with a wave of intense joy the like of which was never felt before. But this is not all. The release of Mrs.

But I am afraid it has blindly overlooked the laws. For even the Defence Act does not empower the Govt to pass such an order. It has proved to be quite arbitrary and tyrannous to pass such an order after setting me free and I cannot with self-respect reconcile myself to it. If the Govt pass such an order against the 1000 young men who have been interned basing its grounds on the report of the I.D. which is the greatest organ of falsehood I think it will have to repent for it.

Now I commit suicide by taking opium and I do it with the hope that very soon I shall be able to begin a fresh new life. I am alone responsible for my death. I hope that you will see the police does not make a parade of enquiry into the matter and thus harass my parents or put any other member of our family to difficulty. I declare that I commit suicide after carefully thinking over it for about a week and being fully liberated resolved.

His letter to his brother contains the following passages —

When I was set free I thought that I was really free but now I see that I am bound by the strongest chain of the Government. The C.I.D.s ask me not to associate with any of my friends. But I cannot do that. If I were in my former state (internment) I would have and could have obeyed them but since I have been set free, I cannot remain in bondage in society. I have lost the best years of my life and I am afraid I would have lost some more years if I had not set my soul free from the bondage of my body. I cannot live in society without being a true member of it and without free activity. Now every action of mine is watched by the C.I.D. with the greater suspicion and they think that by doing good to the society I try to influence my countrymen. I commit suicide in order that I may begin a fresh life. I pray to God that I may be born again in Bengal with everything good in me.

The above extracts are from the *Imrita Bazar Patrika*.

We do hope the Governor of Bengal will not write a letter of condolence to the parents of Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta, like that which he wrote to the parents of Hari Charan Das, another detenu who committed suicide, at any rate, not before he has put an end to the system or procedure which causes such tragedies. Such letters of condolence suggest, though they do not justify, a very unpleasant comparison.

### Suicide of Hari Charan Das.

Hari Charan Das, detenu, who committed suicide some time ago, was a school-master in Maldah. The cause of his suicide is unknown. What is known is that up to the time of his death he had not been granted any subsistence allowance, but had to live on loans obtained from the police. He had also suffered from malarious fever, and had written to the District Superintendent of Police to remove him to

a healthy place. But four of his letters reached that officer very late, some of them many days after the due date. They reached their destination after he had committed suicide. Who caused the delay in the transmission or delivery of these letters? Is it not probable that the same party may have intercepted or destroyed other letters of Hari Charan Das which might have revealed the cause or causes of his suicide? Will not this party be found out and punished in an exemplary manner?

And, as soon as a man is interned, why is he not provided with a subsistence allowance? When a criminal, political or ordinary, is sent to jail, has he got to wait for his food for weeks or months? If not, why should not a mere political suspect get his subsistence allowance as soon as he is placed under restraint? The procedure which deprives a man of liberty without at exactly the same time supplying him with the wherewithal to live is certainly unworthy of any humane and civilised administration, and should be substituted by a better one without a moment's delay.

### Suicide Rate under Normal and Abnormal Conditions.

The annual sanitary report of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1916 gives 3310 as the number of suicides in that year. As the population of Bengal is 45,329,147 the suicide rate was 73 per million. This is the rate under normal conditions. Let us see what the rate is under the abnormal conditions of internment or compulsory domicile, as it is called in official parlance. The number of detenus in Bengal is probably 1000, in round numbers. Three cases of suicide among them has been reported in the course of a year, including that of ex-detenu Sachindra. The suicide rate among them, therefore, comes to 3000 per million as against 73 per million under normal conditions. It is not usual, and it may be considered unfair, to institute a comparison of this sort. On that we pronounce no opinion. We have worked out the figures just to give an idea to the readers of the abnormality of the conditions under which detenus have to pass their days.

### Mothers to the Rescue.

The *Indian Daily News* reports that at a largely attended meeting of the ladies of



instance, we did not agitate for clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared

'That no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion place of birth descent colour or any of them be disqualified from holding any place office or employment under the company'

The despatch of the Court of Directors which accompanied the Act of 1833 when it was forwarded to the East India Company, stated that 'the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India, that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number'

Self rule should be understood to be to the body politic what food and medicine are to the human body, because, without self rule the body politic cannot remain healthy and attain its greatest possible strength and development, and because, without the remedy of self rule, many maladies which beset and weaken a state cannot be cured. In a healthy condition the human body craves food, but when in a diseased condition the craving is very weak or is non-existent, it has to be strengthened or roused by proper treatment. So, it cannot be said under all circumstances that food ought not to be given unless there is a demand, you must create the demand. As regards medicine, there are many patients who not only do not ask for medicine but are very unwilling to take it. Still medicine has to be given for their benefit. It can be shown from history that self rule is a medicine for the body politic. We shall give only one example. Referring to the decline of public spirit in the middle of the eighteenth century in England, Lecky says

'The fault of the time was not so much the amount of vice as the defect of virtue the general depression of motives the unusual absence of unselfish and disinterested action'

The story of this decline of public spirit in England is quoted at length in part I of "Towards Home Rule" (pp 79-80). The remedy which Henry Fox proposed was, giving more power to the people, and when given, it proved a good cure.

It can never be a universal rule that unless there be a demand for a good thing, it should not be given. Do children demand to be educated? Do we agitate for it before it is given to them? In all countries where compulsory free education has been intro-

duced was there everywhere a demand for it?

Of course, where there is a demand or a desire for a thing, the case for the necessity of supplying it becomes very strong. There is a demand and desire for self rule in India. But we have to make it so conspicuous and unmistakable, that its existence may not be ignored. One way to do it is to prepare a petition embodying our demands and obtain the largest possible number of signatures to it after explaining it to the intending signatories, as Mr M. K. Gandhi has been doing in Gujarat.

### A Grotesque Falsehood

Speaking at a meeting held in Queen's Hall, London, on July 25, for the purpose of protesting against recent Ministerial appointments, Admiral Lord Beresford, said with reference to Mr Montagu

The appointment would have far reaching consequences as regards British rule in India. There were many reasons why the appointment was an unwise one. It should be remembered that the giving of such an appointment to anyone not absolutely of pure British blood was looked upon with great prejudice by the people of India.

What an absurd falsehood! Why should the appointment of a man with some oriental blood in his veins be looked upon with prejudice by an oriental people? But we forget Educated Indians, to which class we unfortunately belong, cannot know the mind of the people of India, that is known only to Lord Sydenham, Lord Beresford, Sir J. D. Rees, and other political telepathists.

The fact may be recorded that Mr Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India has been welcomed throughout Indian India with a warmth which has erred rather on the side of excess.

### Neglecting the Girls

The Tribune of Lahore writes

It will be noticed that neither in the Bombay nor in the Bengal bill has provision been made for the free education of girls which we consider is an omission that must be supplied. It may not be advisable to adopt compulsion in the case of girls but when an education cess is levied on all and compulsion is collected from all parents or guardians whether they have male or female children due provision should be made to educate girls voluntarily sent by parents on the same conditions as for boys. For instance a father of four girls, paying an education cess will have to send his girls to schools not available at a convenient distance from his home and besides pay fees for each of them at the rates fixed by managers of private schools. Surely such a provision will not encourage the spread of female education but penalise it.

## British Headmasters Against Lowering Age Limit in I C S. Examination

The following Reuter's telegram has appeared in the dailies

London, Sept. 17  
A conference of headmasters has unanimously passed a resolution, regretting the recommendation of the Public Services Commission in favour of lowering the age limit for the Indian Civil Service examination and strongly urging that if the Government has decided to lower the age no candidate should be admitted to the examination under the age of eighteen, nor without a school certificate or similar qualification.

## Edinburgh University Against Lowering Age Limit for I C S.

In a previous issue we have shown how St Andrews University in Scotland has adversely criticised some recommendations of the Public Services Commission relating to the Indian Civil Service. Edinburgh University also has criticised these recommendations urging that the upper limit of age should be raised from 19.6 to at least 20.6. In the memorandum of this university,

No exception is taken to the retention of the competitive examination, but the proposals regarding a lower age limit and the introduction into the syllabus of three groups of options—a classical group, a mathematical and science group and a modern language group—are the subjects of considerable criticism. With regard to the age question it is pointed out that the proposed age limits do not correspond to the school leaving age in Scotland. The average age of leaving school of students who have taken the highest places in university classes is rather below than above 18. Two years study at the university would enable a Scottish student to compete under the proposed group system without any serious disadvantage. It must also be remembered that boys in Scotland begin languages and mathematics much later than in English public schools. For these and other reasons it may be urged that the upper limit of age while lowered from that at present in force should be raised from 19.6 to at least 20.6. Such a change would give a better chance to boys both in England and Scotland, whose parents cannot afford to send them to those public schools which are best equipped to prepare boys for a special examination. But should it be decided to keep the limit at 19.6 it is imperative to call attention to the nature of the proposed examination.

Greater latitude is asked for with regard to the suggested groups which the memorandum states bear no relation whatever to the normal school course in Scotland nor do they correspond in any way with the ordinary examinations of the Scottish Universities. In the interests of general education for the avoidance of premature and excessive specialisation as well as in the interests of Scottish candidates it may be urged that greater latitude in the choice of subjects should be allowed. It is especially important that such a combination as that of classics and mathematics should not be prohibited. It is to be

feared that if the qualifying age be fixed as proposed and if the group system as recommended by the Commissioners be adopted, Scottish parents who desire their sons to compete for the Indian Civil Service will be impelled to send them to a school in England or to one of those schools quite exceptional in Scotland which follow the model of the English public schools. The examination is to include three optional groups, but experience has shown that there are boys not negligible either in numbers or ability who have no special aptitude either for linguistic studies or for mathematics or science. It might be urged that if the group system should be adopted, a fourth group in which history should be the main central subject, should be added although it is not proposed that languages should be excluded from this group but the test should be translation rather than composition. In view of the certainty that the great majority of the Scottish candidates will take part of their preparation in the university, even if the limit of age were fixed at 19.6 it may be strongly urged that an opportunity should be given for showing a knowledge of subjects like political economy and political science.

How wide awake the British people are in all directions to safeguard their own interests! Why should not our Indian Universities submit well reasoned memoranda showing how the prospects of success of their alumni have been affected by the recommendations of the Public Services Commission? Why indeed, except that they are not ours.

## Value of Co-operative Movement.

Writing in the *Indianian* on Co-operation in India, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I. C. S. says that "the future historian of India will probably find the real significance of the co-operative movement in the training that it is imparting to the population in the elements of self help, discipline and organisation, without which no country can hope to develop a full and complete life for its citizens."

## Free College Education for All.

In an article headed "The Education of the Citizen" in the June number of *The Round Table*, we find the following pungent paragraph.

"It is time that the universities throughout the Empire should widen their aims and be less niggard in the expenditure of the civic virtue that is latent in them. They are national institutions, they have national obligations and their obligations are their opportunities. Their students should be many times as numerous as they are at present. They have no right to be cloistered and to minister only to the few. Wales it is believed, is on the way to demand to be taxed for the purposes of higher learning, and about to set an example to the Empire of abolishing university fees and making college education free. It is to be hoped that its example may prove contagious, especially in the great centres of industry."

such as Leeds and Sheffield Birmingham and Newcastle Bristol and Liverpool and Manchester

We in these columns have all along been pleading for cheap collegiate education, but it is sad that the Government of India have not yet taken any measures towards its materialisation. So far as fees are concerned, national education has three stages to pass through. There should be first of all free and compulsory elementary education for all children. The next step is to provide free secondary education for all boys and girls who wish to avail themselves of it. At the last stage provision has to be made for free collegiate or university education for all who are capable of profiting by it. America provides free education in her elementary and secondary public schools and in her state universities. Wales we see, is going to follow the example of America. The National Council of Welsh Educational Authorities discussed the question of nationalising education at a meeting held on August 2 last. The Council proposed that all fees, both in secondary schools and University Colleges, should be abolished.

Mr Hornell should send Rai Bahadur Dr Purnanand Chatterji to Wales to oppose this proposal and to propose instead that fees should be raised in all Welsh secondary schools and University Colleges.

### The Assurance Given by Mrs Besant

Mrs Besant's release has not been unconditional, as people were at first led to believe it was. In reply to the question of Sir Hugh Bray in the Imperial Council

Will Government be pleased to state what if any guarantees they received in regard to Mrs Besant and her two companions?—Sir William Vincent said that His Excellency the Viceroy had received a telegram from Mrs Besant assuring him that she would co-operate with the Government in obtaining a calm atmosphere during Mr Montagu's visit to India. The same assurance has been received from some influential people also.

We all like a calm atmosphere, alike in the physical and the political world. In the physical world the anemometer and the barometer enable us to say what is a breeze a gale a storm, a cyclone, a hurricane, &c. We do not like stormy weather, but our liking for a calm weather does not prevent us from being rather fond of breezes. In the political world, there is no instrument for determining a lull, a breeze, a gale, a storm, &c. Under the circum-

stances, the least vigorous agitation may be construed by the official and non official European community as the opposite of a calm political atmosphere, and as implying a breach of her promise by Mrs Besant and her followers. The European community will naturally take a calm atmosphere to mean the cessation of all political agitation and controversy except such as they themselves may carry on. Those who are not Mrs Besant's adherents need not, however, be troubled by fears of such interpretations. And she herself we may presume, never meant a dead lull or anything like it by a calm atmosphere. A calm political atmosphere is something like that curious undefinable thing officially styled an atmosphere of pure study which Mrs Besant, if we are not mistaken has often ridiculed.

As Mr Montagu has been accustomed to very stormy politics at home, we do not quite appreciate the anxiety of officials here to secure for his benefit a calm political atmosphere during his visit to India. We do not think he requires it. Nor is it at all to our interest that there should be a lull in our political propaganda. What the bureaucracy call violent agitation we call vigorous agitation, and there is no science of political meteorology, with its political anemometer and political barometer to determine who are right. So let us go on with our work in the constitutional way which seems best for our interests no matter how the bureaucracy may construe it. The very vigorous agitation which the European community has started makes it all the more necessary for us to redouble our efforts.

### Fined for Political Indifference

*The Christian Life of London* wrote some time ago

Forty electors in Australia have just been fined one shilling each and costs (with the option of three days imprisonment) for neglecting to get their names on the Federal electoral roll. Those who cannot pay the fine must therefore go to jail for refusing to be politically enfranchised. It is queer that in a country boasting of its freedom the man who simply allows people who know more about the business than he does to make its laws should be punished as a criminal. Yet numbers of people are constantly being brought up for this offence.

And it is still more queer that in India, which is a part of the same empire to which Australia belongs, men should have had to suffer loss of liberty for seeking 'to be politically enfranchised' too eagerly.

### "The Distinct Understanding"

At a recent sitting of the Imperial Council,

Proceeding to discuss the points that should be remembered when considering the number of Indians who should be taken into the Civil Service Sir William Vincent said the British character of the administration should be maintained. This factor need not play the determining part but could not be lost sight of so long as India was an integral part of the Empire. British interests had to be secured. He did not in the least suggest that the presence of a large number of Indians would necessarily prejudice them but what he submitted was that unlike in countries like Japan and China British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that administration in India would be British in character, though not in personnel.

When Sir William Vincent said that "administration in India would be British in character though not in personnel," did he mean to imply that 'the British character of the administration' could be maintained even by good and able Indian public servants? Why then insist on a practically permanent minimum of British officers, which is really a very big maximum? Why not strictly adhere to the righteous declaration made long ago that there is to be no governing caste in India?

What is meant by the British character of the administration? The democratic constitution, methods and procedure which obtain in Great Britain have not yet been followed in India, the people are not supreme here in India as they are in Great Britain. Therefore, "the British character of the administration" in India does not mean a democratised administration as in the British Isles, it can mean only one of two things (1) that the administration is to be carried on mainly by British officials, or, in other words, that the personnel, at least in the higher controlling offices is to be mainly and preponderantly British, (2) that the administration is to be as progressive, just and efficient as it is in the British Isles. Sir William Vincent admits that the British character of the administration is not synonymous with the employment of British agency. Therefore, it can and ought to mean only a progressive, just and efficient administration. Now, as administrations of this character exist in other countries besides England, and as those countries do not employ British officers, it must be admitted that men who are not of British descent have made and can make good and successful administrators. There have been and are

progressive, just and efficient Indian administrators. There is nothing, therefore, which can weaken our firm conviction that administration can in future be progressive, just and efficient even if the personnel be entirely Indian. The administration in the British Isles has not throughout their recorded history been progressive, uncorrupt and efficient. There is sometimes great inefficiency and corruption even now. The present usually high standard has been reached after effort. There is nothing in the British blood which makes for efficiency, if there were, administration by British men would have been efficient in their own country and in all other lands, and in all ages. But it has not been so. The height reached by the Britisher is the result of effort. Many Indians have already reached that standard of efficiency, integrity and progressiveness and more can do so as opportunity offers.

Apart from integrity, progressiveness and efficiency, if the administration in self-ruling India is to have any special racial character it cannot but be Indian. The whole might of the British Empire cannot make it otherwise.

Sir William Vincent has said that "British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that administration in India would be British in character though not in personnel." The saving clause "though not in personnel" is probably his, most Europeans out here would omit it and say that the British character of the administration could not be maintained in India without a majority of British higher officials and Sir William too, would insist on a permanent big proportion of British officials being kept up. Hence it is necessary to enquire who gave "the distinct understanding" to British capitalists "that administration in India would be British in character," and when it was given and by what statute or royal proclamation. Some Member of Council ought to ask these questions. For if any such understanding has really been given we may be able to gather from the words used what is actually meant by the British character of the administration.

We believe no Englishman, from the greatest to the least, has any right to enter into any understanding which in the least goes against our interests, direct

ly or indirectly. No such understanding can be valid as against our natural rights.

Sir William Vincent said that "British interests had to be secured." True, but not to the detriment of Indian interests. Indian interests are the first consideration here, as British interests are in England. If for safeguarding our interests those of Englishmen in India have to suffer to some extent, that is inevitable. British interests in India are mainly material, ours are both material and moral. We have not the least desire to injure British interests, we recognise the work done by the British people in India, though they have got ample remuneration for it. But in every country, the health, prosperity, and enlightenment of its inhabitants have the first claim on the attention of its government. If in the endeavour to secure these the material interests of Britishers in India could not be fully attended to nobody would be to blame for it.

#### Sir Hugh Bray's Speech

The main position taken up in Sir Hugh Bray's speech in the Imperial Council in connection with Mr B. N. Sarmā's resolution about the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, is not at all new. He said

We demand then a continuance of those guarantees a continuance that means either a retention of such a measure of control by the British Government as will safeguard those interests or such representation of those interests in any new form of Government as will ensure their protection.

He made his position clearer by saying "we demand that we be given satisfactory assurances that the interests we represent will be safeguarded."

Mr Sastri asked how they could say beforehand whether or not law and order would be maintained when Indians were employed on a larger scale.

Sir Hugh Bray: Our Indian friends mention that they are now fit to assume very much greater responsibility than they have had up to now and as far as we know they may be. But with some exceptions they have not given proof of it. Their natural reply is how can we prove it without trying? One cannot learn to swim on dry land. We reply that is so but as the cost of the experiment if it fails will fall largely on us we must have some guarantees. I can only see two forms of guarantee that could be considered satisfactory either that a sufficient measure of control be retained by the British Government or that the very large and important interests of the mercantile community and those who have invested money in this country be given adequate representation in the body or bodies that will have the power.

It is not true that "the cost of the experiment if it fails" will fall more largely

on Anglo-Indians (old style) than on Indians, as Sir Hugh Bray suggests but does not say. Taking even the material interests alone of the two parties into consideration, the total wealth of the millions of poor Indians cannot but be reckoned to be greater than the wealth of the thousands of rich Anglo-Indians. But supposing the material stake in the country of the latter is greater than that of the former, which is we repeat, not true, is there in the British Empire any form of representative government which gives more votes or more representatives to wealthier men than to the less well to do?

Anglo-Indian capitalists attach great importance only to their capital. But our health, morals, knowledge, life, liberty, these are far more valuable than their material wealth. There is no inevitable or innate antagonism between these two classes of interests. We find that without self rule we cannot be as healthy and as enlightened as we ought to be, we are convinced that self rule will help us to reduce the death rate, it will give us more freedom to make progress in all directions, and help us to elevate and strengthen our characters. Should the worst apprehensions of Anglo-Indian capitalists, which we consider entirely unfounded, be realised by "the experiment" of Indian Home Rule failing, it would mean only the loss of part of their wealth and the transfer of the remainder to more promising fields of investment, but to Indians the failure would mean untold misery in all possible directions. If we be prepared to take the far greater risk, why, in the name of justice, freedom and democracy, for which the British people profess to be fighting,—why should not the western capitalists take the smaller risk?

Statesmen can act from two motives, either the sense of justice or considerations of expediency, or both. From the point of view of justice, self government has been long overdue. Considerations of expediency have been growing more and more urgent day by day, as all students of the European and Asiatic situations know. The motive of expediency may make the sense of justice of British statesmen sufficiently keen to enable them to do their duty by India.

Sir Hugh said —

We are of the people. Numerically we are perhaps weak, but our stake in the country is enormous.

and our predecessors have given ourselves and our money to the land and without justifying it may claim that we are directly responsible in no small degree for its development and increasing prosperity. The money and our lives have been given to this land on the understanding that law and order will be maintained and that we shall conduct our enterprise under secure and just conditions.

We should have been glad if Sir Hugh and his fellow capitalists were of the people. But they are not. They have not settled here; they do not build their permanent homes here; they do not educate their children here; they do not share the peoples' joys and sorrows, and they leave these shores as soon as they have made their pile. In saying, "we are of the people," Sir Hugh was guilty of the same sort of sophistry and "intellectual dishonesty" of which 'Ditcher' in *Capital* accuses Mr. Beatson Bell for attempting to prove that Englishmen out here are not "birds of passage." Their stake in the country may be enormous, but our stake is immeasurably more enormous, even as calculated in rupees, annas and pias. Sir Hugh may have read Lord Acton's letters. In one of these he says —

The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stunted luxury but want and pain and degradation and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls.

So it is we, poor Indians, who have the heaviest stake in the country, and we are entirely justified in demanding that laws should be adapted to us, in order that what is good for our lives and souls may come to pass. We are convinced that this will be good for British capitalists also. But if they think otherwise, they ought to try to convince us by reasoning. And in the last resort, they can take away their capital from India. They should not, they cannot, stand in the way of our obtaining our just rights. We can manage to do without foreign capital until we are able to supply it ourselves, as we have shown in "Towards Home Rule", but it is an unbearable death in life to us to be without the rights of freemen.

Sir Hugh expressed regret

that our Indian friends should apparently take it for granted that we are opposed to their aims entirely. I must assume such to be the case because they make no reference to us. It does not occur to them to seek our aid. They ignore us entirely in their proposals. I can assure them that they are making a great mistake. We realise that changes are coming that

changes must come, and if we should seem desirous of checking at all the progress of even a little bit because we wish to prevent the change that because we foresee the complications the disaster even that may arise from their premature birth.

We should indeed be glad to have the help of Sir Hugh and his fellow-capitalists in our endeavours to gain political rights. But we think his complaint was unjust. Has it been the case that he and his fellows have generally sided with us and given us their aid and counsel in our political or economic movements? They have, on the contrary, generally opposed us. If they change their attitude towards us, we, too, shall change our attitude towards them. We have ignored them because they have all along worse than ignored us. Sir Hugh ought to read what "Ditcher" has written in *Capital* in connection with Mr. Beatson Bell's speech in La Martinière College. Sir Hugh assured us

We are really and anxiously to go forward hand in hand with our Indian fellow subjects. For the advancement of this great country we will pull together either in double harness or in tandem as leader or wheeler the wagon of India but what we will not do is to follow hitched to the tail board with no control over the pace no power to check a too quick descent left to pick up what feed we can by the wayside when halted and called upon only to give an extra pull now and then to get the wagon out of the mire or up an extra steep ascent. That is a position, Sir, which we will not accept.

This desire for co-operation would be a blessing indeed if it ever led to real co-operation without loss of self-respect on either side. It must be genuine co-operation, but not a subordinate position for us in the home of our ancestors, of ourselves, of our children and of our children's children. In the language of Sir Hugh Bray, "What we will not do is to follow hitched to the tail board," "that is a position, Sir, which we will not accept." We may be kept in an inferior position by force, as we have hitherto been, but we will never be a consenting party to it. For preventing the disintegration of the British Empire, the willing co-operation of India would, as time passes, be more and more an urgent necessity. On account of the increasing national self-consciousness of Indians and their growing sense of self-respect, such co-operation would not be possible unless India became a free partner in the Empire. If such co-operation were not forth coming, then in that case, even if the entire manhood of the Panjab could be recruited by a future Sir

Michael O'Dwyer by promises of jagirs and other means, that would not be of much avail.

### "Sincerity of Purpose."

In the course of the speech which the Viceroy made in opening the Simla session of the Imperial Council, he appealed to the Indian leaders in these words:—

Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make. It is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our good will and in our sincerity of purpose. After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing, the welfare of India.

We have no objection to believe in the good will and sincerity of purpose of British officials, provided they will also believe in our sincerity of purpose. At the best, we are considered "professional agitators", and all our young men who at much sacrifice render social service are suspected of sinister motives, and many of them are deprived of liberty without any proof and without any trial. When we suspect the good will and sincerity of purpose of officials, we sometimes use hard words, which break no bones. Then officials are led to suspect our good will and sincerity of purpose, some of us are sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment for merely verbal and technical "political" offences; such punishments, unlike hard words, have broken many peoples, bones. Many, besides, have been interned because their sincerity of purpose was doubted. It is a rather unequal game.

Much more than an appeal is needed to bring about a belief in one another's good will and sincerity of purpose.

### Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali not to be Released.

In the Imperial Council on the 26th September,

Mr. Jinnah asked: Will the Government be pleased to state what is the result of the enquiries into the cases of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali? Sir William Vincent replying said that restrictions were imposed on them not merely for their violent language but also because they expressed freely their sympathy with the King's enemies, thus endangering public safety. Enquiries had recently been made which showed that their attitude had not materially changed and Government did not think it desirable to remove the restrictions.

We do not know how far Government's information is correct; it should be

published in full in order to enable the public to judge. The rising indignation in the country cannot otherwise be allayed. The best course would be to set the Ali Brothers free.

It would be interesting in this connection to know how many among the hundreds of actual Sinn Fein rebels who have been recently released from prison, there were who openly sympathised and still sympathise with the enemy. We remember to have read in the papers that many of them actually sought the help of the enemy to subvert British rule. German arms were sent to Ireland in consequence, but were seized by Government. These actual rebels and active cooperators with the enemy were released from prison in order to secure "an atmosphere of harmony and good will" in view of the then approaching session of the Irish Convention. We take the following extracts from the long statement which Mr. Bonar Law, Leader of the House of Commons and a Minister of the Crown, made on the subject in the House of Commons:—

"His Majesty's Government have felt that the governing consideration in the matter is the approaching session of the Irish Convention in which Irishmen themselves will meet to settle the difficult problem of the future administration of their country. This great experiment will mark a new era in the relations of Ireland with the United Kingdom and the Empire, and it is beyond measure desirable that the Convention should meet in an atmosphere of harmony and good will in which all parties can unreservedly join. Nothing could be more regrettable than that the work of the Convention should be prejudiced at the outset by embittered associations which might even hinder the settlement to which we all look forward with hope."

"His Majesty's Government have decided that they cannot give a better earnest of the spirit in which they approach this great experiment than by removing one of the main causes of serious misunderstanding with which it is in their power to deal. They decided, therefore, upon the release, without reservation, of all prisoners now in confinement in connection with the rebellion in Ireland."

It will be observed that the British Ministry wanted not merely a "calm atmosphere" but "an atmosphere of harmony and good will." An atmosphere, calm on the surface, may be obtained by repression and the menace of repressive laws, but an atmosphere of harmony and good will cannot be secured by the same means. What kind of atmosphere do our Government want during Mr. Montagu's visit?

### Calcutta University Commission

Of the seven members of the Calcutta University Commission five are Europeans and two Indians. It is ever thus. Our sons and daughters are to be educated but the decision as to aims, ideals, methods and means must rest with men other than ourselves. The aims and ideals of education have both universal and national aspects. It is suicidal for a dependent people to allow the national aspect to be overlooked but this must always be the case when foreigners have a preponderating influence. Of the five Europeans four are coming out from England. Of what University education ought to be in the abstract they may be expected to be good judges. How in Bengal it can be what it ought to be or in other words how the ideal can best become a reality under the particular geographical, climatic, racial, social and economic circumstances of Bengal ought to depend on the judgment of cultured, fair-minded and non-partisan Bengalis. Looked at from this point of view Mr Hornell's appointment seems at best superfluous. He is not a greater educational expert than the British experts and does not possess more knowledge of Bengal than Sir Ashutosh Mukherji to whom he will only play second fiddle. We hesitate to say that he may have been appointed to present the official that is to say the political side of the question, for the Viceroy in all his educational pronouncements has emphasized the nonpolitical character of the educational aims of Government. Dr Ziauddin Ahmad is an able mathematician but he does not know Bengal and is not a greater educationist than the British experts. And it is suspected that he is a partisan of Sir A. Mukherji. A cultured and independent Bengali Muslim ought to have been appointed instead. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji has given so much of his time and energy to the work of the Calcutta University and managed to get so many of his own men into the Senate that the University in its present condition is more of his monking than of anybody else. Under the circumstances his appointment was inevitable. But taking the best view of his connection with the university it cannot be said that his influence has been all for the good. Great evils exist. It was therefore of the utmost importance to hear the other side

of the case the side which could be presented only by an independent cultured Bengali. By not appointing at least one such man Government have reduced to a great extent the usefulness of the Commission.

Among the terms of reference we are alarmed to find words like those which we have italicised below —

*To consider at what places and in what manner provision should be made in Bengal for teaching and research for persons above the secondary school age to examine the suitability of the present situation and construct on of the universities.*

The words at what places appear to suggest that Government want to confine the location of colleges to some particular places as has been done in the case of the Patna University. As far as we can judge, Bengal will not and ought not to consent to such a restriction. The expression *situation of the university* brings to mind the practical suggestion made in the report on the Presidency College affair by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and others that the seat of the Calcutta University ought to be removed from Calcutta as it is Vienna, Berlin, London, Chicago, New York and other big cities have no universities because they are crowded cities full of political distractions, temptations &c.

### 'We Have Come to Stay'

In the recent speech made by Mr Beatson Bell in La Martiniere College he tried to prove that the English are not birds of passage in India and that they have come to stay in India. Let us take a passage from his speech.

We are a nation that we are birds of passage. We are not. We have come to India and we have come to stay. Whether as individuals or as a nation or as firms we have come to India to stay and to do our duty by India. When I hear people talk about birds of passage I generally think of my own children. I remember that their father, their grandfather and the great grandfather have already between them put in nearly one hundred years of work in India and I naturally am led when I hear people talk of birds of passage. And when we look round in the tea gardens and the mills when we look round upon all the railways and all the steamers and they are the freight and traffic of the British Empire and what the British have done in India, we smile when we hear ourselves talked of as birds of passage. But why should we look at the Jute Mills and the tea gardens? The real test as to whether we are or are not birds of passage is a simple fact that we have established here and set up in India. After all the characters of a nation are in its language is that it does not tell itself that the British came to India and then



have built their nests Just as in olden days the Aryans came to India and founded temples and tols, just as the Mohamedans came and founded mosques and madrasahs, so the British have come to India and have founded churches and schools and that is the outward and visible sign that the British have come here to stay That is why I say, whether we are domiciled or whether we are not we are all in the same boat and we have come to India for ever It matters not whether in the last few years of our lives we may go back to England to lay down our bones The fact remains that India is and always will be our home"

The sophistry and 'intellectual dishonesty' of this piece of so-called reasoning is astonishing "Ditcher", who is an Englishman, has criticised the speech at some length in *Capital* We select a few passages from it

We know that in the domain of argumentation there is no fallacy of such frequent occurrence as that of confusing the point at issue in some way or other In this case Mr Beatson Bell not only employed a favourite device in supporting a weak case but was also guilty unwittingly perhaps of intellectual dishonesty He was evidently answering the charge brought by Indian politicians against Britons individually, of being mere birds of passage in India And he set out deliberately to prove the wrong conclusion I have never heard it disputed that the British Power has come to stay in India What I have heard contended with much vehemence is that Britons who work in India and make their money here do not become settlers as in Canada South Africa and Australia They are surprisingly and flatter to almost everything native and are therefore a source of weakness instead of strength in the policy of the country The average educated Indian readily admits that the English Judge is just, the English Civil Servant is untroubled faithful and efficient the English Merchant fair and honest in his dealings, but all are birds of passage, here today and gone to-morrow They take no real interest in the political development of the country

Mr Beatson Bell did not answer this charge He mistook the proposition he had to establish and resorted weakly to argumentum ad populum argumentum ad ignorantiam, argumentum ad verecundiam to prove what nobody denied that the British Power has come to stay in India as long as it is let It is a great pity that a man of his character and influence did not catch the occasion to preach a sermon to his fellow-countrymen on the need, in the present changing times, of departing from an attitude of aloofness which has been hardened since the opening of the Suez Canal

India has a long history To this country came many foreigners as conquerors, including the ancestors of the present-day Aryan Hindus Their Powers had come to stay But where are those Powers now? The Powers have not stayed, but the descendants of the persons who established those powers are still in India, not as a politically predominant governing caste, but merged with the people of the country Similarly, some people of the United Kingdom may correctly say that they have

come to India to stay, *if they settle in India*, as the Indo-Aryans, the Parsis, the Arabs, the Pathans, the Moghuls, &c, did, *not otherwise* But as regards the permanence of political power, there is no instance in history of a foreign power,—either ruling from its home land, as the ancient Roman or the modern German, British, &c, or settled in the conquered country, as the Pathan, Moghul or Manchu,—there is no instance in history, we say, of a foreign power permanently ruling a country There is a probability of India forming a part of a federated British Empire as a *perfectly equal partner* for ages, but there is not the least probability of our country remaining for long a part of the British Empire as a *mere dependency* with its inhabitants governed as a subject race We may not be sufficiently strong for our political enfranchisement, but world forces are

Of the English official "Ditcher" says

He takes credit for his long service and dwells on his hereditary connection with India Yet know you that he has not the slightest intention of remaining in India after he qualifies for pension or is superannuated and we also know that he would be insulted if it were suggested that he should have his children trained and educated in the schools which have been established by the State or by Missionary enterprise The official no more than the merchant becomes racy of the soil Herein lies the danger to the European community in the political crisis through which we are passing

"Ditcher" does not entertain a high opinion of the European Association, which has begun to agitate

We have an European Association which claims to be thoroughly representative Admitting the claim for the sake of argument what is its policy? It has none beyond defence against what it regards as native encroachment There is not the slightest attempt at co-operation with any section of Indian reformers on the contrary, the whole tendency is to exaggerate the isolation of the Briton and crystallize that provincialism which makes him blind to all that is fine in Indian Society The pity of it! Instead of proving wrong conclusions, it were infinitely better if Britons in high places, official and non official were to look facts squarely in the face draw the right conclusions, and act accordingly with courage, honesty and sympathy, else the European community in India will not be able to give that co-operation for which Lord Chelmsford pleaded the other day, nor will it have the right to complain if Indians continue to regard it as a collection of birds of passage, foreign and predatory

Regarding the "nests" and schools and colleges referred to in the speech, "Ditcher" observes—

The thoughtful Anglo-Indian who listened to or read Mr Beatson Bell's speech at La Martiniere

Commonwealth must have an equality at the moment to the rest of the world. It is a right to inhabit India but does not allow his own offspring to inhabit India. There is not a single place for the Dominions which the Government of India has decided to give to the sons or daughters of the natives. How difficult is the task that is before them. The young of the land of passage if they have the misfortune to be born in India must be sent to England as a means of escape from the political and racial difficulties of the land of the future. It is further been decreed by the Government that the higher grades of the public service shall be closed to those educated in this country unless they go to England for extra training. The non-official European community and the natives in the colonies ensure the same exclusiveness. To compare the schools established by the British in India with the schools of the Aryans and the Madrasas of the Mahomedans is cool even for a bureaucrat.

### Mill's Word of Caution to Agitators for Self rule

We have said in a previous note that according to Mill 'There is to kindle a desire for good political institutions is a necessary part of the preparation'. He then adds a word of caution.

Those however who undertake such a task need to be duly impressed not solely with the benefits of the institution or polity which they recommend but also with the capacities moral intellectual and active required for working it that they may avoid if possible, stirring up a desire too much in advance of the capacity.

It is difficult to judge the capacity of a people until it has been put to the test. The leaders of India however have not demanded anything like independence, which might be considered too much in advance of our capacity, they have not demanded even complete autonomy now.

### Capital and Votes

The European community in India want in our future representative bodies much larger representation than their numbers would entitle them to on the ground that they have made large investments of capital. The question then is do they base their claim to political power on the ground of their investments alone or do they base it on the ground of race also? If only on the former would they advocate the principle of granting to wealthy communities a certain number of representatives according to the amount of capital invested by them in trade? So many representatives per million or crore of rupees invested in trade—is that going to be the principle? In that case, consistency would require that a millionaire should have many more votes than the man who

owns only a few thousand rupees and a multimillionaire very many more. Should the principle of excessive representation being given to investors of capital be accepted what representation would be given to the Parsis, Marwaris, Bhatias, and other wealthy trading communities? How many votes per lakh or million of capital would the wealthy men of these communities have? Where would the men with brains and culture come in? Between a European professor in some College in India who has obtained the highest academic distinctions and has made scientific discoveries and a European trader who has inherited wealth but has not had much education how would votes be apportioned? Should English traders, however want a disproportionately large representation on the ground of race we should be subjected to the political domination of both European officials and non-officials. That would be quite in keeping with the principles of justice, freedom and democracy for which England is professedly fighting.

### Rammohun Roy

The 27th of September is the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy at Bristol. On that day this year we were reminded particularly of his love of freedom. Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions bears the following testimony to his love of liberty.

He would be free or not be at all. Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul—freedom not of action merely but of thought.

His tenacity of personal independence, his sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others even of those who differed most widely from him.

Rammohun Roy's love of liberty was not confined to the sphere of politics. He was for freedom all round and for all—freedom in politics, freedom in religion, freedom in social matters and for both men and women.

### 'Non Brahmins' of Madras Presidency

Too much was being made of the Non Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency by the opponents of Indian self government. A statement signed by many of the leading merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors and other professional men belonging

ing to the various "Non-Brahmin" communities of that presidency has been published. It runs thus :

With reference to the discussions now proceeding in connection with the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu and the promised Post-War Reforms we are emphatically of opinion that the scheme of reforms propounded by the Congress and the Muslim League should be pressed on the attention of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for adoption in its entirety, subject only to the recognition of the principle of adequate representation of the various communities of Southern India.

An influential association has also been formed for representing the true views of the "Non-Brahmins." The following telegram signed by Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, president, Lodd Govindas, S. Guruswami Chetty and Dr. M. C. Nanjunda Rao, Vice Presidents, and others has been sent to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, the Home Secretary to the Government of India, and the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

We, the undersigned President and office-bearers of the Madras Presidency Association formed at a meeting of the non-Brahmin bankers, merchants, landholders, seacars, traders and representatives of various professions of the city and the mafussil, respectfully beg to repudiate the extremely surprising statement made by the Hon. Mr. Couchman in the Imperial Legislative Council that the South Indian People's Association, "Justice" and Kaadasam Chetty represent 97 per cent. of the population of Southern India, the same being absurd and unwarranted. The non-Brahmin communities feel the authorities quoted by Mr. Couchman highly pretentious and inimical in their methods of representing the sentiments and opinion of the non-Brahmins of the Presidency on all public questions.

These things show that all influential "Non-Brahmins" are not opposed to Home Rule.

The birth of the anti-Brahmin movement in Madras is, however, not a deceptive social symptom. Brahmins should take note of it and apply the remedy.

### The Split in Calcutta.

There is now some prospect of the two Congress parties in Calcutta coming to an agreement. We do hope the conference to be held on September 29, at Sir Chandra Madhab Ghosh's residence, will be successful. Should the parties be able to come to terms in consequence, the result would probably be due to a great extent to Sir Rabindranath Tagore's acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee offered to him by one of the parties. That fact may have led the

old party to attach due importance to the new party.

September 28, 1917.

### "British Character of the Administration."

Europeans contend that "the British character of the Administration" should be maintained in India. We contend that the character of the administration is now *un-British*; it should be first made British, and then that character may be maintained. Dadabhai Naoroji spoke long ago of *un-British Rule in India*. Let us have the British thing first, and then the question of its preservation may be raised. In the United Kingdom, the people's representatives are supreme and control the salaried officials, who are servants of the public. Here the people have no proper representation, no control over public affairs, and the salaried officials are the masters of the public. Therefore, the system here is *un-British*, it ought to be made *British*.

### I. C. S.

Why do Europeans want a practical monopoly of the I. C. S.? Either because they want lucrative careers for British lads, or because they think that it is indispensably necessary for the maintenance of law and order. Perhaps both these reasons influence them. They also probably think that with a majority of European officials, the non-official Europeans can have better facilities for exploitation. As for careers for lads, our sons' claims are superior, because we are the people of the country. The maintenance of law and order is more necessary for us than for the Europeans. Anarchy and disorder would mean utter ruin and death to us, for we have no other country to go to and live in than India. To them it would mean only some pecuniary loss and the transfer of their capital to some other part of the British Empire. All the world is open to them to live in. Under the circumstances, if we be prepared to allow our affairs to be managed by as great a proportion of Indian public servants as is possible to obtain, and thus be prepared to run greater risk than the Europeans, why should they raise such a hue and cry? Surely, it is absurd for them to profess greater solicitude for the welfare of India and her "dumb millions" than ourselves who are their kith and kin! By the by, these *dumb millions* speak regularly to Lord Sydenham, Sir

Michael O'Dwyer Sir Archibald Birkmyre Sir Hugh Bray and other intimate friends. The dumb millions never open their hearts to us who speak and understand their language. They speak to their foreign friends in some mysterious universal tongue which we do not understand.

Regarding trade and manufacturing facilities it is to our interest to develop the resources of the country. In this we do not object to have the assistance of foreign capital on fair terms. But we can not agree to India being used merely as a milch cow. We who belong to the soil and will spend our earnings here have the first claim to trade and manufacturing facilities and have a just right to secure such a personnel of the administration as would ensure proper facilities and *encouragement* being given to us.

The I.C.S. is a costly service. It ought to be abolished and men obtained by advertising in the open market. The next best thing is to keep it and hold a competitive examination only in India. The third best is simultaneous examination in India and England. The present method of recruitment is bad and unjust and the recommendations of the Public Services Commission will make it worse.

If Burma and the N.W.F. Province do not want and will not obey Indian civilians of which there is no proof forthcoming from unbiassed and untainted sources let them as now continue to be ruled by Englishmen military and civil why should they stand in our way?

### India's Prosperity Due to Foreign Capital

Most of the claims made by the speakers at the recent meeting of the European Association in Calcutta have been discussed above directly or incidentally in some of our Notes in this issue. One contention is that India's prosperity is due to investment of foreign capital and therefore these capitalists ought to have political power. But whose prosperity mainly is

it? Prosperity of the permanent dwellers in the land or of the sojourners?

The capitalists earn ample dividends. They want political power into the bargain! Why should they have this twofold remuneration?

We do not here discuss whether the investment of foreign capital has been an unmixed blessing to India.

### Dr Bose's Research Institute

An Associated Press telegram informs us that

The Bombay Chronicle has made a strong appeal to the Indian public for contributing rupees ten lakhs towards the funds of the S. C. Research Institute to be established by Dr S. C. Jagadish Chandra Bose of Calcutta and to be opened on 30th November next. The paper says the honour of India is involved in the future of Dr Bose's patriotic scheme, the scope of which will be far more extensive than any other institute next to the Indian Rupees a dozen lakhs is needed including the permanent endowment for the Institute towards which Dr Bose has already levoted Rs. (five) lakhs himself. Savagis and Mr. S. R. Bomanji, a citizen of Bombay has given the princely donation of Rupees one lakh. It is a national duty of all Indians to get the paper to raise the balance of rupees ten lakhs.

We made a similar appeal long ago. But Bengal seems to have done nothing for Dr Bose's Research Institute. We hope Bombay will do her part better. Mr. S. R. Bomanji has set a noble example.

### Who are 'Detenus'?

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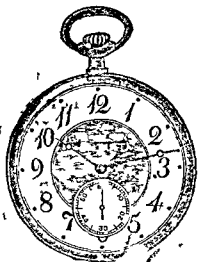
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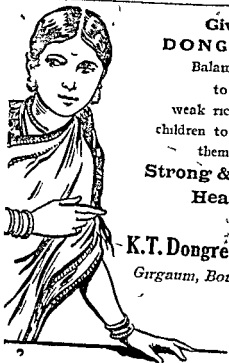
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**Notice** On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office will remain closed from the 21st October to the 4th November 1917 both days inclusive. For this reason the November number is published on the 20th October.

## To Contributors.

ARTICLES AND REVIEWS AND NOTICES MEANT FOR ANY MONTH'S ISSUE SHOULD REACH THE EDITOR BEFORE THE 1ST OF THE PREVIOUS MONTH.

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Notice—On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office will remain closed from the 21st October to the 4th November, 1917 both days inclusive. For this reason the November number is published on the 20th October.

## To Contributors.

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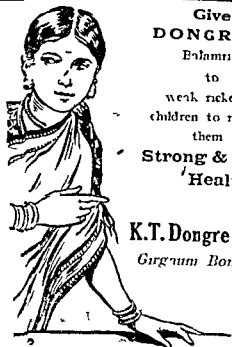
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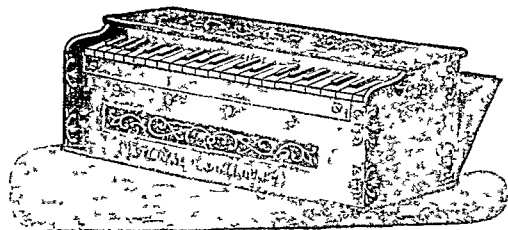
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### **The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel says :—**

The only way to end the innumerable grievances of third class passengers is to put the railways under State Management

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE CAPTURE OF GOLKONDA, 1687

ON 30th October 1686, Aurangzib left the newly conquered city of Bijapur and then travelled by easy stages to Gulbarga and Bidar, halting there for several weeks. "At last on 14th January 1687 he mounted his horse to punish that luckless man, Abul Hassan," and on the 28th of the month arrived within two miles of Golkonda. Meantime, Abul Hassan had again fled from his capital to this fort, and the city of Haidarabad was occupied for the third and last time by the Mughals. Firuz Jang had been detached after the fall of Bijapur to capture the Qutb Shahi fort of Ibrahimgarh.\* After carrying out that task, he had advanced and taken possession of Haidarabad in the name of the Emperor. (M. A. 287-288)

On hearing of Aurangzib's coming, "Abul Hassan was in utter despair and perplexity. His lips were strangers to laughter, his eyes full of tears, his head vacant of sense, his tongue speechless. He offered submission to the Emperor with new protestations of devotion. But the Emperor's only reply was the sword." (M. A. 287).

The walled city of Haidarabad, the seat of the Qutb Shahi government, stands on the south bank of the Musi river, which was then crossed by a grand old stone bridge of early 17th century construction. North of the river were a number of suburbs, "where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwelt, and in general all the common people," Haidarabad itself having been reserved for the Sultan, his court, nobles and military officers. Even today the westernmost of these suburbs bears the name of *Karwan*, from the many caravan-serais for merchants and travellers that it once contained. Next, to the east, came Dhulpet, and beyond it Begam Bazar with the Gosha Mahal ("Retreat

Palace") standing in the midst of a park north of the peopled quarter. Further east, after crossing a thin stream feeding the Musi, lay the site of the British Residency and the aristocratic Chadarghat ward of the present day.

Two miles due west of this stone bridge, some 160 yards north of the Musi river, lies the fort of Golkonda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. It is an irregular rhombus, with a rough pentagon (the *Naya Qila*) annexed to its north-eastern face. A strong crenellated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of great thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton. The eight massive gates could have safely defied any artillery known to the 17th century. On the walls, were mounted a vast display of cannon, some of them being very fine specimens of the mediæval gun-founder's art. Outside is a deep ditch, 50 feet broad, with stone-retaining walls, and along the entire southern side there are traces of a second parallel moat.

But Golkonda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included within the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which we enter by the Fath Darwaza near the south-eastern corner; it is a vast tract covered with mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables and even cultivated fields. Here the whole population of Haidarabad used to live in times of danger. Proceeding inside along the grand main road for some 1250 yards from the Fath Darwaza, and leaving a set of rather later palaces, harems and offices on a low site on the right, we arrive at the Bala Hissar gate which leads us,

\* Now called *Yadagiri*, 30 miles due south of Malkhed, off the left bank of the Bhima (*Ind.* 41, 57)

over a flight of steps, to a higher area with exceedingly lofty and strong walls and containing a capacious three storied armoury, magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, gardens, large wells with steps, and even two *serais* and a temple of the monkey god!

Further west, some 200 steps cut in the solid rock lead the traveller up to the very apex of the fortress, the *Bala Hissar* (or Upper Fort), standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with here and there connecting curtains and parapets that tower far over head. This is the citadel of the citadel, the kernel of the whole fort. And here the early Dravidian rajahs of the land had built their first stronghold, by filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones, and here their rude ancient temples cut into the rock still stand. In this *Bala Hissar* the Qutb Shahi kings had erected a two storied palace, the roof of which commands a free view of the environs for miles and miles around. Here they could have retired as a last resource, for it contains, in spite of its great height, a well and powder magazines and numerous granaries (*amhar khannah*) hollowed out of the bed rock. The western face of the *Bala Hissar* is a steep scarp between which and the outermost wall on that side, the plain is broken by three long granite spurs running westwards and presents to the eye a bare uneven desert some 260 yards in width, strewn with fragments of rock.

At the north western corner of the fort, on both sides of the Patancheru Road, there are reservoirs of water and thick human habitations, gardens, and a small cemetery. At the north east angle stands a mound commanding parts of Golkonda, but it was enclosed by a wall and added to the fort, under the name of the *Naya Qila* or New Fort, by king Abdullah as a defensive precaution after Aurangzib's first siege in 1656 (M A 301). North, south and even west of this last area are large tanks, and the water supply of the fort was unailing.

Between the fort and the northern suburbs of Haidarabad the ground is low and scored by streamlets draining the surplus water of the Langacheru into the Musi. Here, as well as rounds the *Naya Qila* lie many hundred acres of rice field, secure of irrigation from the tanks of this

region. North of the fort, at a distance of a mile and a quarter, runs a low range of bare fantastically piled up hills, skirted by the great old road from Sholapur and the west. Here Aurangzib is said to have established his own quarters at the last siege. About a thousand yards outside the Patancheru or North West gate, stand the magnificent tombs of the Qutb Shahi kings, queens and nobles, and this position seems to have sheltered some of the besieging force. But so far as we can infer from the scanty details left about the siege, the Mughal attack was directed on the south-eastern and south western faces of the fort, their soldiers moving along both the north and south banks of the Musi while the N W gate was bombarded only as a feint.

Arrived within view of Golkonda (28 January, 1687), Aurangzib at once ordered his generals to assault and drive away the enemy's troops who had assembled in the dry ditch under shelter of the fort walls, 'like a swarm of flies'. One charge of the imperialists swept them away, or as the Mughal official history puts it, "the wind came and the gnats fled away"; and their property, wives and children were captured. Quahich Khan (the grand father of the first Nizam) tried to enter the fort pell mell with the fugitives and capture it by one stroke. But Golkonda was not to be taken by a *coup de main*. He was hit on the shoulder blade by a *zamburak* bullet from the fort walls, and with one exception all his followers hung back from this desperate enterprise. So the Khan had to return in disappointment. The old warrior bore his pain with stoical fortitude. "When the surgeons were extracting the splinters of bone from his shoulder, he was sitting calmly engaged in conversation with the men around, without twitching a muscle of his face and sipping coffee with the other hand. He cried out, 'I have got an excellent tailor.' In spite all the remedies tried by the doctors, he died after three days" (M A 289).

Regular siege operations had therefore, to be undertaken against the fort. On 7th February the trenches were opened and thus began the siege of Golkonda which was destined to last seven months and a half, to cause unspeakable suffering and loss to the Mughals, and to end, not in a glorious victory of arms, but in a shameful capture through bribery.

The siege began under the Emperor's own eyes, but at the very outset his arms were paralysed by a conflict of policy and a bitter personal jealousy in his camp. The greatest sinner in this respect was his eldest surviving son and intended heir, Shah Alam. This prince was of a soft pleasure-loving nature, and constitutionally averse to strenuous exertion and heroic enterprise. He did not wish to see a brother sovereign like Abul Hassan utterly ruined. This generous impulse was mingled with a more sordid feeling if Golkonda were taken by assault all the credit of the achievement would go to the commander in chief Firuz Jang, as the credit of the capture of Bijapur had gone to his younger brother Muhammad Azam. But if he could induce Abul Hassan to sue for peace through his mediation, then he himself would be proclaimed in the official reports as the captor of Golkonda. Abul Hassan knew it and worked on the Prince's feelings. His agents secretly visited Shah Alam with costly presents, begging him to use his influence with the Emperor to save Abul Hassan's throne and dynasty. The Prince gave encouraging replies, in order to induce Qutb Shah to look up to him as his only friend at court and not to seek any other intercessor. For some time envoys and letters continued to pass between the two.

In thus negotiating behind the Emperor's back and with an enemy beyond the Emperor's pardon, Shah Alam was playing a dangerous game. And he had enemies in the camp ever on the look out for a chance to ruin him. His rival, Azam, was no doubt absent, but had friends in the imperial army and court, who were glad of an opportunity to trip up Shah Alam. The Prince's position was rendered still more dangerous by dissensions in his harem. His favourite wife Nurunnissa (the daughter of Mirza Sanjar Najam San) had monopolised his heart by her accomplishments as a Hindi poetess, devotion and care for his comfort, and charity to all, so that his other wives were jealous of her to the death. Azam's partisans revealed to the Emperor the secret of the communications passing between Shah Alam and Abul Hassan, while the neglected wives of the Prince denounced Nurunnissa as her husband's counsellor and agent in these treasonable negotiations. They even spread the false tale that

she had shamelessly gone to the fort in disguise and assured Abul Hassan that Shah Alam would come over to him if the Emperor rejected the proffered peace. An order of Shah Alam to remove his women's tents closer to his headquarters, really as a precaution against surprise by the enemy, strengthened Aurangzib's suspicion that the Prince was meditating flight to the enemy's fort with his family. All doubts were set at rest when Firuz Jang intercepted and showed to the Emperor one night some letters which the Prince had been trying to send to the fort.

Aurangzib acted promptly. Shah Alam's own contingent was sent to the front on the pretext of meeting an expected night-attack, which imperial troops took their place as guards round the Prince's camp. Next morning (21st February), Shah Alam with his four sons was invited to the Emperor's tent for consultation. After a few minutes' talk with him, they were asked by the *vazir* to step into a side-room (the chapel) with him to hear some secret instructions of the Emperor. There they were politely asked to consider themselves as prisoners and surrender their swords. Shah Alam readily submitted; but his eldest son Muizzuddin had more spirit. He laid his hand on the hilt of his sword and looked at his father for a signal to draw it and make a dash for liberty. But Shah Alam's answer was an angry frown and a stern order to obey. The Prince's entire family was imprisoned, his property attached, his troops distributed among other commands, and his trusted eunuchs tortured to make them divulge their master's treasonable plots. The more the Prince protested his innocence, the more did the Emperor's anger flame up, he increased the rigours of Shah Alam's captivity and ordered that he should not be allowed to cut his hair or pare his nails, nor be supplied with delicate food, cooling drinks or his customary dress. It was seven years before the Prince recovered his liberty.

Aurangzib's mortification at this stern necessity was extreme. His eldest son had been put in prison and had died a captive. His eldest daughter, the gifted poetess Zeb-un-Nissa, was doomed to lifelong confinement in the state-prison of Delhi. And now his second son had to be punished similarly. After the arrest of the Prince, the Emperor hurriedly began

up his court, ran to his wife Aurangabadi Mahal, and kept slapping his knees and moaning, "Alas! Alas! I have risen to the ground what I had been rearing up for the last forty years."

But Shah Alam was not the only discordant element in the siege camp. The many Shias in the imperial service heartily disliked the prospect of the extinction of the last Shia kingdom in India, and though a few notable exceptions among them served the Emperor loyally against their own religious sympathies, others secretly helped the besieged, especially during the dark days of rain and famine. Apart from the Shias, this war of extermination against Abul Hassan was condemned by many orthodox Sunnis even, as an unprovoked "war between Muslims" and therefore sinful. The upright and saintly Chief Justice, Shaikh ul Islam, had counselled the Emperor against invading the two Deccani sultanates, and on his advice being rejected he had resigned his high post and retired to Mecca. His successor in office, Qazi Abdullah, tendered the same unpalatable advice and entreated the Emperor to accept submission and tribute from Quth Shah and thus stop the effusion of Muslim blood. The Emperor's answer was to pack off this honest adviser to the Base camp.

This natural distrust towards Shias hindered the Emperor's business. At first the only high and distinguished officer at the siege was Firuz Jang. As for Khan-i-Jahan, he was fighting in Northern India. The only other great general, Ruhullah Khan (Paymaster General), was a Persian Shia, and hence he was at first suspiciously kept in the rear at Bijapur, and called to Golkonda only when five and a half months had elapsed from the opening of the siege and the Mughals were in the sorest straits. Persians, though undoubtedly the ablest among the Islamic peoples, were now jealously kept out of the post of Chief of Artillery which was of the first importance in a siege.

Saf Shikan Khan, the Chief of Artillery (*Mir Atish*), was a Persian and jealous of the superior position and favour enjoyed by Firuz Jang, a Turk. After working strenuously for some time in carrying the trenches towards the ditch and raising lofty batteries to command the towers of the fort, he resigned "in order to spite Firuz Jang." Salabat Khan succeeded him, but

failed to do his work well, and resigned in a short time. The next Chief of Artillery was Ghairat Khan, who was surprised by the enemy in a state of gross carelessness and carried off as a prisoner. Then the post went begging for some time, to the ruin of the siege operations. Salabat Khan, on being pressed to resume, replied that he could not bear the roar of artillery and begged that he might be allowed to stay in the rear and discharge his duties by deputy. The whole camp laughed at him and refused to be his deputy. Then at last, Saf Shikan Khan was taken out of prison and restored to this office (22 June 1687). But by that time the field works constructed after five months of toil, had been demolished by the enemy, and the investment had to be begun anew. This internal history of the besieging army will supply the key to the actual course of its operations.

When, at the end of January, the Mughals sat down before Golkonda, an enemy force of 10,000 cavalry under Shaikh Nizam and other officers remained outside and tried to hinder the progress of the siege. Aurangzeb detached Dalpat Rao Bundela and other officers of Firuz Jang's division to repel them. A severe battle was fought, in which many Rajputs were slain and Krishan Singh Hada was mortally wounded, but in the end the enemy fled, so severely punished that for some months afterwards they never again molested the Mughals (*DiI* 206, K K ii 329, 335).

The circle of investment was divided, among the various generals and the first turfcut for the approaches on 7th February. But the fort had an inexhaustible supply of munitions and its walls bristled with guns of large calibre. Day and night the garrison kept up an incessant fire on the approaching Mughals. "The fort looked as if made of fire, the smoke turned day into night" (*DiI* 206, K K ii 336). Every day some men were slain or wounded on the Mughal side. But the dauntless courage and tireless perseverance of the troops under Saf Shikan carried the sap to the edge of the ditch in about six weeks. Then they began to raise lofty platforms and mount guns on them to dominate the towers of the fort. The next step was to fill the ditch and make a path for the assaulting column. For this purpose, Aurangzeb, after performing his ceremonial ablutions and uttering prayers, sewed with

his own fingers the first bag of cotton to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch.

While these slow operations for breach and assault were going on, the Commander-in-Chief made an attempt to take the fort by an escalade. On 16th May, he stole out of his camp at 9 p.m., and on reaching a bastion where the enemy's sentries were asleep, he planted a ladder against the wall and sent two men up to the rampart. The two other ladders he had taken with him proved too short, and so a rope-ladder was fastened to the top of the gate. By chance a pariah dog was standing on the wall, seeking a path for descending to the moat and feeding on the corpses lying there. Alarmed by the appearance of strangers, it set up a loud bark, which roused the garrison. The two Mughal heroes were slain at once. The enemy ran to the wall with torches, discovered the assailants, threw the ladder down, cut the rope-noose, and despatched with hand-grenades the men at the foot of the wall. A smart musketry-fire drove away the Mughal supports. Firuz Jang was covered with failure, but returned to his camp in the early morning, beating his kettledrums in a spirit of vain defiance.

"The dog is an unclean animal to Muslims. But this dog had played the part of the sacred geese of the Capitoline Hill during the Gallic invasion of Rome. Abul Hassan rewarded his canine deliverer by giving it a gold chain, a collar set with jewels, and a gold embroidered coat, and styled it *Seh-tabqa* or "Peer of three degrees",—in mockery of Firuz Jang's three titles of *Khan*, *Bahadur*, and *Jang*,—marking wittily "This creature has done no less (than Firuz Jang)!"

The garrison promptly retaliated for the surprise that had failed. Early in the morning of the next day (17th May), they made a sortie on the raised battery, slaying the artillery men. Reinforcements were soon pushed up from the trenches, and the enemy withdrew after killing 70 men. They had also brought a large gun to a point on the wall opposite Aurangzib's own tent and began to fire it, the balls falling around his residence. To subdue its fire he ordered a new raised battery to be built opposite it; but no officer would undertake to heap up the earth quickly in the face of the enemy's murderous fire. The Emperor, therefore, ordered two hun-

dred quilted coats (inscribed with extracts from the *Quran*) and leather helmets (*mighfar*) to be sewn and supplied to the forlorn hope for an assault on the walls. He had, in addition, some long ladders made, set them up against his tent-poles and himself climbed up one of them in order to charm them into invulnerability and thus put heart into his troops; for, did he not enjoy the reputation of being a living saint, *Alamgir zinda pir*?

Indeed, his troops sorely needed to be heartened by appeals to supernatural aids. The siege operations had ceased to make any progress for some time past, on account of confusion in the artillery branch. Saf Shikan Khan, quarrelling with the commander-in-chief, had resigned the supreme command of the artillery, and the post had been filled by the cowardly Salabat Khan and then by the sleepy Ghairat Khan. The enemy's fire was still unsubdued, and the ditch far from filled up. The Mughals also now fell into the grip of famine. During the preceding year there had been an utter failure of rain throughout the Deccan, and the millets (*jawari* and *bajra*) which are the chief food crops of the peninsula, had dried up on their stalks. In the Haidarabad district, rice was the staple produce; but the war had prevented the sowing of the fields and this fertile region had become a desert. The Deccanis and their Maratha allies infested the roads and prevented the transport of grain to the Mughal camp. Then, in June, the rain descended in torrents, the swollen water-courses and rivers became impassable, the roads were turned into quagmires. No provisions could reach the besiegers even from their neighbourhood. To crown their misery, terrible reverses fell on them in quick succession at this time.

The incessant rain of the middle of June completely spoiled the siege-works. The raised gun-platforms collapsed into mud-heaps; the walls of the trenches fell down and blocked the passages; the covered lanes ceased to exist. The camp became a sheet of water out of which the white tents stood up like bubbles of foam; the canopies were torn away by the violence of the storm, leaving the men without any shelter over their heads. The shivering troops began to steal away from the front, and their officers sought cover and repose instead of keeping a strict watch at their posts.

The enemy seized the opportunity. In the night of 15th June, amidst a deluge of rain, they raised the Mughal advanced batteries and trenches, slew the careless artillery men, drove nails into the port-holes of the guns, destroyed the stores of sapping and gun material, and then fell on officers. Salim Khan (an Abyssinian) and Haf Shikan Khan (the ex Chief of Artillery) saved themselves by jumping down into pits of mud and water. Jamshid Khan the sapper fled before the onset. Ghairat Khan, the new Chief of Artillery, ran for safety into a covered lane and after rolling about in mud, to disguise his appearance, shammed the dead! The enemy followed him there, and an Afghan deserter from the imperial army recognised him and carried him off into captivity with Sarbarah Khan (a trusty old servant of the Emperor) and twelve other high officers.

The Emperor, at the first report of the raid, had ordered Haat Khan to go with 70 elephants and transport reinforcements to the scene of the fight in the advanced trenches, over the flooded *nalāh* which no boat could cross. But the water was too deep and swift even for elephants, and after standing for hours on the nearer bank of the stream as helpless spectators of the slaughter of their comrades going on on the other bank, Haat Khan and the troops under him returned to their tents. The trenches and batteries between the *nalāh* and the fort were lost to the Mughals for three days.

The Emperor's wrath fell on Saf Shikan Khan, who was slung into prison and his property confiscated, on the suspicion of his having collusively aided the enemy out of spite against Piruz Jang and Ghairat Khan. On the 16th, Lutfullah Khan was sent with the Emperor's body guards and other picked troops to recover the lost ground. But it was only after three days of struggle and with the assistance of a fresh division that the enemy could be expelled and the ruined battery re-occupied by the Mughals.

Abul Hassan treated the captive Mughal officers very kindly, gave them rich presents and sent them back to the Emperor. These luckless men were sternly punished on their return, all of them were degraded in rank; Ghairat Khan was sent off to Beagal (then considered a penal province), Sarbarah Khan was deprived of his peerage

(title of Khan) and reduced to his former status of a slave.

With them Abul Hassan had sent a petition to the Emperor, saying, "If Golkonda is left to me as a vassal paying tribute, it would be more profitable to the Emperor than if he annexes it and governs it by a viceroy, as the latter's expenses would swallow up the entire revenue of the province. It will take 7 or 8 years to restore cultivation and population to this war wasted land, and during that period the Mughals will get nothing out of it. If, on the other hand, Aurangzib makes peace and retires beyond my frontier, I shall pay him one *krore* of Rupees as indemnity, besides one *krore* in honour of every assault led by him in person." He also offered to present 5 or 6 lakhs of maunds of grain from the fort to feed the starving Mughals, even if his peace terms were rejected.

But imperial prestige had been lowered by the late brilliant *coup* of the enemy, and it must be restored whatever further suffering and loss such an attempt might bring down upon the imperial army. Aurangzib rejected both offers of Abul Hassan and scornfully replied to the Golkonda King, not directly, but through one of the Mughal officers, "If Abul Hassan is really submissive to me, as he professes to be, let him come with his arms tied together and a rope round his neck (like a sentenced felon), and then I shall confer on him any favour I may consider proper."

Vigorous measures were taken to retrieve the late disaster and press the attack home. Orders were sent to Aurangabad, Khandesh and Bernar for 50,000 cotton bags, two yards by one yard, and other materials necessary for filling the ditch anew and making a path for the assaulting column. The starving imperialists complained of the rejection of the enemy's offer to supply them with food, but Aurangzib continued stern and unbending in his attitude to Qutb Shah.

Soon he prepared to strike his greatest blow. Three mines had been carried from the siege trenches to under the bastions, and they had been reported as nearly complete, as early as 17th May. Everything was ready by 19th June, the chambers stored with 500 maunds of gunpowder each, the fuses laid, and the army only waiting for the Emperor's order.

The next day (20th June) was fixed for the explosion of the mines and the delivery of the assault, which the Emperor went to supervise in person from Firuz Jang's trenches. The Mughal troops, as ordered, rushed out of their trenches and made a noisy feint against the undermined bastion in order to induce the enemy to crowd at the point and then kill vast numbers of them by the explosion! Dense masses of Mughals—artillerymen, musketeers and infantry,—stood in battle order in the plain below the glacis, ready to storm the breach when made.

Early at dawn the signal was given, the fuse was lighted and then followed a deafening noise. But the force of the explosion was directed outwards, a vast mass of rock and earth from the glacis was hurled upon the Mughal ranks crowded below. 'In the twinkling of an eye the flying splinters killed 1100 imperialists while the fort walls remained intact.' A universal clamour rose from the Mughal army, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the wounded, the wild cries of the terror-stricken, and the lamentation of the friends of the victims mingled in a dissonant tumult which "suggested the Day of Judgment." A cloud of smoke and dust covered the imperialists as with a pall.

The enemy seized the opportunity by making a sally and attacking the confounded Mughals. No resistance could be made under the circumstances. The exultant garrison put to the sword the few survivors of the assaulting column whom the explosion had spared, and then seized the trenches and outposts which it had taken the Mughals four months to make and occupy. A force sent by the Emperor drove them out and recovered the position after a long contest and heavy loss. This had been hardly effected when the second mine was fired with the same disastrous consequences. Again the splinters of the blown up tower fell on the Mughals, and killed more than a thousand of them. The enemy who had got news of the intended assault through their friends in the siege camp had vacated the undermined bastion the night before, leaving only a look out man there. They now made a second sortie and fell on the unhappy imperial vanguard, doing the same havoc as before.

Firuz Jang then hastened to the scene with a large force, but by the time he

arrived from his distant quarters, the enemy were in possession of the Mughal field works and shelters. A severe struggle for them now took place; the enemy alternately fired their guns and charged sword in hand, and Firuz Jang with all his efforts could not reach the lost ground and dislodge them. He himself was wounded with two other generals, Rustam Khan and Dalpat Rao Bundela, while vast numbers of his men were slain. "The men could not advance one inch in the face of the murderous discharge of muskets, rockets, chain shot and bombs." (M A 295)

At the news of this serious check, coming as it did on the top of two disasters on the same day, Aurangzib himself, girt round by his staff, advanced from his station in Firuz Jang's tent to aid his hard pressed troops. Cannon balls began to fall near his portable throne (*takht-i-ranar*), and one of them carried away the arm of his body servant (*khanas*). But he coolly kept his position and cheered his soldiers by his example.

While the battle was raging fiercely, the elements themselves seemed to mingle in the war of mortals. A tropical storm burst on the plain with all the violence of wind rain and thunder. The imperialists could not advance or even see their objectives distinctly amidst the blinding shower, while the Qutb Shahi troops, safely sheltered in the fort walls and the captured Mughal trenches, plied their fire arms with deadly precision on the crowded Mughals in the open.

The rain continued to descend in torrents, the water in the field rose above the horses' breasts, the raised batteries were washed away, the dry *nalahs* and even low paths became rushing streams. The Mughals, assailed by men and the gods, gave way, and then the Deccanis made their third sortie of the day. Sallying forth from the gates, they seized the trenches further off and the elevated gun-platforms, carried off as many guns as they could and destroyed the others. The big planks, beams and thousands of bags filled with earth which the Mughals had thrown into the ditch were quickly removed into the fort and used in repairing the breach caused by the explosion!

By this time the plain of battle had been turned into a lake of mud. The Mughal generals continued to charge the enemy, but to no effect. An

worth Rs 40,000 was killed on the spot, and many men were shot down by the Deccani musketeers and the incessant discharge of artillery from the bastions of the fort. Towards evening the Prime Minister Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhsh brought up fresh reinforcements, but could not restore the battle (*Dil* 207, *M A* 295). Advance was impossible, and to hold the position was to face a gradual but sure destruction. Therefore, at sunset the defeated Mughals retired to their quarters, the Emperor spent the night in Firuz Jang's camp.

Next morning (21 June) he issued forth again to fire the third mine and try his fortune by another assault under his own eyes. The mine did not explode at all. It was then learnt that the enemy had discovered the three mines, countermined them with incredible labour in the solid rock of Golkonda, removed all the powder from this (third) mine, and partially emptied the other two and flooded their chambers with water on the fort side, so that only the powder at the Mughal end was dry and the explosion had, therefore, been driven outwards. After some futile exchange of blows, the Mughal soldiers returned to their camp in utter disappointment. The baffled Emperor stole back to his own tent "without ceremony." "Various other plans were tried, immense wealth was spent, but the siege dragged on" (*M A* 295).

The morale of imperial army was utterly gone. True reinforcements soon arrived (10 July) under Prince Azam and Ruhul lah Khan. True Shaikh Minhaj, 'the best servant of Abul Hassan' (*M A* 296), deserted to the Emperor's side (28 May), and Saf Shikan Khan restored to liberty and the Mir Atish ship (22 June) began to do his utmost to erect a new gun platform very quickly. But all these were of no avail. The famine grew worse than before and pestilence appeared as its inseparable companion. The scarcity of grain and fodder was so great that even rich men were reduced to beggary, while the condition of the poor baffled description" (*K K* II 336). As the official history records it, "Wheat, pulse, and rice disappeared. The city of Haidarabad was utterly depopulated, houses, river, and plain were all filled with corpses. The same condition prevailed in the Mughal camp. At night piles of the dead used to

accumulate, and next day the sweepers used to fling them without funeral, on the bank of the river. This happened day after day. The survivors in the agony of hunger ate the carrion of men and beasts. For miles and miles around, the eye rested only on mounds of corpses. Happily, the ceaseless rain melted away the flesh and the skin, otherwise the rotting carcases would have poisoned the air and despatched even the men spared by the famine. After some months, when the rains ceased, the white piles of skeletons looked from a distance like hillocks of snow" (*M A* 292).

"Many of the Mughal soldiers, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, deserted to Abul Hassan, others, in secret league with him, gave help to the besieged" (*K K* II 337, *M A* 295). The reinforcements brought by Kubulla Khan (the Viceroy of Bijapur) and Prince Azam (that of Malwa) only added to the scarcity of food.

The siege was protracted. All hope of taking Golkonda by escalade or breach was gone. And there was no course left but to sit down before the place with grim tenacity and starve it into surrender. And this Aurangzib did. The Emperor decided to build a wall of wood and earth round the fort of Golkonda. In a short time it was completed and guards were placed at its doors, ingress and egress being forbidden except on the production of pass ports (*M A* 296). A new lofty gun platform was also constructed opposite one of the bastions and the Emperor reconnoitred the fort from it on 7th July. Prince Azam on his arrival was appointed Commander in Chief in the place of the wounded Firuz Jang (*M A* 299, *K K* II 358). At the same time, to prevent the garrison from getting fresh supplies, Aurangzib issued a proclamation annexing the Kingdom of Haidarabad. He appointed his own magistrates and revenue collectors for all places in it, saying 'How long can Abul Hassan remain hidden in the fort, when his towns, villages and corn fields are in our hands? The *khutba* was read in the Emperor's name and a Censor of Public Morals (*muhtasib*) was posted by him at Haidarabad to put down all the Hindu usages and deviations from Islam which Abul Hassan had tolerated, to demolish the temples and to build a

(*K K* 358, II 134).

In time the rain ceased, the roads be



came dry and the rivers fordable again, and provisions began to come to the Mughal camp, and the famished troops got a new life. On 21 September, after the siege had lasted nearly eight months, "the luck of Aurangzib did its work, without a stroke of sword or spear" Golkonda was captured by bribery. (M. A. 292; K. K. 361.)

An Afghan soldier of fortune, named Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardar Khan, had deserted Bijapur service for the Mughal and then left the Mughals to join Abul Hassan; and now in the decline of the Qutb Shahi monarchy he had risen to be one of the two highest officers in the fort. This double-dyed traitor now sold his master to the enemy.

He left the *khirki* or postern gate of the fort open, and at his invitation a party of Mughal soldiers under Ruhullah Khan crossed the broken ground between the siege batteries and the wall and entered the fort unchallenged, at about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1687. They posted some men within to hold the ground and then opened the main gate through which the flood of Mughal invasion now poured into the fort. Prince Azam with the supports advanced from the river, at the foot of the fort, to the front trenches and then to the gate, and struck up the music of victory, proclaiming that Golkonda was at last won.

But it was not to be won without a final struggle. One last feat of the purest heroism cast its radiance on the fall of Golkonda and redeemed its infamy. When the exultant Mughals were swarming into the fort and making their way to the palace, a single rider who had no time to gird his belt on or put saddle on his horse's back, fell like a lunatic on that myriad of enemies. It was Abdur Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, the one faithful man among that faithless crew of Golkonda. Throughout the siege he had rejected with scorn all the bribes of Aurangzib, including a Command of Six Thousand Cavalry in the Mughal army, saying that "he would rather be ranked among the 72 faithful companions who perished with the Khalif Hassan at Karbala than with the 22,000 traitors who overcame him." Alone he rushed against the flood of invaders, shouting, "While I live, there will be at least one life sacrificed in defence of Abul Hassan." He forced his

way against "a thousand swords" to the gate of the Bala Hissar. But covered with 70 distinct wounds, one eye badly damaged, and the skin of his forehead slashed and hanging down so as to obstruct his vision, his horse reeling from wounds and loss of blood,—Abdur Razzaq no longer saw his path before, but did his best merely to keep his seat and gave his horse the loose rein. The animal escaped from the press and dropped him near an old cocoanut tree in the Nagina Bagh garden near the citadel. Here the only hero of the siege of Golkonda lay blood-stained, insensible, half dead, for an entire day, and was then found out and taken to his home. Thence he was removed to the Mughal camp and nursed back to life by order of the Emperor.

In the meantime, when the roar of the advancing Mughals and the din of street fighting and plunder reached the ears of Abul Hassan, he knew that his end had come. "After trying to console his wives and begging pardon of each of them, he came out to the audience chamber and sat down on the throne calmly waiting for his unbidden guests, and even ordered his morning meal to be served at the usual time. When at last Ruhullah Khan and his party entered, Abul Hassan was the first to say "Good morning," greeted them kindly, and behaved with royal dignity throughout the painful scene. Then, after bidding his captors to break-fast with him, he finished his meal and left the palace amidst the frantic lamentations of his women, servants and friends. On reaching Azam's tent outside the gate, the deposed king was consoled by the Prince, lodged in his tent, and in the evening presented to the Emperor. The court historian writes that "Aurangzib, in his infinite mercy, shut his eyes to the offences of this hapless man and ordered him to be safely lodged in a tent." After a time he was sent to Daulatabad. On the steep wind-swept side of that grim prison-fortress, in a set of narrow apartments now choked with grass, brambles and fallen masonry, the most luxurious king of the Deccan sighed out his captive life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.

Nothing in Abul Hassan's reign became him like the ending of it. As king he had been known only for swinish sensuality and a criminal neglect of the duties of his office. But at the moment of leaving

throne and passing into the rigours of captivity under a sworn enemy, he showed a self-control and a dignity which surprised his captors. To their cries of admiring surprise he replied that though born of royalty he had been trained in youth in the school of poverty, and knew how to take pleasure and pain with equal indifference as gifts of God, 'who had made me a beggar, and then a king, [and now a beggar again] and who never with draws His gracious care from His slaves, but sends to each man his allotted share of food. Praise be God that I feel neither

fear nor repining now. I have given away lakhs and spent krores. Now that He has cast me out of His favour as a punishment for my sins as king, I still thank Him for placing me in my last years in the hands of a pious king like Alamgir." (K K u 361)

The spoils taken at Golkonda amounted to nearly seven krores of Rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled ware. The revenue of the conquered kingdom was 2 krores and 87 lakhs of Rupees.

JADUNATH SARKAR

### SIR WILLIAM MARKBY \*

SIR William Markby obtained a first class in Mathematics at Oxford in 1850, travelled largely in southern Europe and Germany, formed intimate acquaintances among men and women of the front rank in France and Germany (where, by the way, he noticed two things utterly wanting in France,—sound education and moral force of character) helped in editing the works of the celebrated jurist Austin and was Recorder of Buckingham till his appointment as a judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1866—in appointment which he held for twelve years. It is seldom that men of his calibre attainments and distinction come out to India nowadays to occupy a seat on the Bench and it is no wonder that after his retirement from India he attained still greater distinction at home as Reader in Indian Law at Oxford and in other capacities and held numerous important offices. This brief sketch of a life so rich and full of varied activities is extremely interesting to read but not only is it interesting, it is uplifting also and shows us what a cultured English gentleman at his best can be, thus in a way helping to explain the secret of England's greatness and pointing to us Indians the true moral of what we stand to gain by our association with England, not the England of sun-dried bureaucrats, of case-hardened Anglo-Indians steeped in prejudices and

racial vanity, but England, the home of liberty and of liberal culture, of innate nobility of character, of a passionate sense of truth and justice, of great practical wisdom, of refined manners and of devotion to the public good—all of which according to his wife and his friends, formed the distinguishing features of Sir William Markby's character.

All his life he preserved a deep sympathy with the coloured races of the world, refusing to see in the colour bar alone any distinction between them and the fairer races. In later years one of the books that much interested him was the life of Booker Washington and he always maintained that given equal opportunities even the negro could aspire to an equal position with the white man. India was ever paramount in his thoughts; he took a great interest in the revival of a purified form of the Hindu religion and read with much attention some of Mr Andrews' books on this subject as well as several of the writings of Rabindranath Tagore the Indian poet and thinker.

He advocated that the Hindu should be allowed to offer himself as a candidate for the theological degree, as 'his work might constitute a serious contribution to thought and learning. In 1910 he attached his signature to an 'Appeal to the Public' on the Indian Press Act,

"It was a subject on which he felt strongly and when the Act was first introduced, while we were still in India he had been greatly opposed to it."

He was a temperance reformer, and an advocate of universal education, but his advocacy was characterised by the rare quality of sweet reasonableness.

\* Memories of Sir William Markby K C I E by his wife Oxford at the Clarendon Press 1917 60 net

We are naturally more concerned with Sir William Markby's Indian career, and it is with this chapter of the book that we shall now deal. The writer speaks of the 'wonderfully sunny days' she spent with her husband in India, of 'the incessant round of gaieties the whole winter long, and which it was impossible to avoid in Calcutta,' of her servant Luckindar Doss, an oriya, than whom she had not seen a gentler or more well behaved lad, and who never told an untruth in his life, and of the visits to the sacred places of the Hindus, Budrinath, Josheemuth, Mathura, Brindaban and Benares, of the indifference of the official world to judicial administration, and of many other things.

"I know that my husband felt both respect and esteem for his Indian brother judges, even forming a real friendship with some of them."

The Master of Balliol, in his obituary notice, says:

"He was always fond of insisting on the excellence of his native colleagues on the Bench with several of them he formed life long friendships."

Of Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice, Sir William says:

"He upholds the dignity of the court, which is a point of no small importance. The Bengal government would gladly have put us under its own control, and has more than once taken a step in that direction, but Peacock always stands out manfully against any such attempt."

The modern theory of an *entente cordiale* between the Higher Judiciary and the Higher Executive did not evidently find favour in those days, and he would be bold who could say that justice has gained by the introduction of questions of policy in judicial administration. "The only place where any independent ideas exist is Calcutta," wrote Sir William Markby, and his wife adds:

"Besides the official world there was a large independent society in Calcutta, chiefly legal and commercial. When the change of capital to Delhi was made in 1911 many people greatly regretted the loss of the public opinion formed by this large and independent community, and felt this want would be a great drawback to the new capital. Such a wide public opinion, entirely outside the official world, naturally cannot exist in the restricted and purely official society of a hill station, or of a station like Delhi. Delightful as Simla was in many respects, it was undoubtedly very detached from the real life of the people of India, and was, in many ways, more in the nature of a glorified Hamburg or Baden Baden."

Sir William Markby deeply sympathised with the efforts of his Indian colleagues and friends to prepare their countrymen for

self-government. "It is.....certain to my mind," wrote he, "that in consequence of pledges given we have the choice of two things before us—either to employ natives much more largely than we do now, or to incur the inevitable reproach and odium of breaking our promises." He was strongly of opinion that the civilian judges were "not in the least capable of doing the work which the High Court is now called upon to do." In 1868 he expressed his views officially as follows:

"It is difficult to imagine that anything but the exigency of circumstances could have given rise to what I unhesitatingly assert to be the worst possible combination [and which, we may add, is still flourishing like the green bay tree], namely, the formal administration of justice by unprofessional men. I can quite comprehend, and under certain circumstances should assent to, the notions which give rise to the every day arguments in favour of common sense and practical experience as against theories and technicalities, but having once bound down the administration of the law by theories and technicalities, how is it consistent with reason to appoint as administrators of the law persons to whom these theories and technicalities must be unintelligible?..." To make a good judge two qualifications are necessary—knowledge and experience—and what I entirely deny is, that any change in the system of promotion [such, for example, as that proposed by the Livingston Commission,] would, under the present system, produce men with either sufficient knowledge or sufficient experience for the purpose. I think both the native and the European Bars would furnish many excellent judges and many more still. If it were known that these appointments were open to practising advocates

Regarding Indian lawyers, Sir William Markby was of opinion that "the besetting sin of natives as lawyers is subtlety, but this is only a qualification misapplied, and abnormally active. The proper correction of this fault is scientific legal education, which gives the habit of grasping broad and general principles."

We shall give another interesting extract from the book which nicely hits off the official attitude in regard to public movements. "Every thing here," wrote Sir William Markby in a letter to a friend dated October 14, 1866, "is dreadfully official, or 'demi-official,' to use the common expression."

Not a rupee is given to a school, or a few bricks sent to mend a hole in the road without a long-winded correspondence. All this is very absurd, but here, where everybody belongs to the Government, of course no one ridicules it. They are also apparently very jealous of people helping themselves. The other day I was sitting with a Civilian Judge when a memorial was brought in for signature, calling upon the Sheriff of Calcutta to convene a public meeting with the view of obtaining subscriptions to meet

the distress occasioned by the famine [in Orissa] To my astonishment he was quite uneasy about signing it asking me if I did not think the Government of Bengal would think it a slur upon them. I hardly realised at first what he meant and said I did not know and certainly did not care. But no doubt there was a clear dislike of the movement on the part of the Government and a constant expression of opinion by the revenue officers that it was 'unnecessary' that Government had provided ample funds that the reports were exaggerated and so forth. Now also we know that accounts were sent to England which checked the attempt to get up subscriptions there. Can you conceive anything more ridiculous. The whole that the Government and the public combined can do is a mere trifle compared with the evils they seek to alleviate. Thousands upon thousands are dying and have died of starvation and thousands more are dying and will die of disease. Whole villages are depopulated—those who can crawl down to Calcutta are taken care of, but vast numbers perish on the road and the aged and infirm die at home.

Sir William Markby made a tour round the world in 1898, visiting Japan and meeting all the prominent people there. For many years he spent the winters in Italy. He was made an honorary D.C.L. by the Oxford University. In 1892 he was appointed President of a Judicial Commission to enquire into the conduct of the Chief Justice of Trinidad, Sir Frederick Pollock and Sir Harry Wilson being the other members of the Commission. He presided on several occasions at important trade disputes, at the request of the Board of Trade. He was one of the pillars of the Ruskin College and the Workers Educational Association. His book on the Elements of Law covered much new ground and has been widely used as a text book. One cannot help being struck by the vast difference which separates a man of this type from the ordinary run of civilians who rule our destinies. The wide culture and broad outlook, the knowledge of men and affairs possessed by such men can hardly be claimed by members of the Civil Service, whose boast is that they know the worst side of Indian character best and can detect its trickeries at a glance. But in acquiring this knowledge the civilian does not im-

prove either intellectually or morally, and it is certainly not by such dubious knowledge that a great Empire can be governed. India can only be ruled, with the greatest benefit to herself as well as to her rulers, by men of the type of Sir William Markby, who take their stand on what is best in human nature, and do not look on the world from the contemptible standpoint of the police detective. For such men there is still great need in India, and it is a genuine grievance of her public men that India does not profit by their wisdom and experience after they retire from service, comparatively early in life, under the favourable pension rules enjoyed by Europeans in India. But for the second and even the third rate men who compose the majority of India's foreign rulers, she has absolutely no need, for the country has nothing to learn from them, and can provide better substitutes from amongst its own children. Even among High Court Judges imported from England, men of Sir William Markby's stamp are not plentiful as blackberries now-a-days. While the whole civilised world is progressing at express speed some of the reforms in judicial administration e.g., the replacement of civilian judges by trained lawyers, which Sir William advocated so warmly nearly fifty years ago, are yet in the womb of futurity, and quite recently they were considered and rejected by the Ishington Commission, while at the same time no people in the world are so constantly lectured on the undesirability of 'catastrophic changes and the inadvisability of 'crying for the moon' as the much suffering, patient millions of this unhappy land, the mildest people on earth, and the easiest, according to competent authorities, to govern, if only their governors are endowed with a fair degree of human sympathy and honesty of purpose and regard for the people's welfare.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &amp;c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

## CHAPTER XIX.

## OLD FRIENDS.

THEY all laughed, and Guardene, to their surprise, looked rather embarrassed and turned a little pink and appeared to find his words with difficulty.

"Well, you know, Harry, old man, I think it's quite possible that I might be of some little bit of use to you, you know. The old place in the North is going to be done up, a lot of money is going to be spent on it, and the estate is going to be put in order, and I shall want somebody to look after it, you know, somebody I can trust, for when I get married I shall spend a good deal of my time there, I expect."

"When you get married, Jack?"

Harry sat bolt upright and looked at him, and Gladys, with a woman's true enthusiasm in love matters, exclaimed eagerly:

"Oh, I'm so glad Lord Guardene! I do hope she is nice! Who is she?"

But, to be absolutely honest, there was at the same time at the back of Gladys's mind just a little piqued feeling that he should have changed his mind *so easily for one so long ago*, as he had sworn that he could never marry anybody but her.

"I—I—I've brought her here with me." Lord Guardene seemed a little more relieved now that his confession was out. "She's up at the Hotel Lyonnais with Lady Dalmayer, who's chaperoning her. I say, Mrs. Raymes, you'll like her awfully, I know. She's American, Cissy Layton her name is, and she's the only daughter of old Rufus Layton who died some few years ago. I thought she was quite poor when I met her first over here in England. She was staying with a friend at a little cheap boarding-house in Bloomsbury, and I happened to interfere

in some bother the two of them had with an insolent cab driver, and I—well, I saw them again, and when she went back to America I bolted after her. Yes, I'd simply gone head over heels in it. And when I got over I found to my disgust that she had millions, yes, just millions of dollars. She had been doing London and Europe on the cheap, just the same as her friend, because she didn't want to swank her money and make her friends feel uncomfortable. That's the sort of girl she is. She's an orphan, and when I wanted to back out of it after I had found out she had all this oof, she simply told me that if I didn't keep to my word she'd have me up for breach of promise. She never told me about the money till after I'd proposed to her. And so—well, there it is. I want you to like her, Mrs. Raymes, and I'm sure you will, you and Harry too. She's heard all about you. And, besides, she's dying to meet the authoress of 'A Strange Case.'"

"Oh, I shall love to meet her, Lord Guardene. But why so much about 'A Strange Case'? It's just a little one-act play, that's all, nothing to make a fuss about."

"Good gracious! And everybody in London is talking about it! There's modesty!"

"Why, nobody was excited about it when I left London," said Gladys. "It was just a fair success, that was all. But still, never mind talking about me so much. Just go straight back to your hotel and bring Miss Layton and her chaperone back here to lunch."

"Right ho! I was hoping you'd say that. Lady Dalmayer's very anxious to see you, Harry. She says she's some important news for you. And she's anxious to meet your wife, too. Good gracious me, Mrs. Raymes, you ought to make a play out of this! Now, I shan't be a tick, I guess I shall find them down on the sea front. Ain't I getting American? That's Cissy's fault."

"He's soon forgotten you, Miss Miss chief," said Harry, laughing and pointing a finger at his wife when Guardene had gone.

"Oh, yes, you're all alike, you men! I wonder you didn't forget me, Harry."

"I couldn't, you wouldn't let me. You ran after me too much."

"Pig! But who's this Lady Dalmayer, Miss Layton's chaperone, Harry?"

"Oh, a sort of distant connection of Jack's. Anyway, they've been great pals for years ever since they were kids, in fact I knew her, too in the old days."

It was now Harry's turn to look a little uncomfortable. He had never told Gladys—how could he?—how this woman had practically proposed to him had practically offered herself to him in marriage. It was the sort of thing a man couldn't talk about to any one. And somehow Harry wished that she weren't coming, he was sure that they would both feel uncomfortable. But still if Fate, that strange arbiter, had ordained it so, so it must be. That was the sole consolation he could offer himself.

Very shortly Lord Guardene returned, bringing with him his fiancée, a pretty little girl, petite, but evidently with a will of her own, with a most charming American accent and quaint expressions, and evidently wildly in love with Jack, but at the same time treating him with a firm hand, and exercising the sternest discipline over him.

"Yes, Mrs. Raymes," she said in her sunny little way, "he's big and he's good, or else there'll be trouble in our little family. Isn't that so, Jack?"

"I guess that is so," answered Lord Guardene, with an attempt at an imitation of an American accent. "Ain't she great, Mrs. Raymes?"

While the two were poking fun at each other, and Gladys was listening with much amusement, Lady Dalmayer was talking to Harry in a quiet corner of the room to themselves.

She was still good looking, was Lady Dalmayer, but somehow her eyes and her voice seemed softer, the rather hard and cynical forms of expression in her speech had gone, she was, as Harry put it to himself, more womanly. He felt more than embarrassed as she and he shook hands, but she met the situation well.

"Jack's told me something of what

you've been through, Mr. Raymes," she said. There was just a little touch of colour in her cheeks. "I need not say how sorry I am, more than sorry. But you are married now and happy? Ah, yes that's right. I'm glad you have such a nice little girl for a wife. I must see more of her. She seems so charming, and she's so pretty, and already so famous too!"

Her kindly spoken words put Harry at his ease, the strain was over.

"She won't allow at all that she's famous. Lady Dalmayer. She can't understand any fuss being made about her little play."

"Oh, but it's made her fame really! I hardly read any notices of it in the papers at all, but I heard everybody talking about it, and everybody is just clamouring to go and see it. It's just one of those curious instances where the public finds out a good thing for itself without being told about it in the papers. But, Mr. Raymes, there's something really important I want to speak to you about. Lord Guardene told you that I had news for you, I think?"

Harry nodded.

"Well, it's about your father, your father and mother. Do you know you nearly broke his heart when you walked out of the hotel that night? He'd give worlds to have you back with him, you know. And your poor mother, it's upset her terribly, terribly. I think she's always liked me, and she told me everything why it happened, and how it happened, and, Mr. Raymes—I may say so now, mayn't I?—I know that your father wanted you to make love to me, to marry me for the sake of my money and my position, or—well, there was another, your present wife, her money, her position. Your mother told me, told me everything and—well, I think when I heard it I felt that something more than respect was due to you, honour was due."

"It was the honour due to two women as well as myself, Lady Dalmayer," said Harry gently. "My father was ambitious for me, I know, his money was not as much as he had thought it was, he wanted to see me get on in the world, and he thought that all that was needed for that was money, money. I'm sorry, for I was fond of the dad. And poor, dear old mother, I know how she would feel it, too. But I couldn't, I couldn't go back, and I

wouldn't ask him for a penny. And then there was the way he treated Gladys, my wife. He threatened her, threatened her with an action if she wouldn't marry me; he went to see her and told her so: 'Oh, Lady Dalmayer, I felt shamed to my very soul when he told me what he had done. And she—d'you know she walked out of her house, left everything, every penny, even her clothes were refused her, and he—oh, the shame is his now!—took possession of the house. He took her at her foolish, simple, noble word, and took what she offered to give up, house, money, everything. Yes, he refused to allow her even her own personal belongings; the door was slammed in her face; he had taken possession of the house and everything. Can you wonder then that I am bitter against my father? Can you wonder that though I was fond of him once I could almost feel it in my heart to hate him now? If you only knew, Lady Dalmayer, what my wife went through before I met her again! She had been practically starving. And after we were married we nearly starved, and that—that was through my father. No, no! Lady Dalmayer! I think it's very kind of you to tell me about my mother; I'll see her, oh, I would love to see her—but my father—no."

"Mr. Raymes," said Lady Dalmayer very, very softly, "d'you know many things have happened since we last met. Something has happened to me here." She just pressed her hand to her heart. "I think I'm a little different from what I was; I look at life differently. Somehow I've got to think that I would like to see everyone happy. Of course that's impossible in this world, but one can do a little towards it perhaps, and I think it was more than chance that brought your mother and me together. I was determined to try and do something, so I saw your father. Yes, I told him that your mother had told me all; I told him too that I knew where you were, Miss Layton has been staying with me since she came from America, and Lord Guardene had of course told me about your wife, I told your father that you were married, I told him to whom you were married—Lord Guardene had of course told me—and the old man broke down and cried like a child. And then he told me something that made me think a little

differently of him, that, perhaps, may make you think a little differently of him. He said that when you had gone, when he realised that you had really left him, the blow was terrible. He waited days for you to come back, but you never came, and then that mysterious something which touches us all at some time in our life, I believe, told him that he was wrong, wrong. He acknowledged it to me himself."

"Ah, I'm glad of that!" said Harry. "I'm glad that he had the courage to do that."

"Yes, but there's more than that. He tried in some way to make up. He went to the lawyers and told them that he would under no circumstances accept the letter of resignation of everything written by your wife; she was to have everything just the same as before; he wouldn't take one step to deprive her of a farthing."

"He said that, did he? Ah, the gov'nor's all right at bottom after all then! I'm glad he did that. But my wife, Gladys, she was turned away when she went to the door?"

"That was a mistake on the part of the stupid old caretaker. Your father's lawyers, of course, communicated with the solicitor to her estate, only to find that he was dead. What then was to become of the house in Kirton Square? Your wife didn't return, and your father then suggested to the lawyers that he should act in her interests and look after the house for her, for she would be sure to return some time."

"He did that? The gov'nor did that? That was good of him, that was kind!"

"It was no use keeping on all the staff, so they were discharged with ample compensation, and your father took the old butler Blayre into his service. Everything in the house is left there just as it was. Your father even had old Mr. Tremayne's will examined, and he is seeing that the money is all being carefully guarded against the return of your wife. That's what your father has done. Everything waits for her to step into again just the same as she left it. Day after day he expected news, expected to hear that she had returned. He set agents to work to inquire for her and for you, still hoping against hope for news of his boy."

"I'm sorry, sorry, that I've thought so badly of him. But it was like the real dad

to do that. That was kind, that was good of him."

"Ah, I'm glad you can speak like that! I thought you'd understand. And to think of that silly old woman turning the heiress away!" Lady Dalmayer laughed a little. "She thought she was doing her duty nobly, I expect. But there, all's well that ends well. Will you come with us after lunch and see your father and mother?"

"See my father and mother? Are they here in Birreule?"

"Yes, they're here. Directly I knew where you were and that I should be seeing you, I wrote and told them, and he and your mother came here together, and they're just longing to see you. And there's no question of money now. Your father is very, very rich, richer than he ever thought it possible he could be. While he was desperate at the loss of you and half mad with grief and anxiety—so he told me—he risked everything everything he had in one wild speculation, and strangely enough it came out well, and he has sufficient money for everything, money as he told me, 'for my boy.' There now, I've told you what I promised him I would tell you, and it's going to be a case of by-gones being by-gones between you and him, isn't it?"

"Yes, of course!" said Harry. "And I can't thank you enough, Lady Dalmayer, for the kindness you've shown me, and the kindness which I know you have shown to him and to my mother. Thank you very, very much."

He held out his hand, Lady Dalmayer took it, they looked into each other's faces, and somehow Harry read in hers that the soul of her had changed, and that in her heart now there was true and sweet happiness.

## CHAPTER XX

### MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

"Now, mind you don't upset us, Jack," cried Cissy Layton, as they all entered her motor-car after lunch. "I guess it'll be one of the ten wonders of the world if Jack gets us up to the hotel without a mess of seven different kinds. When he drives I guess everyone's got to sit on and hold tight, with both hands!"

"Be quiet, Pass! Perhaps you'll drive then, and so spare the company any agonised fears?"

"Well, I may not be big, but I guess I'm

safe, and a child could drive this little engine—anyone could, except Jack," said Cissy, as she took her seat at the driving wheel.

It was only a run of a few minutes to the hotel just outside the town where Guardene's party, including old Mr and Mrs Raymes, were staying. About half way the road, which was for the most part a white, narrow ribbon in the landscape, turned sharply to the left, and Miss Cissy Layton, despite her confidence, completely lost her nerve when she turned this corner at rather a sharp speed and saw another car approaching her on the wrong side of the road. She shrieked at the top of her voice, gave a too vigorous twist to the steering wheel, and the car skidded violently into the hedge, upsetting all the occupants into the roadway none too gently. But in a second or two they were all on their feet again, with the exception of Gladys, who lay there motionless and white on the bank.

"She's killed!" cried Harry. He rushed towards her, but Lady Dalmayer was before him and knelt by the prostrate girl's side.

"No, no, she's not dead, and I don't think she's very seriously injured, but I can't tell that yet," she said. "Get her into the car. Now do exactly as I tell you. I know ambulance. First Aid. Above all, don't lose your heads. Gently now! That's better!"

It was a sad and subdued party that drove slowly up in the car to the Hotel Lyonnais. But just as they pulled up, Harry who had been leaning anxiously over Gladys, saw that her eyelids flickered just for an instant, opened, then shut again, and there was just a touch of colour coming to her cheeks.

"It's all right, it's all right," said Lady Dalmayer. "She's coming round. You shall carry her up to my room. She must lie down. There is your father."

"Hallo, father!" said Harry, in the usual reserved British fashion, as, half carrying, half supporting Gladys, he passed the old man on the steps of the hotel.

"Hallo, Harry!" was the reply. "Been an accident?"

"Yes a bit. Do you feel very, very bad, darling? You're not very much hurt, are you? Tell me!"

Gladys, still weak and white, was trying to smile a little as she moved



slowly up the stairs, supported by Harry's strong arm. It was the force of the fall which had almost stunned her for a second or two; she felt bruised and sore, but it was all worth while, for was not Harry's arm round her?

"Thank God, she's all right," said Lady Dalmayer at the door of her bedroom. Now I'll just make sure that there are no bones broken—you can never tell, people can walk about with broken ribs and not know it—so you run down and talk to your father. Oh, I'll look after her all right, she'll be quite safe with me?"

"Now, my dear," said Lady Dalmayer to Gladys when Harry had gone, "just let me examine you."

And with deft, practised fingers Lady Dalmayer ascertained that there were no bones broken.

"But to be quite safe we'll send for the doctor," she said. "And now you must just slip into this dressing-gown and lie quietly on the couch for a bit. Your nerves 'nt any rate are upset. Good Heavens! child, tell me, where did you get that from, that chain?"

"For as Gladys unbuttoned the neck of her blouse there was brought to view a very thin little gold chain which she wore round her neck. Lady Dalmayer looked at it with wide open, staring eyes, her face white.

"This? This chain? Oh, it's the only memento of my dear old uncle I have left now. I nearly pawned it or sold it once or twice, but somehow I—I managed to keep it. I've worn it—oh, for I don't know how many years. My uncle gave it to me when I was about twelve, I think. But what's the matter, Lady Dalmayer? It's you who look ill 'now. You're going to faint, I believe."

"Oh, no, I'm not going to faint. Now, you mustn't excite yourself, but do just as I tell you and lie down."

Lady Dalmayer had by now recovered her self-possession; her momentary fit of excitement had passed away. She settled Gladys on the sofa, pulled down the blinds, and then went downstairs to tell Harry that his wife had escaped injury of any kind.

She found that Harry had not moved from the foot of the stairs, where he was anxiously waiting for news. And with him was his father.

"All right! She's all right," nodded Lady Dalmayer.

And Harry looked his thanks at her.

"That's all right," he said. "Have you got a cigar about you, Gov'nor? I've left mine at home."

"Yes, my boy, Just come and smoke it on the verandah. I'm glad your wife's all right."

The two men went outside the hotel and lighted their cigars. Then old Mr. Raymes looked at his son and put out his hand.

"Harry, boy," he said, and there was a quaver in the old voice, "I'm sorry about—well, you know! But it's all right now, isn't it, eh?"

And his eager, pleading expression as he looked into his son's eyes as if waiting for the verdict, was almost painful to Harry, who felt a little pang at his heart that he should have been so hasty, that he should have misjudged his father.

"It's all right, Gov'nor. It was pretty rotten of me to walk out like that, but I think you've been a brick."

"Do you, my boy, do you really? Well, all right then, we won't say any more. But now you must go to your mother. She's up in the sitting-room. She's only just had one hug of you, and I think she wants a few dozen. And, I say, Harry, it's all right now about money, you know."

"Oh, that's all right, Gov'nor, that's all right!"

So the reconciliation was effected in the true British manner—that's all right, that's all right.

"Oh, yes, she's quite well," said the doctor later on to Lady Dalmayer in the hall, a nice, polite, bearded Frenchman he was. "After a cup of tea she can get up and go downstairs. I don't expect the fall will leave any ill effects."

Lady Dalmayer herself took the tea upstairs to Gladys, who was now sitting in a low lounge chair looking out of the window at the beautiful, shimmering sea. Lady Dalmayer drew up a chair and sat close to her, taking her hand.

"My dear," she said, "I don't know how to start, how to tell you what I must tell you. It's this," she put up her hand and fingered the chain on Gladys's neck, "this chain which once—which once belonged to me."

"To you, Lady Dalmayer, to you?"

"Yes, to me. I should know it again any-

where. And why shouldn't I? Boy could I ever forget it, for it was the only thing of any value that I had to give my baby, my little girl, my daughter, when—when she was taken from me. Oh my child, my child, don't you understand? You can't? Of course not! Of course you can't! But I—Lady Dalmayer had by now taken Gladys in her arms and was clutching her to her, her face was working, there were tears in her voice. 'I—I'm your mother, and you're my little child, my little girl!'

'You, Lady Dalmayer, you my—my mother, my mother! But I always thought that she was dead?'

Gladys moved a little away from Lady Dalmayer's embrace. She was frightened it was all so sudden, so strange. Lady Dalmayer felt the movement and took her arms away.

"Ah, yes, of course you can't take to me as a mother all at once!" she said. "But you are, you are my little daughter. We were poor, so poor, my husband and I, that we couldn't even afford to keep you, we had no food, we had barely a roof to cover us."

'Oh! oh!' Thus time Gladys crept a little closer. She had known what it was to be poor, pity stirred within her. "Oh, I'm so sorry!"

"And we had to lose you," went on Lady Dalmayer. "We had to let you go so that you could live, so that you could have proper care, proper food, and a home. We answered an advertisement which stated that a well-to-do childless couple wished to adopt a little girl. The advertiser and his wife came and saw us in our hovel of a home, and took you away with them then and there. I've hundred pounds—we were paid for you, for five hundred pounds we sold our own flesh and blood, never, never to see you again; we were not even told the name of the couple who took you. I begged and implored them to let me hear something of you sometimes, to let me know who was taking you, but they refused, they said no, they wanted to have a child who would love just themselves alone, they didn't want her to be always fretting after her mother. She would be loved and well taken care of and would in time be rich. And so we took the money and let our little one, our baby, go. But oh what else could we have done? You would have grown up poor. We were almost in the gutter, and we wanted you

to have a chance. It was really for your sake we did it. But it changed my very soul, from that day I grew hard, and afterwards when I went abroad to America and my husband began to make money, money—ah, how soon we got rich with the money for which we had sold our child—I grew harder than ever. Then when we came to England retired, rich, there came the title. Oh yes, your father's money bought him that too! And we had everything, everything we wanted except—except our child."

'But the little gold chain? And Uncle, the kind old man I called Uncle? I can't understand his making such a bargain with you. It seems so hard, so cruel. I can't understand it!'

Gladys was now looking wonderingly at this woman who claimed her as her child.

'The chain? Oh, that was the only thing of any value I had left. It was just my one poor little tearful consolation, that perhaps one day my child would wear something that had belonged to me, something I had given her—that something I had once worn should be touching her. I gave it to the old gentleman—he wasn't so very old then—and asked him to give it to you when you were old enough to wear it without losing it. He said he would give it to you, but he wouldn't tell you who it had come from, who it had belonged to, for he and his wife wanted you all for themselves!'

'That seems hard—it seems selfish,' put in Gladys.

"Ah, but I can understand it. Love is selfish sometimes, especially love which is childless. They had no children, these two, they wanted one all to themselves for their very own, they didn't want their little adopted girl to be hankering, hankering for her mother, they wanted her to look upon them as her only relations. I can understand it now. But, my child, my child, my daughter, my little one, you can believe me now, can't you?"

The arms which had been empty for so long, for so many years, were held out again to Gladys, and this time she did not refuse the embrace.

'See, see, your eyes are like mine!' went on Lady Dalmayer. "And your hands and wrists! And look, just underneath your hair at the back here is the little brown mark that I used to kiss. Ah, yes, my

daughter who was lost has come back to me. Do you think you'll ever be able to look upon me really as your mother?"

Gladys's answer was very, very low as this time she put her arms round Lady Dalmayer's neck.

"Yes, I will try, and I think I shall succeed—mother!"

"Mother! She called me mother!" said Lady Dalmayer, looking up and speaking as if to herself. "God has let me look into heaven!"

The hostel called after old Claymer was to be opened on the morrow. The visitors invited to the private view had just left and Gladys stood with her husband in the large entrance hall.

They were the last two in the building. Outside waited for them Lord Gwardene with his wife also Lady Dalmayer, old Mr. and Mrs. Raymes, and Meg and Ted. Ted now on the verge of being admitted to partnership in the flourishing Covent Garden business.

"You ought to be a proud and happy woman to-night Gladys," said Harry.

"A famous authoress, commissions from everywhere for plays, rich and, I hope happy, darling."

"Happy! Yes, that is the best of all," said Gladys softly. "Do you know Harry, why I asked you to stop behind?"

Harry shook his head.

"You remember, dear heart," she pointed to the spot on which they were standing just about here was where old Mr. Claymer's shop used to be and it was just about here that I stood that day when we met again after our first meeting. I just wanted to remind you of that so that in our happiness now we should not forget the days when we went hungry and life seemed almost a burden."

"I needed no reminding sweetheart, it is always in my memory. And I think that after all you are right. Fame and riches are worth having but without the happiness of love life would indeed be empty."

And their kiss was one of reverence, almost as if in thanksgiving for the happiness that love had brought them.

[THE END]

## THE 'ROYAL PRIEST'

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., FREMCHAND ROACHAND SCHOLAR

(Continued)

### XX.

later Vedic literature we meet with many names of royal priests

A KING HAD ONLY ONE *purohita* AT A TIME

THE SAME *purohita* FOR MORE THAN ONE KING

The *purohitas* in the *Rig Veda* are Vasishtha, Visvāmitra already mentioned, Kavashtha of king Kuruvāna<sup>1</sup> and, according to Yaska, Devāpi of Sāntanu for the nonce.<sup>2</sup> A king had only one *purohita* at a time.<sup>3</sup> In

A single Brahmana could have acted as priest for more than one king simultaneously. Deva bhāga Srautarsha appears as the domestic priest<sup>4</sup> of both the Kurus and the Srinjayas,<sup>5</sup> while Jala Jatukanya for the three kings of Kasi Kosala and Videha.<sup>6</sup> Such simultaneous *purohitaship* could not but

<sup>1</sup> RV. x 33 Geldner Ved. sci. Stud. en. 2 150, 184

<sup>2</sup> See above

<sup>3</sup> Geldner, op. cit. 144 thinks that several *purohitas* were possible. The grounds given are not sound. The example of Asvatthi and the Gāṇḍāyanas cited by him cannot be relied on as the number of priests (Oldenberg Religion des Veda 2 5 1 3) while the simultaneous *purohitaship* of Visvāmitra

and Vasishtha is not probable (Hopkins JAOS xv (1900 ff) Everywhere else *purohita* is mentioned in the singular and as there was one Brahman<sup>7</sup> priest at the sacrifice the *purohita* was one only (See VI 11 5 1 4)

<sup>4</sup> Satapatha Brahmana II 4 4 2  
<sup>5</sup> Saṅkhyāyā Srauti Sūtra 2 29 5 6

be very rare, depending as it did to a great extent upon amity among the kings supplied with the priestly ministration

#### *Purohita's OFFICE, WHETHER HEREDITARY.*

It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the office of the *purohita* was hereditary in a particular family. It is clear, however, from the relations of the *purohita* with king Kurusravana and his son Upamasravas that the priest of his father was kept on by the son.<sup>1</sup> In course of time, the priest's connexion with the sovereign appears to have assumed permanency and probably became hereditary.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Brāhmanas PRECLUDED FROM KINGSHIP*

The *Brāhmanas* as a class became ineligible to kingship from very early times.<sup>3</sup> It was from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda that disregard of the bar is traditionally recognized as commencing.<sup>4</sup>

#### *THE PRECLUSION IS DIFFERENTLY INTERPRETED.*

The preclusion of *Brāhmanas* from royalty has been differently interpreted. James Mill remarks, for instance, that "it appears somewhat remarkable that the *Brāhmanas* who usurped among their countrymen so much distinction and authority did not invest themselves with the splendour of royalty. It very often happens that some accidental circumstances, of which little account was taken at the time, and which after a lapse of ages it is impossible to trace, gave occasion to certain peculiarities which we remark in the affairs and characters of nations. It is by no means unnatural to suppose, that to a people, over whom the love of repose exerts the greatest sway, and in whose character aversion to danger forms a principal ingredient, the toils and perils of the sword appeared to surpass the advantages with which it was attended; and that the *Brāhmanas* transferred to the hands of others, what was

thus a source of too much labour, as well as danger, to be retained in their own."<sup>5</sup> Sir W. W. Hunter is of opinion that "from very ancient times, the leaders of the *Brāhmanas* caste recognized that if they were to exercise spiritual supremacy, they must renounce earthly pomp. In arrogating the priestly function, they gave up all claim to the royal office. They were divinely appointed to be the guides of nations and the councillors of kings, but they could not be kings themselves."<sup>6</sup>

It is very difficult, if at all possible, at this distance of time to ascertain how far the exclusion of *Brāhmanas* from royal office was of their own choosing and how far it was the result of compelling circumstances. It is better to be silent than to read into the phenomenon any motives which would be either unjust or erroneous.

#### *ERIC PRIDD AND LALBA*

The importance of the position occupied by the royal priest made it imperative that he should be selected for his marked qualities both natural and acquired.

#### *QUALIFICATIONS*

Some of the Sanskrit works furnish lists of these qualities, the more detailed of which generally emphasize that he should be of good family, gentlemanly, self controlled, and religious, versed in *Trayi* (three Vedas &c.),<sup>7</sup> six *Angas*,<sup>8</sup> polity, *mantras* and rituals including the *sāntika* (propitiating), *paushitika* (invigorating), and such other rites of the *Atharva Veda* specially for averting calamities human and providential, eloquent; and devoted to the welfare of the king and the state.<sup>9</sup> To these are added by some of the

<sup>1</sup> James Mill's History of British India (1820) vol. 1, pp. 189, 190

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Hunter's Indian Empire (3rd ed.), p. 136

<sup>3</sup> See for its explanation the first foot note in the chapter "The Ideals of the State"

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the science of proper articulation and pronunciation, rules for rituals, grammar, explanation of difficult Vedic words, prosody, and astrology (Monier Williams' Dict.)

<sup>5</sup> Mbh., Ad. parva, ch. 170, slks 74-77; Kautilya, Bk. 1, Mantri purohitotpatti, p. 15; Gautama, xi, 12; Agni Purāṇa, ch. 139 a/s. 16, 17; Garoda-Purāṇa, ch. 112, slk. 12; Māmandakīya, Sarga 4, slk. 32; Sukra Nitisara, ch. 2 slks. 38-40; Yajñavalkya, 1, 313; Nitisara amṛita (by Somadeva Śura), ch. 11, pp. 43, 44 (Purohita samuddesa), cf. J. A. O. S., xii, p. 136

<sup>1</sup> RV., x, 33

<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 375, compares the permanency of the relation between the king and his priest with that of husband and wife as shown in the rituals in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 24

<sup>3</sup> The Skanda Purāṇa (Nagara khanda), ch. 68, slks 9-10, mentions Parasurāma's gift of conquered lands to the *Brāhmanas* who became monarchs there by but this statement appears neither in any other of the Purāṇas nor in the epics

<sup>4</sup> See the previous chapter "The Education of the Prince", I, n

lists other attributes which 'may or may not be subsumed under those already mentioned, e.g., knowledge of the *Arth'sāstra* (science of man's material concerns), *dhanurveda* (science of archery), military arrays (*vijuhā*) and weapons (*āstra*), and the reading of portents.

#### DUTIES: RELIGIOUS.

The aforesaid qualities are required in the royal priest in view of the duties he is called upon to perform. He is entrusted with the supervision of all religious, as well as socio- or politico religious ceremonies for the royal family or the state which make it of paramount importance that he should be thoroughly versed in the Vedic *mantras* and the attendant rites. His personal officiation at the ceremonies by the utterance of *mantras* and performance of all other minute of the rituals may not have been needed in all cases, for there were the subordinate priests (*ritvijas*) for the purpose. General attention to the strict conduct of the whole ceremonial and participation in its more important functions were his look out. Vasishtha, the royal priest in the *Rām'yaṇa* for instance, conducts Dasaratha's *putreshī* sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> the many *saukshara* rites of the four princes,<sup>2</sup> and Rāma's coronation in which he appears as personally anointing and crowning Rāma,<sup>3</sup> Dhaumya, the *purohita* of the Pāṇḍavas, officiates at the *santika* and *paushika* ceremonies for the achievement of their objects and their general welfare on the eve of their departure for living *incognito*.<sup>4</sup> The more important of the rituals are performed by him on the occasion of Yudhishtira's coronation, which leads us to infer that upon him rested the most onerous of the duties.<sup>5</sup> At the *rajāsīya* of the same prince, Vyāsa officiates as the "Brahman" priest and Dhaumya as the *Hotri*.<sup>6</sup> As already pointed out,<sup>7</sup> the *purohita* ought to have filled the first position; but an exception seems to

have been made in favour of Vyāsa in view perhaps of his relationship to the Pāṇḍavas and his deeper scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In the horse-sacrifice performed by the emperor Bali, his *purohita* Sukrāchāryya figures as its Brahman priest.<sup>2</sup> Garga was asked by Vasudeva to perform the naming ceremony of his sons Balarāma and Srikrishna because he was the domestic priest of the Yādavas and versed in sacred lore and astrology.<sup>3</sup>

#### TUTORIAL

The *purohita* is sometimes appointed to be the prince's tutor (*guru*) for instructing him in the *sāstras* and conducting the necessary rites up to *chudā karana*<sup>4</sup> (tonsure). It is the Achāryya who performs his *Upanayana* (investiture with the sacred thread) and thereby undertakes his education thenceforward.<sup>5</sup> The *purohita* at times happens to be both the *guru* and the Achāryya as instanced in the case of Vasishtha completing all the rites of Dasaratha's sons up to *upanayana* inclusive.<sup>6</sup> Sukrāchāryya, the domestic priest of Hira-nyakasipu, appears as appointed by the king to conduct the education of his sons Prahlada and others in the first capacity of *guru*.<sup>7</sup>

#### PUNITORY.

The royal priest nowhere appears as a judge in a court of justice. According to Apastamba,<sup>8</sup> cases of non observance, on the part of *Brahmana* householders, of penances prescribed by the Achāryya for breaches of rules for participation in the rights of their caste according to sacred law, were referred by the king to his *purohita* for trial. The latter issued a fresh order for compliance with the proper penances, and if this order was still disobeyed, the offenders were brought to reason by penalties other than corporeal punishment and servitude. The *purohita* according to Vasishtha again, has to

1. Rām, Bala-kanda, Sargas 8 ff. Here Vasishtha is expressly mentioned as officiating as "Brahman" priest.

2. Ibid sarga 18, silks 21-24, cf Raghuvamsa, sarga 3, silk. 18, for the performance of Raghu's *saukshara* rites by the royal priest.

3. Rām, Yuddha-kanda, sarga 128.

4. MBh, Virātā-parva, ch 4, silks. 51, 52 with Nilakantha's commentary.

5. MBh, Santi-parva, ch. 40.

6. MBh, Sabhā-parva, ch 33, silks 32-35.

7. Ibid, paragraph of this chapter.

1. Sudharma was the *purohita* of the Kauravas [MBh, Santi-parva, ch 40, silk. 5, Nilakantha's commentary].

2. Bhāgavata Purāna, Skandha 8, ch 23, silk. 14

3. Ibid, Skandha 10, ch 8, silks. 1-6

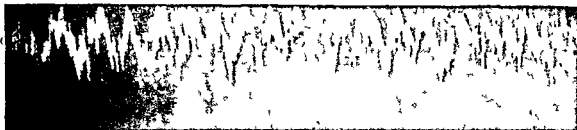
4. Manu, II, 142; Yājñavalkya, I, 34

5. Manu, II, 140; Yājñavalkya, I, 34. For the duties of upādhyāya (sub-teacher) and *ritvik* (sacificial priest) see Manu, II, 141, 143 and Yājñavalkya, I, 35.

6. Rām, Bala-kanda, sarga 18, silks 22-25 with Rāmānuja's commentary

7. Bhāgavata Purāna, skandha 7, ch 5

8. Apastamba (SBE), II, 5, 12 ff



#### NO FRATE HUNGER—FOUR HOURS LATER

While respiration continues as before the breaks become pronounced moderate hunger contractions being stomach a call for lunch

the fact that the sensation of abdominal pressure leads to a feeling of satiety

Dr Carlson has found that smoking inhibits hunger pangs to a marked extent. This is particularly true of the people who are not habitual smokers. Habitual smokers however must turn from mild cigars or cigarettes to very strong cigars or pipes before the hunger contractions as recorded by the balloon method are diminished. This is Nature's way of insisting that her needs be met.

In the same way it has been found that exercise prolonged cold baths and the like increase hunger although they do not necessarily increase the hunger contractions as Dr Carlson points out. They do however increase the nervous excitability of the individual, so that he becomes more acutely conscious of the hunger pangs which follow the typical hunger contractions. —*The Literary Digest*

#### Eye Squeezing For the Near Sighted

A method of curing near sightedness by exerting pressure on the eyeball is reported by a contributor to *La Nature* (Paris March 31) as having been successfully employed in France. We are reminded at the outset that near sightedness is due to lengthening of the eye ball in the line of sight, resulting in a displacement of the image so that it forms in front of the retina instead of directly upon it. The writer goes on:

'Near sightedness in other words is caused by too long an eye this idea must be kept in the mind to understand the various modes of treatment

These are of two kinds

The first, which is that usually employed, corrects the defect by the use of lenses. A biconcave lens placed in front of the eye throws the image back and if properly adjusted focuses the rays on the retina itself

The second kind which are curative treatments are of unequal value and are therefore usually confined to serious cases. Thus certain of the motor muscles of the eyeball are sometimes cut to control the compression. Or the crystalline lens may be removed. These operations are only exceptionally performed

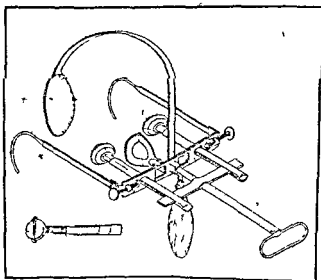
Quite a different thing is the process that may be called treatment by 'eye gymnastics' and which we owe at the outset to Professor Hirschmann

The eye being too long it must be short

ened and to this end a continuous or discontinuous pressure is exerted on the eyeball so as to restore to the outer membrane the sclerotic all its indispensable lateral elasticity and enable it to recover its resistance to the muscular pressure exerted by the neighbouring muscles. This is accomplished by a device shown to the Academy of Medicine, on January 16 last by Messrs Bacchi and D'Ansan

The apparatus has the general shape of a pair of spectacles in which the glasses have been replaced by tampons whose pressure is regulable a pad exerting counter pressure against the nose. The operation is performed in a dark room by periods of pressure of one to two seconds with rests of equal length, for ten minutes. The sittings are repeated as often as necessary. More if them are required with the older patients

Treatment by this method seems to bring about noteworthy improvement for example, a man of fifty five years (an unsatisfactory age) could not read, before the treatment further off than a foot. After it he could read the same characters sixty four inches distant. Whatever may be the future of this treatment, it is worth looking into. —*The Literary Digest*



Apparatus for curing near sighted eyes by pressure

there is little in the country itself to stimulate the art. For this reason the Japanese artist has to depend largely on foreigners.

The work to which the modern ivory carver devotes his attention is rather on a larger scale than in the days when he was confined to carving netsuke and had to get his scenes into the tiniest of spaces. He now may have a whole tusk to himself if he likes and produce a figure or a scene of dignified proportions. He seldom goes beyond a length of six inches, however. The subjects selected are mostly figures of beautiful women or ancient heroes and sometimes animals or natural scenes as well as the customs of Japan.

In recent years the exports of art objects in ivory have greatly increased and are now over one million yen in value, but owing to the ban on luxuries during the European war there has been a falling off in demand of late. Fully ninety per cent of the output finds its way abroad, about 60 per cent going to the United States and some 40 per cent to England.

Among the more prominent artists in ivory at present are S. Shimamura, N. Suzuki, S. Kawamoto, K. Ishikawa and K. Asachi. A statuette from the hand of any of these is a thing of beauty, and in the carving of such objects as birds and animals they have also done some very fine pieces. Recently attempts have been made at producing large pieces by joining pieces of ivory together, some of which are as long as three feet. One of these in the shape of a statue representing a farmer was shown at the San Francisco Exhibition where it was purchased for the Boston Museum of Fine Art. It was over 3 feet high and the price paid was 10,000 yen. In addition to ornaments such as articles as powder boxes, brush handles, hand mirror frames and numerous other parts of modern life, art objects are made of carved ivory. In Japan the wealthy often have chopsticks of ivory and it is frequently used for parts of musical instruments.

The Japanese art is especially superior in what is called *anabori* carving, which has numerous tiny holes the effect being unique if not inimitable. This form of the art is particularly effective in such pieces as landscapes, temples, flowers and birds or in any subject that lends itself to perforated work. A favourite theme for the artist who essays great heights is such a legend as that of Urashima Taro, the fisher boy famous in the national literature. The figure of the youth is usually placed standing on the back of a tortoise with the legend engraved within the shell-like base, the dragon castle appearing in the background. Such a piece requires consummate skill and has a universal appeal.



Japanese masterpieces in ivory carving

It is interesting to watch the Japanese ivory artist at work and to see how he goes about the creation of his ideal. First he takes a piece of ivory large enough to produce what he has in mind. If it be a statuette six inches high, he will select his tusk accordingly and after drawing a slight sketch of the figure on the ivory, he will saw it out. The coarse outline is then filed into something more like the figure desired, and then the carving tools come into play, chipping here and paring there to evolve the grace and delicacy of form. When the statuette is nearing completion it is polished with *muk* leaves, and when finished the glossy surface is produced by polishing with the ashes of a deer horn. Other artists first make a model of the subject and then copy it in ivory, setting out the strokes of the carving. The latter method is difficult. In carving too, the artist



Japanese masterpieces in ivory carving

ful not to crack the ivory especially in the winter months when the room often has to be steamed to prevent the ivory becoming brittle.

There are some who find fault with the themes selected for reproduction or creation by the Japanese ivory artist on the score of their being always too similar or conventional. The artists do not follow fashion or the changing tastes and ideas of their customers. Too many artists remember what was liked before and conclude that it will be liked again. All are not such however, and in purchasing art objects in ivory one must know where to go. One of the most representative firms in Tokyo is Tsutaya Kitamoto-machi in Asakusa. There the work of the master carver Himeji Yoshida can be had, and he is supposed to be the greatest living representative of this art in Japan. Yoshida is a pupil of the famous Shima

mura and has been practicing his art for more than 30 years. Other prominent artists in ivory are Sasaki Yoshida at Tsunohadzu Kouchi Sano at Kitahigakubo Azabu and Hobun Hirasaka of Tomari-machi in Toyama prefecture.

The ivory used in Japan is all brought from India or Siam, and more than 60 per cent of the imports come through Tsutaya, the biggest importer of ivory in Japan. The Indian ivory is harder than that of Siam and therefore regarded as superior. The process of producing art objects in ivory is a slow and tedious one requiring patience on the part of both the artist and his patrons. Sometimes as much as three months are required for the carving of one object and the price is accordingly high.

—The Japan Magazine.

### Surgeons as Sculptors

Making over the human face by surgical operation was not unknown before the war, but since surgeons have come to know the maiming caused in shell attacks they have been spurred to notable effort in this branch. In the French service a distinguished practitioner is Dr. H. Morestin whose work is described in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne) by Mr. Henri de Vaugny. Because he had made a specialty of face restoration for many years before the outbreak of hostilities we are told he was installed as chief of the department of surgery in the region of Paris. It is admitted that perfect face restoration cannot be hoped for because even in the most favourable cases there are tissues that it is impossible to make over. The problem of the surgeon is especially noted, is chiefly esthetic so that he is not so much an anatomist as an artist who endeavors to reconstruct form and facade, for next to the possession of an intact visage nothing is more desirable than the appearance of one.

In the rebuilding of faces three things are essential: the outer covering or skin, a solid substratum to replace any missing sections of bone, and a solid filler of some sort to give shape, contour, and firmness. The first presents no difficulty—the grafting of skin either from the patient's own body or that of a friend is a comparatively simple matter, long practiced in the case of extensive burns. The grafting of bone is a field in which the surgeon's conquests are newer but Carrel, Morestin and others have frequently accomplished it and have even succeeded in making a successful graft between human and animal bones. In the latter case it is believed that the alien bone serves as support and guide to the human periosteum which grows and extends itself along



the alien bone finally absorbing it and substituting for it the human bone of its own manufacture. The best results are obtained however when the section of bone to be used as a graft is taken from another portion of the patient's body for which purpose the gristle between the ribs is very commonly employed. We read then

This tissue is remarkably effective for rebuilding the face and can be readily cut and adapted with extreme precision to the place for which it is destined. The cartilage transplanted from the thorax to the face becomes a genuine graft. It lives its normal life quickly adapting itself to its new



A RESTORED FACE

His nose was crushed and his jaw was fractured. His nose was replaced by the skillful surgery of Dr. Keen. Dr. Keen, Roosevelt's son-in-law. An equally skillful lent itself then repaired his



Japanese as expected in very case

conditions of existence. And the graft is always successful which cannot be said of the graft of bone. No only is immediate success the rule but the durable. The grafted cartilage lives and functions without being absorbed or suffering appreciable shrinkage. The importance of this is apparent. The practical result is that the transplanted pieces can be cut to exact dimensions without the fear of subsequent reduction.

This is the process when the graft is taken from the patient. When it comes from another person there may be shrinkage in the course of time. Hence it is desirable whenever possible that the patient should furnish his own graft.

The third element required in this human repair work is the filler or cushion needed to round out the facial contours. This is composed of adipose

tissue. Having all the materials needed for his work of plastic art the surgeon proceeds to make use of them by methods involving a very delicate and skilled technique. Every detail must be adapted to the peculiar needs of the individual case. Progress is slow since usually the case is not a single operation but a series each of which must be carefully completed before the next can be undertaken. The care and patience required in some cases for the restoration of the nose are evidenced in the history of an operation begun at the close of 1914 which was not finished until May 1916. The result was favorable and the surgeon was particularly pleased by the changed sport of the patient. A his appearance was gradually transformed and our informant quotes Dr. Keen as saying

The subject has a nose. The restored organ looks enough like a nose not to attract attention. It is symmetrical, regular, and its possessor is perfectly content. And it is suitable here to emphasize the profound psychological change undergone by the

wounded man. At first somber, too turn melancholy and discouraged, he has become as his nose improved gay, active, animated, and happy. —*The Literary Digest*

## THE CONCLUSION

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TRANSLATED BY C. F. ANDREWS

**A**PURBA had got his B.A. degree and was coming back home to his village. The river which flowed past it was a small one. It became dried up during the hot weather, but now in the July monsoon the heavy rains had swollen its current and it was full up to the brim.

The boat which carried Apurba reached the ghat whence the roof of his home could be seen through the dense foliage of the trees. Nobody knew that he was coming and therefore there was no one to receive him at the landing. The boatman offered to carry his bag, but Apurba picked it up himself and took a leap from the boat. The bank was slippery and he fell flat upon the middy stair, bag and all.

As he did so, peal after peal of very sweet laughter rose in the sky and startled the birds in the neighbouring trees. Apurba got up and tried to regain his composure as best as he could. When he sought for the source of his discomfiture he found sitting upon a heap of bricks lately unloaded from some cargo boat a girl shaking her sides with laughter. Apurba recognised her as Minmayi, the daughter of their neighbour. This family had built their former house some distance away, but the river shifted its course cutting away into the land, and they had been obliged to change their quarter and settle down in the village only about two years ago.

Minmayi was the talk of all the village. The men called her madcap, but the village matrons were in a state of perpetual anxiety because of her untractable wildness. All her games were with the boys of the place and she had the utmost contempt for the girls of her own age. The favourite child of her father, she

had got into these unmanageable ways. Her mother would often complain to her friends of her husband's spoiling the child. But because she was well aware that the father would be cut to the quick if he saw his daughter in tears, the mother had not the heart to punish the girl herself.

Minmayi's face was more like that of a boy than a girl. Her short crop of curly hair reached down to her shoulders, and her big dark eyes showed no sign of fear or shyness. When the boat carrying the absentee landlord of the village was moored at the landing stage, she did not share the feeling of awe which possessed the neighbourhood, but shook her curly mane and took up a naked child in her arms and was the first to come and take her observation of the habits of this strange creature.

Apurba had come in touch with this girl on former occasions, and he had got into the habit of thinking about her from time to time during his leisure, and even while at work. Naturally therefore this laughter with which she greeted his arrival did not please him in spite of its musical quality. He gave up his bag to the boatman and almost ran away towards his house. The whole setting of things was romantic—the river bank, the shade of the trees, the morning sunshine with birds' songs and his youth of twenty years. The brick heaps hardly fitted in with the picture, but the girl who sat on the top of them made up for all deficiencies.

2

The widowed mother was beside herself with joy when her son returned unexpectedly. She at once sent her men to all parts

of the village to scorch for milk and curds and fish. There was quite a stir among the neighbours. After the mid day meal the mother ventured to suggest to Apurba that he should turn his thoughts towards marriage. Apurba was prepared for this attack as it had been tried before and he had then put it off on the plea of examinations. But now that he had got his degree he could have no such excuse to delay the inevitable. So he told his mother that if a suitable bride could be discovered he could then make up his mind.

The mother said that the discovery had been already made and therefore there was no further excuse for deliberation. But Apurba was of opinion that deliberation was necessary and insisted on seeing the girl before consenting to marry her. The mother agreed to this though the request seemed superfluous.

The next day Apurba went out on his marriage expedition. The intended bride lived in a house which was not far from their own. Apurba took special care about his dress before starting. He put on his new silk suit and a fashionable turban much affected by the Calcutta people. He did not forget to display his patent leather shoes and silk umbrella. His reception was loudly cordial in the house of his would be father in law. The little victim—the intended bride—was scrubbed and painted, be ribboned and bejewelled and brought before Apurba. She sat in a corner of the room veiled up to her chin with her head nearly touching her knees and her middle aged servant at her back to encourage her when in trouble. Her young brother sat near closely observing Apurba—his turban his watch-chain his newly budding moustache.

Apurba solemnly asked the girl. What text books are you reading in your school?

No answer came from this bundle of bashfulness wrapped in coloured silk. After repeated questionings and secret pushings in the back by the maid servant she rapidly gave the names of all her lesson books in one breath.

Just at this moment the sound of scurrying feet was heard outside and Mrinmayi burst into the room very much out of breath. She did not give the least heed to Apurba but at once caught hold of the hand of Rakhal the young brother and

tried to drag him outside. But Rakhal was intently engaged in cultivating his faculty of observation and refused to stir. The maid servant tried to scold Mrinmayi keeping the pitch of her voice within the proper limits of decorum. Apurba retained his composure and sat still and sullen fondling the watch chain with his fingers.

When Mrinmayi failed in her attempt to make Rakhal move she gave the boy a sounding smack on the shoulder, then she pulled up the veil from the face of the intended bride and rushed out of the room like a miniature tornado. The maid servant growled and grumbled and Rakhal began to laugh immoderately at the sudden unveiling of his sister. He evidently did not take ill the blow he had received because they had with each other a running account of such amenities. There was once a time when Mrinmayi had her hair long enough to reach her waist and it was Rakhal who had ploughed his scissors through it one day till the girl in disgust had snatched them from the boy's hand and completed the destruction herself leaving a mass of curls lying upon the dust like a bunch of black grapes.

After this cataclysm the business of the examination came to a sudden stop. The girl bride rose from her seat and changed from a circle of misery into a straight line and then disappeared into the inner apartment. Apurba got up still stroking his moustache only to discover that his patent leather shoes had vanished. A great search was made for them but they were nowhere to be found. There was nothing else to do but to borrow from the head of the house a pair of old slippers which were sadly out of keeping with the rest of his attire.

When Apurba reached the lane by the side of the village pool the same peal of laughter rang through the sky which he had heard the day before and while he stood shame-faced and irresolute looking about him the culprit came out of her ambush and flung the patent leather shoes before him and tried to escape. Apurba rushed after her quickly and made her captive holding her by the wrist. Mrinmayi writhed and wriggled but could not set herself free. A sunbeam fell upon her mischievous face through a gap in the branches overhead and Apurba gazed intently into her eyes like a traveller peering through the limpid of a rushing

stream at the glistening pebbles below. He seemed to hesitate to complete his adventure, and slowly relaxed his hold and let his captive escape. If Apurba had boxed Mrinmayi's ears in anger, that would have seemed more natural to the girl than this silent incompleteness of punishment.

## 3

It is difficult to understand why a young man of culture and learning like Apurba should be so anxious to reveal his worth to this strip of a village girl. What harm would there be, if, in her pitiful ignorance, she should ignore him and choose that foolish poor Rakhal as her companion? Why should he struggle to prove to her, that he wrote a monthly article in the journal, *Vishwadiip*, and that a MS. book, of no mean size was waiting for publication in the bottom of his trunk, along with his scent bottles, tinted note paper, harmonium lessons, etc.

In the evening Apurba's mother asked him "Have you approved of your bride?"

Apurba said with a slight hesitation "Yes I like one of the girls."

"One of the girls!" she asked, "why, what do you mean?"

After a great deal of beating about the bush she found out that her son had selected Mrinmayi for his bride. When she grasped this fact she greatly lost her respect for the B. A. degree. Then followed a long struggle between them. At last the mother persuaded herself that Mrinmayi was not wholly impervious to improvement. She began to suspect also that the girl's face had a charm of its own, but the next moment the cropped head of hair came to her mind and gave her a feeling of disgust. Recognising, however, that hair is more amenable to reason than human nature, she felt consoled, and the betrothal was made.

Mrinmayi's father got the news. He was a clerk in an office at a small distant river station of a Steamship company. He was engaged all day in selling tickets and loading and unloading cargo, living in a small hut with a corrugated iron roof. His eyes overflowed with tears, when he got the letter telling him what had happened. How much was pleasure and how much was pain would be difficult to analyse.

Ishan applied to the Head Office in

Calcutta for leave of absence. The reason of the betrothal seemed insufficient to the English Manager of the Company and the application was rejected. Ishan then asked for a postponement of the marriage till the autumn holidays, but he was told by the mother of the bridegroom that the most auspicious day for the marriage that year fell in the last week of the current month. So Ishan went on selling tickets and loading and unloading cargo with a heavy heart,—his petitions rejected from both sides. After this, Mrinmayi's mother and all the matrons of the village began to admonish the girl about the future household duties. She was warned that love of play, quickness of movement, loudness of laughter, companionship of boys and disregard of good manners in eating would not be tolerated in her husband's house. They were completely successful in proving the terrible cramped constraint of married life. Mrinmayi took the proposal of her marriage as a sentence of life imprisonment, with hanging at the end of it. Like an unmanageable little pony, she took the bit between her teeth and said, "I'm not going to be married."

## 4.

But she had to marry after all. And then began her lesson. The whole universe shrank for her within the walls of her mother-in-law's household. The latter began at once her reformation duties. She hardened her face and said:

"My child, you are not a baby. The vulgar loudness of your behaviour won't suit our family."

The moral which Mrinmayi learnt from these words was, that she must find some more suitable place for herself,—and she became invisible that very afternoon. They went on vainly searching for her till her friend Rakhal played the traitor, and revealed her hiding place in a deserted, broken down wooden chariot once used for taking out the image of the god for an airing. After this, the atmosphere of her mother-in-law's home became intolerably hot. Rain came down at night.

Apurba, coming close to Mrinmayi in his bed, whispered to her "Mrinmayi, don't you love me?" Mrinmayi broke out. "No, I shall never love you."

"But what harm have I done you?" said Apurba.

"Why did you marry me?" was the

reply. To give a satisfactory explanation to this question was difficult but Apurba said to himself 'I must win, in the end, this rebellious heart.'

On the next day, the mother-in-law observed some signs of petulance in Mrinmayi and shut her up in a room. When Mrinmayi could find no way to get out, she tore the bed sheet to rags with her teeth in vain anger, and flinging herself on the floor burst out weeping and calling in agony 'Father, father!'

Just then somebody came and sat by her. He tried to arrange her dishevelled hair as she turned from side to side, but Mrinmayi angrily shook her head and pushed his hand away. Apurba, (for it was he) bent his face to her ear and whispered

"I have secretly opened the gate, let us run away by the back door."

Mrinmayi again violently shook her head and said "No."

Apurba tried to rouse her face gently by the chin saying 'Do look who is there.' Rakhai had come and was standing foolishly by the door looking at Mrinmayi. — But the girl pushed away Apurba's hand without raising her face.

He said "Rakhai has come to play with you. Won't you come?"

She said "No!" Rakhai was greatly relieved to be allowed to run away from this scene.

Apurba sat still and silent. Mrinmayi wept and wept, till she was so tired that she fell asleep, then Apurba went out silently and shut the door.

The next day Mrinmayi received a letter from her father, in which he expressed his regret for not being able to be present at the marriage of his darling daughter. He ended with his blessings. The girl went to her mother-in-law and said 'I must go to my father.'

A scolding began at once — 'Your father! What a thing to ask! Your father has no decent house for himself, — how can you go to him?'

Mrinmayi came back to her room in despair and cried to herself 'Father take me away from this place! I have nobody here to love me! I shall die, if I am left here!'

In the depth of the night when her husband fell asleep she quietly opened the door and went out of the house. It was cloudy, yet the moonlight was strong

enough to show her the path. But Mrinmayi had no idea which was the way to reach her father. She had a belief that the road, which the post runners took, led to all the addresses of all the men in the world.

So she went that way, and was quite tired out with walking when the night was nearly ended.

The early birds doubtfully twittered their greetings to the morning, when Mrinmayi came to the end of the road at the river bank where there was a big bazaar. Just then she heard the clatter of the iron ring of the mail runner. She rushed to him and in her eager, tired voice cried "I want to go to my father at Kushigra. Do take me with you."

The postman told her hurriedly that he did not know where Kushigra was and the next moment awakened up the boatman of the mail boat and sailed away. He had no time either to pity or to question.

By the time Mrinmayi had descended the landing stairs and called a boat, the street and the river bank were fully awake. Before the boatman could answer, some one from a boat near at hand called out

'Hallo, Mrin! How on earth could you get here?'

The girl replied in all eagerness

'Bonomali! I must go to my father at Kushigra. Please take me in your boat!'

This boatman belonged to her own village and knew all about the wild and tameable girl. He said to her

'You want to go to your father? That's good. I'll take you.'

Mrinmayi got into the boat. The clouds thickened and the rain came down in showers. The river, swollen by the monsoon, rocked the boat, and Mrinmayi fell asleep. When she woke up she found herself in her own bed in her mother-in-law's house.

The maid servant began scolding her the moment she saw her awake. The mother-in-law came next. As she entered, Mrinmayi opened her eyes wide and silently looked in her face. But when the mother-in-law made a reference to the ill breeding of Mrinmayi's family the girl rushed out of her room and entered the next and shut the door from the inside.

Apurba came to his mother and said 'Mother, I don't see any harm in

Mrinmayi for just a few days to her father's house."

The mother's reply was to scold Apurba in unmeasured terms for selecting this one girl from all the suitable brides who might have been had for the mere asking

In the middle of the night, Apurba awakened Mrinmayi and said "Mrinmayi are you ready to go to your father?" She clutched his hand and said "Yes" Apurba whispered

"Then come Let us run away from this place. I have got a boat ready at the landing Come"

Mrinmayi cast a grateful glance at her husband's face, and got up and dressed, and was ready to go Apurba left a letter for his mother, and then both of them left the house together hand in hand

This was the first time that Mrinmayi had put her hand into her husband's with a spontaneous feeling of dependence They went on their journey along the lonely village road through the depth of the night

When they reached the landing stage, they got into a boat, and in spite of the turbulent joy which she felt Mrinmayi fell asleep The next day,—what emancipation, what unspeakable bliss it was! They passed by all the different villages, markets, cultivated fields, and groups of boats at anchor near some ghat Mrinmayi began to ply her husband with questions about every little trifle,—where were those boats coming from what were their cargoes, what was the name of that village?—questions whose answers were not in the text books which Apurba studied in his College His friends might be concerned to hear, that Apurba's answers did not always tally with the truth He would not hesitate for a moment to describe bags of linseed as 'mustard,' and the village of Kachwar as 'Rainagar,' or to point out the district magistrate's court as the landlord's office Whatever answer she got, Mrinmayi was fully satisfied, never doubting its accuracy

The next day the boat reached Kushiganj Ishan seated on his office stool, in his hut dimly lighted with a square oil lamp, was deep in his accounts before his small desk, his big ledger open before him, when this young pair entered the room Mrinmayi at once called out "Father!

Such a word, uttered in so sweet a voice, had never sounded before in that corrugated iron room Ishan could hardly restrain his tears and sat dumb, for a moment, vainly seeking for some greeting He was in great confusion how fitly to receive the young married couple in his office, crowded with bales of jute and piled up ledgers, which had also to serve him for a bed room And then about the meals,—the poor man had to cook for himself his own simple dinner, but how could he offer that to his guests? Mrinmayi said, "Father, let us cook the food ourselves"

And Apurba joined in this proposal with great zest In this room, with all its lack of space for man and food, their joy welled up in full abundance, like the jet of water thrown up all the higher because the opening of the fountain is narrow

Three days were passed in this manner Steamers came to stop at the landing stage all day long with their noisy crowd of men At last, in the evening, the river bank would become deserted and then,—what freedom! And the cooking preparations, in which the art of cookery was not carried to its perfection,—what fun it was! And the jokes and mock quarrels about the mock deficiencies in Mrinmayi's domestic skill,—what absurd carryings on! But it had to come to an end at last Apurba did not dare to prolong his French leave, and Ishan also thought it was wise for them to return

When the culprits reached home, the mother remained sulkily silent She never even blamed them for what they had done so as to give them an opportunity to explain their conduct This sullen silence became at last intolerable, and Apurba expressed his intention of going back to college in order to study Law The mother, affecting indifference, said to him, "What about your wife?"

Apurba answered, "Let her remain here"

"Oh, no, no!" cried the Mother, "you should take her with you"

Apurba said in a voice of annoyance "Very well"

The preparation went on for their departure to the town, and on the night before leaving, Apurba, coming to his bed, found Mrinmayi in tears This hurt him greatly and he cried

"Mrinmayi, don't you want to come to Calcutta with me?"

The girl replied, "No!" Apurba's next question was, "Don't you love me?" But the question remained unanswered. There are times when answers to such questions are absolutely simple, but at other times they become too complex for a young girl to answer.

Apurba asked, "Do you feel unwilling to leave Rakhai behind?"

Mrinmayi instantly answered, 'Yes'. For a moment this young man, who was proud of his new degree, felt a needle prick of jealousy deep down in his heart, and said

"I shan't be able to come back home for a long time"—Mrinmayi had nothing to say. 'It may be two years or more,' he added. Mrinmayi told him with coolness, 'You had better bring back with you, for Rakhai, a good Sheffield knife with three blades.'

Apurba sat up and asked, 'Then you mean to stay on here?'

Mrinmayi said, 'Yes, I shall go to my own mother.'

Apurba breathed a deep sigh and said "Very well. I shall not come home, until you write me a letter asking me to come to you. Are you very, very glad?"

Mrinmayi thought this question needed no answer, and fell asleep. Apurba got no sleep that night.

When it was nearly dawn, Apurba awakened Mrinmayi and said

"Minnu, it is time to go. Let me take you to your mother's house."

When his wife got up from her bed, Apurba held her by both hands and said

"I have a prayer to make to you—I have helped you several times and I want to claim my reward."

Mrinmayi was surprised and said

"What?"

Apurba answered

"Minnu, please give me a kiss out of pure love."

When the girl heard this absurd request and saw Apurba's solemn face, she burst out laughing. When it was over, she held her face for a kiss, but broke out laughing again. After a few more attempts, she gave it up. Apurba pulled her ear gently as a mild punishment.

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When Mrinmayi came to her mother's house, she was surprised to find that it was not as pleasant to her as before.

Time seemed to hang heavily on her hands, and she wondered in her mind what was lacking in the familiar home surroundings. Suddenly it seemed to her that the whole house and village were deserted and she longed to go to Calcutta. She did not know that even on that last night the earlier portion of her life, to which she clung, had changed its aspect before she knew it. Now she could easily shake off her past associations as the tree sheds its dead leaves. She did not understand that her destiny had struck the blow and severed her youth from her childhood, with its magic blade, in such a subtle manner that they kept together even after the stroke, but directly she moved, one half of her life fell from the other and Mrinmayi looked at it in wonder. The young girl, who used to occupy the old bedroom in this house, no longer existed, all her memory hovered round another bed in another bedroom.

Mrinmayi refused to go out of doors any longer, and her laughter had a strangely different ring. Rakhai became slightly afraid of her. He gave up all thought of playing with her.

One day Mrinmayi came to her mother and asked her

'Mother, please take me to my mother-in-law's house.'

After this, one morning the mother-in-law was surprised to see Mrinmayi come and touch the ground with her forehead before her feet. She got up at once and took her in her arms. Their union was complete in a moment, and the cloud of mis-understanding was swept away leaving the atmosphere glistening with the radiance of tears.

When Mrinmayi's body and mind became filled with womanhood, deep and large, it gave her an aching pain. Her eyes became sad, like the shadow of rain upon some lake, and she put these questions to her husband in her own mind—'Why did you not have the patience to understand me, when I was late in understanding you? Why did you put up with my disobedience when I refused to follow you to Calcutta?'

Suddenly she came to fathom the look in Apurba's eyes when, on that morning, he had caught hold of her hand by the village pool and then slowly released her. She remembered, too, the futile flights of that kiss, which had never reached its goal,

and was now like a thirsty bird haunting that past opportunity. She recollected how Apurba had said to her, that he would never come back until he had received from her a message asking him to do so, and she sat down at once to write a letter. The gilt edged note paper which Apurba had given her was brought out of its box, and with great care she began to write in a big hand, smudging her fingers with ink. With her first word she plunged into the subject without addressing him.

*"Why don't you write to me? How are you? And please come home."*

She could think of no other words to say. But though the important message had been given, yet unfortunately the unimportant words occupy the greatest space in human communication. She racked her brains to add a few more words to what she had written, and then wrote:

*"This time don't forget to write me letters and write how you are and come back home, and mother is quite well. Our dear coloured cow had a calf last night!"*

Here she came to the end of her resources. She put her letter into the envelope and poured out all her love as she wrote the name, Srijuta Babu Apurba Krishna Roy. She did not know that anything more was needed by way of an address, so the letter did not reach its goal, and the postal authorities were not to blame for it.

## 8

It was vacation time. Yet Apurba never came home. The mother thought that he was nourishing anger against her. Mrinmayi was certain that her letter was not well enough written to satisfy him. At last the Mother said to her daughter-in-law, 'Apurba has been absent for so long, that I am thinking of going to Calcutta to see him. Would you like to come with me?'

Mrinmayi gave a violent nod of assent. Then she ran to her room and shut herself in. She fell upon her bed, clutched the pillow to her breast, and gave vent to her feelings by laughing and excited movements. When this fit was over, she became grave and sad and sat up on the bed and wept in silence.

Without telling Apurba, these two repentant women went to Calcutta to ask Apurba's forgiveness. The mother had

a son-in-law in Calcutta, and so she put up at his house. That very same evening, Apurba broke his promise and began to write a letter to Mrinmayi. But he found no terms of endearment fit to express his love, and felt disgusted with his mother tongue for its poverty. But when he got a letter from his brother-in-law, informing him of the arrival of his mother and inviting him to dinner, he hastened to his sister's house without delay.

The first question he asked his mother, when he met her, was

Mother, is everybody at home quite well?

The mother answered, "Yes. I have come here to take you back home."

Apurba said that he thought it was not necessary on her part to have taken all this trouble for such a purpose, and he had his examination before him, etc., etc.

The brother-in-law called out smiling, "All this is a mere excuse; the real reason is that he is afraid of me for a rival."

His sister replied, "Indeed there is good cause to be afraid of you. The poor child may get a terrible shock when she sees you."

Thus the laughter and jokes became plentiful, but Apurba remained silent. He was accusing his mother in his mind for not having had the consideration to bring Mrinmayi with her. Then he thought that possibly his mother had tried, but failed owing to Mrinmayi's unwillingness, and he felt afraid even to question his mother about it, the whole scheme of things seemed to him full of incorrigible blunders.

When the dinner was over, it came on to rain and his sister said, 'Dada, you sleep here.'

But Apurba replied, "No, I must go home. I have work to do."

The brother-in-law said, "How absurd! You have no one at home to account for your absence and you needn't be anxious."

Then his sister told him that he was looking very tired, and it was better for him to leave the company and go to bed. Apurba went to his bedroom and found it in darkness. His sister asked him if he wanted a light, but he said that he preferred the dark. When his sister had left, he groped his way to the bedstead and prepared to get into bed.

All of a sudden a tender pair of arms with a couple of brackets, were dangling



round his neck, and two lips almost smothered him with kisses wet with tears. At first it startled Apurba greatly, but then he came to know that those kisses,

which had been obstructed once by laughter, had now found their completion in tears

## A MODEL VILLAGE IN THE BARODA STATE

By RAO BHADRA GOVINDHAI H. DESAI

**B**HADRA is the name of the head quarters of a Peta Mahal in the Baroda District of the Baroda State. It is one of the oldest villages. Tradition runs to the effect that it was founded on the 11th Sadi of Vushakh Samvat year 1232. It is named after the Goddess Bhadra Kali whose ancient temple exists even now in the village. According to the Census of 1911, the number of inhabited houses is 1418 and the population 4824 out of which 2742 are males and 2081 females. There are 4430 Hindus, 265 Mahomedans and 128 Jains. The Hindu population consists mainly of Patidars—a very intelligent and industrious class of people following mainly agriculture as their hereditary profession. The liberal and far reaching educational policy of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has produced within the last 20 years very remarkable results, and Bhadran has now become a model village in the Baroda State. A brief account of the wonderful results obtained by the people of Bhadran is given here in the hope that it may stimulate other places to follow its example.

### LIBRARIES

One of the oldest and most prominent of the public institutions of Bhadran is the Library which was founded in 1895 by the first batch of its educated youths. It was built at a cost of Rs 6000 out of which Rs 3000 were contributed by the principal inhabitants and Rs 3000 were raised by a loan which was gradually repaid from donations and gifts on festive occasions such as marriages and fees paid by life members. This Library was originally intended for both the sexes, but as the taste for reading increased more and more women began to take advantage of the Library and it was

ultimately found necessary to establish a separate library for them under the name of "Mahila Pustakalaya." The foundation of the building was laid by Dewan Tekchand ICS Revenue Commissioner in 1912, and the building when completed cost Rs 6000 out of which Rs 2000 were received as a grant from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and the rest, namely Rs 4000 were collected by the people. A third library called "Bal Pustakalaya" has been opened this year and is intended mainly for children. It owes its existence to the generosity of Mr. Maganlal Dalpatram Khakhar, J.P. of Bombay who pleased with the Bhadran people's public spirit and self-reliance, made a gift to them of his father's valuable collection of school children's books.

### SCHOOLS

A Vernacular School for boys and another for girls have been established by Government. A building for the Boys' School has been built by Government, but the Girls' School being in want of one, it has been recently erected at a cost of Rs 30,000 out of which the villagers gave Rs 6000, and Mr. Tulsibhai Bakorbhai, one of the leaders of the place, donated Rs 10,000 and the rest viz Rs 14,000, was contributed by His Highness Government. There is a separate school for the boys and girls of the depressed classes with a special building of its own. An English Class terling upto the first two Standards was opened in 1906, by a few of the leaders. It received a monthly grant of Rs 25 from Government. In each succeeding year, the leaders went on adding a new Standard till 1909 when it was converted into an Anglo Vernacular School maintained solely by Government. But the zeal of the people had not abated. They

opened a private Fifth Standard class and Government appreciated their zeal for higher education by adding a Fifth Standard to the Government School. The people now opened a private Sixth Standard class at their expense and proposed to Government that if they (Government) maintained the Sixth Standard class also they (the people) would maintain a Matriculation class. This was accepted and the Matriculation Class maintained solely from funds collected by the people came into existence in 1911 and received from Government a monthly grant in aid of Rs 60. Thus Bhadrān got a High School. But the people were not satisfied so long as their High School was not on a permanent footing. They offered to pay Government Rs 20,000 if the Bhadrān Anglo Vernacular School was converted into a Government High School. The Baroda Government ever ready to help those who help themselves, not only accepted this proposal but appreciated the laudable efforts of the Bhadrān people for their improvement by giving them a building for the High School at a cost of Rs 45,000. A Boarding House has been built in connection with the High School for students from villages by a generous citizen named Jethubhai Naranbhai in memory of his deceased son Shambhu Prasad at a total cost of Rs 15,000 out of which one half was contributed by the Taluka Local Board.

#### CLOCK TOWER

One Lallubhai a Jain merchant wanted to spend Rs 3,000 after a *parabdi* i.e. a tower for seeding buds. The leaders of Bhadrān offered to contribute Rs 2,000 if he agreed to have it built in such a way that it may serve both as a *parabdi* and also as a clock tower. This was agreed to and the little town of Bhadrān has now in its centre a clock tower striking four, half hours and quarter hours.

#### DISPENSARY

To mark his appreciation of the good work done by the Bhadrān people His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar gave it a dispensary on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness' administration. A suitable building for the dispensary has been built at a cost of Rs 13,000 out of which one half was contributed by the people.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICES

Bhadrān being the head quarters of a Peta Mahal has a Mahalkari's Kutchery, a Landdar's Kutchery, a Sub Registrar's Kutchery, and a Police line, with suitable buildings, provided by Government, which have added greatly to the beauty of the town.

#### MUNICIPALITY

A Municipality has been established in the town by Government. Half the number of members is nominated by Government and half elected by the people. The Municipality looks after the sanitary arrangements of the town and manages the newly constructed water works.

#### WATER WORKS

The wells are deep in Bhadrān and women had to struggle hard to draw water for drinking and other purposes. The progressive people of Bhadrān conceived the idea of having a small water works of their own. They applied to Government and obtained from them Rs 26,000 as a loan and Rs 12,000 as a gift and thus provided a water works for their little town. A well has been dug and water is pumped up and stored up in a reservoir from which it is distributed by pipes to the houses. Those who take house connection have to pay Rs 9 a year, and those who take water from public stands pay Rs 3. The income from this source yields sufficient for current expenditure and for paying instalments for the loan which is to be repaid in 30 years.

#### LOCAL BOARD

There is a Taluka Local Board with head quarters at Bhadrān which looks after wells, tanks, roads, bridges, culverts, etc. of the whole Taluka.

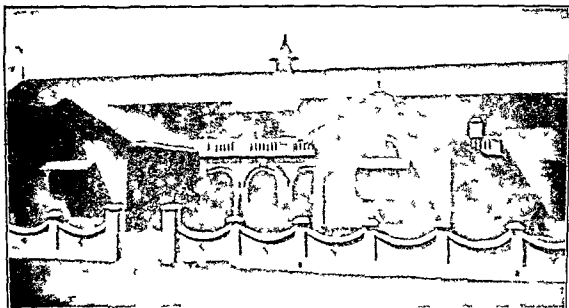
#### DHARMASHALA

There is a Dharmashala for travellers which has been recently repaired at a cost of Rs 3,500.

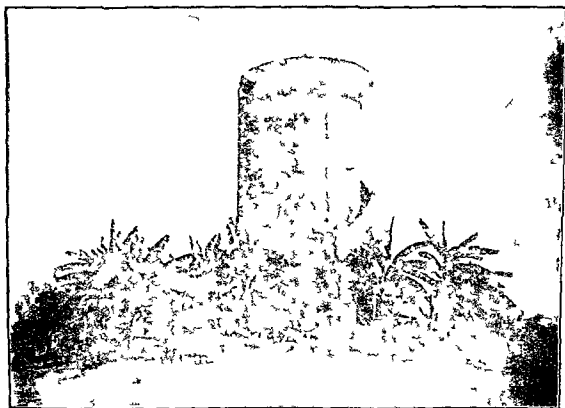
#### PUBLIC GARDEN

The facilities provided by the water works have led to the laying out of a small public garden with a fountain which is situated just near the public offices. It affords rest and recreation to the people specially in the evening when they gather together and pass an hour or

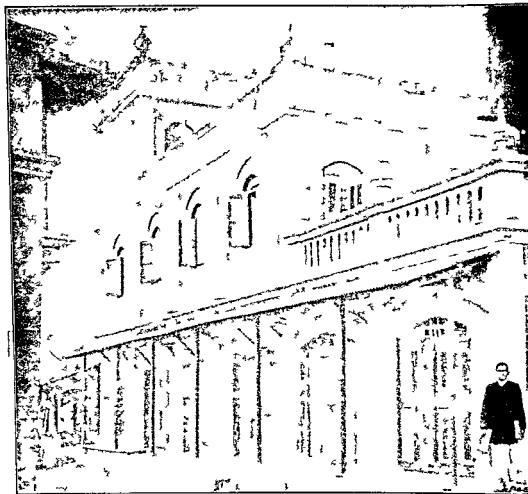
# A MODLI VILLAGE IN THE BARODA STATE



Venkateswara Temple Bhadrachalam



Storage Tower Bhadrachalam Water Works



Mahila Library Bhadran

two in the open air and enjoy the fragrance of flowers

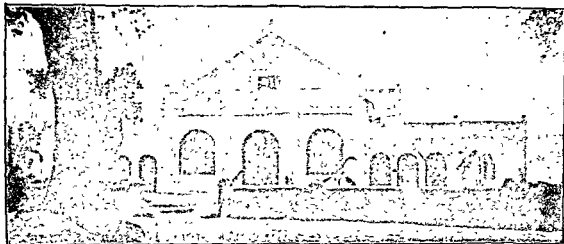
dual agriculturists as well as to Co operative Societies

#### AGRICULTURAL BANK

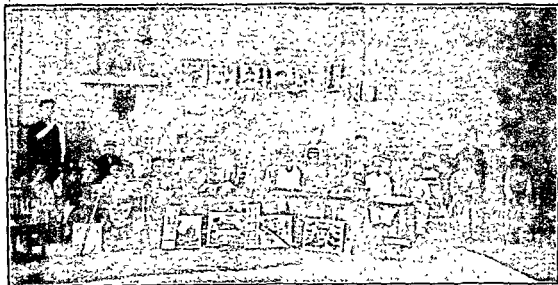
The population of Bhadran being mainly agricultural an agricultural bank was required. It was started in the year 1911 mainly owing to the adventurous spirit of the people. A capital of Rs 50 000 has been raised by 5000 shares of Rs 10 each. Of these one half have been subscribed by the people and the other half by Government. The Bank is managed by a Board of Directors of which the Suba (Collector) of the District is ex officio President. Advances are made to indivi-

#### AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION

For the advancement of agriculture an Agricultural Association has been recently formed. Ordinary members pay a fee of Re 1 and life members pay Rs 25. Monthly meetings are held and questions of agricultural interest are discussed. An Agricultural Museum and a Seeds and Implements Store are under contemplation and the zeal and intelligence of the people will soon bring them into existence.



Town Hall, Bhadran.



Kindergarten class—Bhadran Vernacular School.

#### LECTURE HALL.

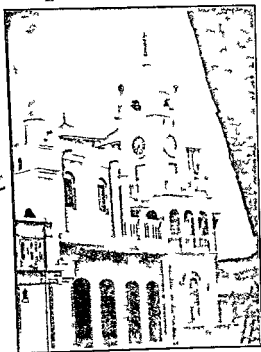
The numerous educational and other activities of the people required a public lecture hall. This was estimated to cost Rs. 17000, which amount was collected by contributions from the municipality (Rs. 2500), Mahal Panchayat (Rs. 8500) and the District Local Board (Rs. 6000). Free land has been given by the people and the building is now ready. It is used ordinarily for holding meetings of the Municipality and the Local Board. The central hall is used as a public lecture hall, and has a gallery for the accommodation of ladies.

#### CLUB.

But with all desirable acquisitions, Bhadran would not be a modern town without a club. A generous citizen wishing to donate Rs. 5000, for a public purpose, was told that the sum would be accepted if he agreed to have it spent on a club building. This has been agreed upon and a club building is now under construction.

#### WORKERS.

All the above activities in Bhadran which have contributed to make it a model town within the last 20 years owe much to



Clock Tower Bhadrin

four of its leaders. One of them Mr. Motibhai B. Patel is an Executive Engineer in the State. It is he who designs and supervises the construction of buildings. The second is Mr. Varyabhai Vaghbhau Patel who is a member of the Local Municipality, a member of the Taluka and District Local Boards and an elected member of the Baroda Legislative Council. The third is a Zamindar Mr. Tulsibhai Bakorbhai and the fourth a school Master Mr. Amthabhai Govindbhai Patel. The last three aided by a large number of voluntary workers think out what is wanted for the advancement of the village and collect funds—a work in which all the people heartily co-operate.

#### VETERINARY DISPENSARY

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar with a view to provide Veterinary help to agriculturists have recently formulated a scheme under which if a Local Board agrees to contribute one third of the cost the remaining two thirds are paid by Government. The ever progressive people of Bhadrin were the first to take advantage of the scheme and made a request for a dispensary. It has been sanctioned and Bhadrin will soon have a Veterinary dispensary.

#### WANT OF A RAILWAY STATION

The nearest Railway Station is about 10 miles from Bhadrin. A Railway connection is now the only want of the people which remains to be satisfied. They are striving their utmost for it and some of the leaders have personally approached the Railway Board at Simla to so align the newly projected Vasad Kathana Railway as to pass through Bhadrin.

#### CONCLUSION

As the result of the educational and other activities in the village one person has passed the London M.D. examination with a scholarship from His Highness the Maharaja, another has been an Associate Member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, Manchester and about a dozen have passed the B.A. and LL.B. examinations of the Bombay University. Over a hundred undergraduates are earning their livelihood in various professions within and outside the State including Africa and other distant lands. One student has just returned from England after undergoing a complete training in the Dairy industry which is one of the most important industries in the District. Bhadrin thus affords an unique example of what could be done for the moral and material development of the people with proper leaders and sympathetic help from Government.

# RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY AS A NATION-BUILDER

ONCE in the sea of humanity there rose a frightful storm of revolution. Suddenly, "the sun of the dying century set amidst the blood-red clouds" and in the thick darkness that followed, in the roar of fury, many a storm-battered vessel of tradition sank; while many others were carried off their moorings and drifted on and on, in the dance of the seething, restless waves. In that dark night, on a marshy coast-land of the sea, in which lay scattered about broken fragments of the magnificent edifice of a hundred halls of an old, very old civilisation, there stood a beacon-light sending out its joyous message of hope to the drifting and sinking vessels of history through the darkness of the roaring storm. Whenever I think of Raja Rammohun Roy, such a picture rises before my mind.

I am not using any language of metaphor, when I am speaking of the storm. The storm rose indeed. It must be remembered that Rammohun Roy was born on the eve of a great revolution, the French Revolution of 1789. After it, there began everywhere a new era in the history of humanity. Freedom from all time-honoured bondages of customs and conventions, freedom from the rule of tyrants and priests, was the trumpet-call of the French Revolution. We know that in France, as elsewhere, that trumpet-call had been sounded by Voltaire, Rousseau, Volney and others. Here, in India, it fell on Raja Rammohun Roy to take up the same war-cry. It is wonderful that his first work, 'Tuhfatul Muwahhidin' or a gift to Monotheists, should so closely resemble Volney's 'Ruins of Empire' and bear out so strikingly the thoughts of Eighteenth Century Deism, Rationalism and particularly the school of Theophilanthropy with which the names of Voltaire and Volney are associated.

But, fortunately, for India and the world, the Raja did not stop there. His genius was not merely destructive, but constructive. We know that after the first wild enthusiasm of the French Revolution had passed away, when condi-

tions in France grew wilder and more and more hopeless everyday and France became a menace to the whole of Europe, there came a critical turning point of thought. In England, not Edmund Burke alone wrote his famous 'Reflections on the French Revolution' bringing out the proper place and scope of prejudice and convention in social and political philosophy; but Wordsworth and Coleridge joined ranks with him later on. The age of reconstruction slowly made headway. The genius of Goethe loomed large in the horizon. In France, Chateaubriand and in Germany, Novalis also appeared as heralds of the constructive age. But wonder of wonders, that here, in India, the writer of the 'Tuhfatul Muwahhidin,' the rationalistic, destructive, revolutionary Raja should also play the part of the constructive practical social legislator, the renovator of National scriptures and revelations! And that he should carry on single-handed this work of scripture-renovation for three different civilisations, the Hindu, the Christian and the Mahomedan!

To quote from Dr Brajendra Nath Seal in this connection:—"The Raja" was no doctrinaire. He had a wholesome historical instinct, a love of concrete embodiments and institutions, such as characterise the born religious and social reformer. A rationalist and universalist in every pulse of his being, he was no believer in the cult of the worship of Reason, of naked Logical Abstractions. The universal guiding principle of the Love of God and man he sought and found in the scriptures of the nations, and rose from the barren religion of Nature or Theophilanthropy of his eighteenth century predecessors to a liberal interpretation and acceptance of the Historic Revelation and Scriptures, not indeed in any supernatural sense, but as embodiments of the collective sense of the races of mankind, and conserving and focussing that principle of Authority, which, in this mundane state, is an indispensable cement and foundation, an elementary factor of communal

life, whether in the social, the political, or the religious sphere."

India had been, in the past, the meeting ground of many peoples and races, who had brought with them different cultures, cults and modes of worship and different manners and customs. It had been the glorious task of India, in her past history, to weld these together into a harmonious whole and to unite the various peoples thereby into a common tradition. We notice in the culture history of our people, that there had been from time to time, new movements of spiritual revival and new attempts at building up of a synthetic philosophy. It was, therefore, most significant that Rammohun Roy should be born in this land of synthesis and at a time when the whole world was passing through the throes of a new birth of humanity. For, India must take up her immortal work in this age too. She must now take her stand in the centre of humanity and discover, the various forms of the national civilisations as so many different moulds of the one, indivisible, universal humanity. Through various paths, the different nationalities are moving towards that common goal—this was what remained for the Raja to discover and to proclaim in this new age.

I understand that it is utterly impossible, within the short compass of an article, to attempt any presentation of Rammohun Roy in this broad and universal aspect. I must therefore, confine my attention to a much narrower aspect of the Raja's personality and works. The problem which clearly stands out as the gravest of all problems in India today, is the problem of the Indian nation building. I intend to take it up here and see what solution of it was offered by Raja Rammohun Roy.

I must warn my readers at the outset that this question of nation building did not occur as a *problem* to Raja Rammohun Roy at all. He was the representative of universal humanity; the vision of universal humanity was as clear as the sky and the daylight before him. Therefore, the particular problem of constructing a harmony among the fragments of the diverse races, religions, customs and codes of India was to him merely a part of the much larger and greater problem of shaping forth the vision of the federation of a new humanity. It must always be borne

in mind that there were two distinct parts played by Raja Rammohun Roy on the historic stage. There was one Rammohun Roy, the Cosmopolite, the representative of humanity; there was another Rammohun Roy, the Nationalist reformer.

In former ages, the synthesis which India had attempted to build co-ordinating the various interests of life, the various cultures and disciplines, was based fundamentally on religion. The *Samanvaya* or synthesis in the Bhagavad Gita is an instance in point. But in this democratic age, the autocracy of religion is no longer recognised. Now the various interests of life, are, each one of them, autonomous in its own respective sphere. We can no longer fuse these multifarious elements into the crucible of one colourless unity. The monistic monopoly must give way to the pluralistic dynamic of life and thought. Therefore this idea is coming more and more into the foreground, that the political, social, economic, ethical and spiritual interests of life are not dependent on one another. Each one of them is autonomous. This idea, though it had come into being in Europe since the Renaissance and the humanistic movements and developed in recent times, was however not known in India. We find it to be strongly pronounced in the life and writings of Raja Rammohun Roy. This was indeed, one of his greatest contributions to modern India.

The few treatises on Law written by Rammohun Roy clearly evince that he separated Law from the trammels of rituals and ethical precepts, although Hindu law is unquestionably bound up with them. Then again, in his writings bearing on ethical questions, he differentiated ethics from intellectual culture, civilisation and spirituality. The famous Ram Dass Tytler controversy in the English works of Rammohun Roy will bear this out. He distinguished religion and spiritual culture from social manners and customs (*Acharya*) divesting the latter of their sacramental character and investing them with merely secular value. Thus, the question of the purity or the impurity of food, to Raja Rammohun, was purely a hygienic question and not a religious one. But people, who fail to grasp this central idea of Rammohun Roy, the idea of the autonomous character of each interest of life, are confused and bewildered to see him treat legal questions in one way, ethical



questions in another way and social questions in a completely different manner altogether

When our country was agitated over the question whether English Education should be introduced in India, or the *tois* and *chatuspathies* where Sanskrit Education on old lines was imparted should be fostered, Raja Rammohun Roy wrote his famous letter on English Education to Lord Amherst in 1823, strongly advocating the introduction of English Education in this country. Being a Vedantist himself and being the first to publish the translation of 'Vedanta Sūtras' in Bengali, he repudiated the teaching of the Vedanta thus —

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the theses suggested by the Vedānta—*a* what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of Society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence that, as father, brother etc., have no actual entity they consequently deserve no real affection and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better"

Could not this Vedantist of Vedantists say also, "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation"? In the same letter, he clearly pointed out that unless Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences were taught along with English, there were no hopes of progress of the natives of India.

This letter is a puzzle to many people who are under the impression that Rammohun Roy was an out and out disciple of Sankaracharya, which he was not. What impelled him to write this letter, was that he felt quite clearly that if Vedanta dominated over the other departments of life, instead of making room for their free and spontaneous growth, it would lead to a stultification of life. India would never be able to free herself from the shackles of medievalism.

But the question insistently arises here whether by making all the departments of life autonomous Rammohun Roy really split life, so to say, into so many water tight compartments and relegated religion to an undisturbed corner of life? If that be so, if religion, according to him, was not a thing that would touch and colour life at all points, it was not religion at all. Besides, where would be the central unity of all these autonomies? Or would they,

better be without any central unity at all?

Yes, for Rammohun Roy, there was a central unity holding together all these differentiated, autonomous activities of life and unifying them into a whole. The 'Brahma' of Raja Rammohun Roy was that central unity. He was the federation, as it were, of all the autonomies. Life, as a whole, in all its independent activities was one with the 'Brahma' or the 'Virata', the Infinite One. Of course, his theological position was, that the ultimate Self of Brahma is *Nirguna* or unqualified and hence unknowable. But he says, 'This world of names (*Nama*) and forms (*Rupa*) which are unreal, is manifested as real, in Him (Brahma) — Vedantasara (Bengali). This manifestation of Brahma is everywhere. He is manifested in Nature, in the human mind and all its attributes, in the history of man, in society, politics, law and manners, and even in commerce and arts. There is no end of His manifestation. So Rammohun Roy's 'Brahma' is variously manifested and all that variety rest in Him. The *sadhana* or the spiritual discipline through which Brahma may be realised, is to translate his words "To contemplate the unity with all". In other words, it is to grow into cosmic consciousness. The *Gayatri* which was a household *mantra* to all the 'twice born' in India in ancient times, admirably sets forth, this grand and noble conception of contemplation of the unity with all. In Rammohun Roy's spiritual discipline and practices the *Gayatri*, therefore, was an indispensable element. In a small pamphlet in Bengali, entitled 'The Meaning of Gayatri', Rammohun Roy has explained its inner significance that it urges people to grow into cosmic consciousness and to realise that the same consciousness is breathed into them by the Divine Being.

Unless we have, in the beginning, a clear idea of the principles and the mode of realisation of them by the man we cannot form any estimate either of his work for all humanity or of his work, on certain especial lines for his own motherland.

For our own convenience we must broadly divide his work into two divisions: (i) his work in the field of religion, (ii) his work in the socio-economic and political spheres.

In the field of religion, Rammohun Roy

perceived that although the religions of the world agreed in fundamental matters their disagreements were mainly due to rituals and ceremonies being considered as part and parcel of religion. Religion more than anything else could have been the greatest unifying force in society. But unfortunately the history of religion has been otherwise and religion sowed greater seeds of dissension than any other institution. Therefore, to separate rites or *achara* from religion and to bring out the essential unity of religions was the high task which Rammohun Roy set before him.

It must not be supposed that in order to bring into relief the universal and fundamental elements in religion Rammohun Roy wished for a moment to obliterate the particular racial or cultural features of each religion and laid down that those particular cults, ideals and disciplines of religion should be swept away. Except in the first stage of his mental development when he wrote *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* he had never disowned and disregarded these special cults and disciplines whose character is more racial than universal. But of course he endeavoured to rationalise and universalise these racial elements of religion also. For unless they tended to universality they would be stumbling blocks to the evolution of religion. Consequently, these elements must be thoroughly purged of all baser alloy, the fire of reason must bring out their genuine gold. Rammohun Roy therefore sought to liberate Hinduism from the bondages of such ignorant and unmeaning practices as acts which spring from greed of reward or fear of punishment (*Karma karma*) idolatry and idolatrous ceremonies. He desired similarly to free Mahomedanism from its *sariat* or code of duties and observances from *Haram* and *Halal* or distinction of pure and impure food etc. And on similar lines again he attempted to strip Christianity of such outward trappings as miracles, vicarious atonement, trinity etc.

The code of rites and customs was considered by Raja Rammohun as non essential local accidents as merely common bonds which might hold together certain groups of men and women in society. He was absolutely dissociated from spirit of new humanity. At last each sect has its own

to be *Sadachara* or good practices and condemns the rites and practices of other sects as bad practices. For instance, what is *sadachara* for the Tantric is not *sadachara* for the Vaishnav. The Vaishnav would be horrified at the sight of wine and meat whereas the Tantric would be exultant when he saw them. Then again, the different sects in India, says the Raja, are very flexible in their character. One may very easily relinquish one faith and take to another and no sooner he changes his sect than his manners and customs inevitably change also. So his conclusion about this vexed question of *sadachara* is to translate from his own writing. It is futile to hold one's own *achara* or practices and customs as good or *sadachara* and to condemn the practices of a different sect as bad. Wine and meat in regulated measure are accepted as good among many people who hold respectable position in society. Consequently to take wine and meat in regulated measure must be counted as good practice for those people. This dissociation of *achara* from religion and declaration of the practices of all sects as equally good removes all evils that might accrue by adherence to rites and practices as sacraments.

But it would be wrong to state that Raja Rammohun Roy considered rites and customs simply as common bonds of society and nothing more. That was merely the negative side of *achara*. It had also a positive side. Rammohun Roy held that these rites and usages must be looked upon as conducive to the 'Greatest good of the greatest number'. The regulative principle of rites and practices was to him therefore to use his own epithet 'Lokasreyah—lit the good of people'. To translate again from his writing in this connexion he says. Such practices must be observed by God-fearing people as are conducive to the good of people and this *dharma* is eternal.

Thus by differentiating the respective provinces of religion and ethics and of religion and outward practices Rammohun Roy emancipated all the religions from unmeaning trammels which impeded their progress and paved the way for the greater progress of society also.

We have seen his general work in the religious and social spheres. We must now watch his work in the sphere of politics.

In politics, he was neither in favour of monarchy nor democracy, the forms of Government were non essential to him. But he insisted on each country and people having representative Government, having full powers to shape their own national destiny. In politics also, as in religion, his great ideal was federation. In his supremely prophetic vision, the federation of religions and the federation of states loomed large. I have said already that this vision of world federation was his vision of Brahma. This was his 'Gayatri'. This was his spiritual contemplation of the ONE.

When the news arrived in Calcutta, in 1821, that representative Government had been established in Spain, Raja Rammohun Roy gave a public feast at the Calcutta Town Hall, to celebrate the event. When again, he heard of the defeat of Neapolitans, he became so terribly depressed on that day at the news that he had to cancel an important engagement he had in the evening with an English friend of his, Mr Buckland. He wrote him a letter, saying that he was unable to keep his engagement as his heart was sad. An extract from the letter may be quoted below —

From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations.

Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as our enemies to liberty and friends to despotism have never been and will never be ultimately successful.

During his voyage to England, when the ship halted at Natal in South Africa, he saw a French boat with the flag of liberty hoisted on it. He was so restless and eager to go and salute the flag of liberty that in his hurry he missed his footing on the gangway and sprained so badly his foot that he never completely recovered from it afterwards. While leaving the French boat, he was heard exclaiming with rapture, 'Glory, glory, glory to France!' He arrived in England just when the whole of England was in a commotion over the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. The Raja wrote to an English friend after the bill was passed, that he had resolved to leave England for good if the bill was rejected in Parliament.

Coming now to the particular question of the Raja's lines of Indian nation building, need I say that he could not possibly propose to build the Indian

nationality on any other basis but the broad and universal basis of freedom which he worked out in religious, social and political spheres for all humanity?

He has indicated three causes of India's degradation and downfall. The first is, India was politically divided into innumerable states and principalities ruled by foreign princes and this loss of political freedom was one of the causes of the downfall of India. He says 'The country was at different periods invaded and brought under temporary subjection to foreign princes' and hence it is "a country in which the notion of patriotism had never made its way." He writes that for the same reason the English could conquer India with the help of the native soldiers of this country. The second cause of India's downfall is, to translate his own words "Our system of caste which is at the root of all disunion." The third cause is, to translate his own words again, 'our excessive mildness and want of grit which we wrongly suppose to be religion'—in other words, what Nietzsche would call "slave morality." I ought to translate the whole extract here. In answer to the question why the Bengalis are so weak as a race, he writes in his 'Brahman Shebadhi' (Bengali work) — "For nine hundred years (i.e. since India lost her freedom) we have been subjected to this condemnation. And the causes (of our weakness) are our system of caste which is at the root of all disunion and our excessive mildness and our want of grit which we wrongly suppose to be religion."

It is not difficult to ascertain these causes of India's degradation. But it is most vitally important to know what remedies he suggested for the removal of these causes. Let us first see what his remedy was in regard to religion.

I know that most of my readers would here say that he founded the Brahmo religion discarding idolatry and that was all he did. But I cannot honestly identify Rammohun Roy's ideals of Hindu religion with the very general and cosmopolitan tenets he laid down in his famous 'Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj'. I can not also for a moment think that by founding the 'Brahmo Sabha' (the new church) he formed a new sect or community altogether and severed his connection with his parent Hindu community. By reading his 'Trust Deed of

Brahmo Samaj all that I understand is that he desired this new church to be a meeting place for all religionists. I have already said that his ideal was that the Hindu the Mahomedan and the Christian should each through particular cults ideals and disciplines of his religion gradually advance towards a universal religion. But so long as the vision of a universal religion was out of ken so long as each religion was offensive to the other and the adherents of one church had no entrance into another church he did not belong to there must be some common prayer ground prepared whither people of all religious sects might congregate in a common worship. Therefore from such a place of worship must be carefully effaced those differences and peculiarities racial or other which prevented the adherents of one religion from coming together in prayer and worship with those of another. Rammohun Roy's idea was that on the one hand each religion must proceed along rational, universal lines preserving intact all its special features racial and cultural on the other hand there must be an embodiment of the spirit of universal religion to harmonise peoples of different faiths. And that was his Brahmo Samaj.

We have seen that Rammohun Roy has indicated as the cause of our social disunion and disruption our system of caste which fosters disunion. It is therefore important to know what remedy he suggested for removing this evil which according to him was a great bar to social progress and social solidarity.

There is a famous treatise called *Bajra shuchi* written by Mrityunjayacharya on caste. Distinctions of caste have been strongly condemned and proved to be utterly hollow and without any foundation in that wonderful treatise. Raja Rammohun Roy translated it into Bengali and published it showing thereby his intellectual sympathy with its positions. I wish to translate only one passage from it just to give an idea of the nature of the treatise. The author of *Byrashuchi* writes

If by caste you mean birth and say that he who is the offspring of a Brahmin father and a Brahmin mother who have been married according to Shastric is really a Brahmin then the Brahminism of a Rishi famous in the Vedas and Smritis and void. Therefore birth can never be a mark of Brahminism."

Thus he goes on arguing whether colour,

dharma, scholarship or profession could be marks of Brahminism and at last is forced to this conclusion —

The *Sastras* say all people when they are born are Sudras when they undergo Upanayan ceremony they become Dravidas or twice born when they study Vedas they become Vratas and when they realise Brahma they become Brahmins hence the only Brahmin is one who lives all life devoted to Brahma.

The theoretical position of Raja with regard to the question of caste is quite obvious from the *Byrashuchi*. I have already said that he dissociated rites and practices from their sacramental character. By thus dissociating custom from religion and by pronouncing all rites and customs of all sects as equally good he practically indicated the lines by which don't touchism and such other obnoxious evils that attend on caste might be swept away. He was a Brahmin but he loved to wear Mahomedan dress and he dined with Europeans. He was thus the finest type of the Islamic European Hindu the Hindu who sympathised with Islamic and European cultures and manners.

But don't touchism is a very small evil of caste system compared to the bar which one caste sets against another in regard to marriage. What solution did Rammohun Roy offer about the possibility of inter caste marriages? He offered indeed a great solution by lending support to a form of marriage known as the *Saiba Bibaha* or the marriage according to the rites of Siva. In his Bengali tract *Chari Prasner Uttar* he writes

The wife who is married according to the Tantrik rites must be accepted as a legal wife like the one who is married according to the Vedik rites. In this *Saiva* marriage the marriageable girl may be of any age and of any caste—only she must not be *sapada* and must not have a husband (living) at the time of her marriage.

So Rammohun Roy thought that if people could be induced to marry according to Tantrik rites caste system could be eradicated altogether.

But what he thought about the future of Indian politics is of the utmost interest to us now, in these days of Home Rule agitation.

When our destiny has been bound up with the political constitution of England Rammohun saw it to be a providential dispensation that we accepted the principles and ideals underlying that constitution as our own. So gradually with the help of our rulers we must try to

secure our places as free, self-governing citizens like those of Canada.' His ultimate hope was, therefore, that India should be a free self-governing colony like that of Canada in the British Empire.

But he knew that if the relation between the English and the Indian was purely the relation of master and servant, the gulf between the two would be widened as years would go by. There would be a perfect lack of understanding and a perfect lack of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Therefore, he insisted that the English and the Indian must be bound together in a common bond of communal life, sharing mutually each other's joys and sorrows. In his "Remarks on settlement in India by Europeans," he strongly urges the need of the settlement of well-educated and high class Englishmen who will be "less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of a lower class." He deprecated that the 'scum' of English Society, that ill-mannered brutish Englishmen should come out to India for employment, for they would stir up bad blood only and frustrate the divine end of God's dispensation which had brought England to the shores of India. It was absolutely necessary that 'civilised and highly cultured Englishmen should settle in India and form with the Indians a "mixed community."

This practical suggestion of Raja Rammohun Roy to heal the possible-in-future (but now real) breach between the English and the Indian and to facilitate the end for which Divine Dispensation had brought the English to India, viz, to liberate the people of India politically by educating them to be their own rulers, has still room enough for the consideration of our rulers. For, after all these years since Rammohun wrote it, we have clearly come to see that unless the high class Indian and the high class English mix *socially* on equal terms

and strengthen the ties of friendship and sympathy, mere administration, however efficient it may be, is bound to foster pride and contempt on the one hand and hatred and disaffection on the other. Unless the Raja's suggestions were accepted, in the words of Rabindranath, there would be "the sword and unflinching contempt on the one hand and the ink and profuse tears on the other" in the region which goes by the name of Indian politics.

I have finished. If I were to say what was the distinguishing note of Raja Rammohun Roy's life, I would unhesitatingly say that it was the passion for Mukti or deliverance. He strove all his life for the deliverance of all kinds of bondages that humanity suffers from. His ideal of Mukti or deliverance was not Nirvana, absorption or annihilation of the self in the Divine Essence. It was the liberation of the all, the liberation of the world, the liberation of humanity. It was freedom in knowledge, freedom in religion, freedom in social usages and institutions, freedom in politics, freedom in law, freedom of India, and freedom of all mankind. Do we not see that humanity is engaged today, yea, even in the battlefields, in working out that great salvation and in the roar of cannon is heard the music of man's freedom from his bondage? In religion, in society, in art and letters, in politics and in every sphere of life, a huge, colossal, august struggle is going on, before our very eyes, to bring forward that

"One far-off Divine Event  
To which the whole creation moves."

And humanity must one day acknowledge this supreme captain of this struggle as one who was "the precursive hint, if not the prophet" of the coming dawn, when the liberation of man would be finally accomplished.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

### ENGLISH.

ECONOMICS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, by Mr. Keshav Lal L. Oza, M. A., author of "Confession of a Graduate". Reprinted from *Hindustan Review*, Price As 2, pp. 28. First Edition

The object of the present paper," says the author,

"is to suggest a scheme of social reconstruction in which health, recreation, a broader education, a fair wage, and a decent standard of living will be assured to the toilers in the fields, and in which the varying factors in heredity and environment will be so harmonised that the eradication of pauperism, disease, vice and crime will no longer be achieved by the old method of trial and error, but will become a

process founded on reason and inspired by the hope of final achievement.' The conception is grand, but the realisation is crude and meagre. The pamphlet contains little that has not been said over and over again—and generally said much better—by political economists and social reformers of every country. A brief review of some of the existing Indian industries, including agriculture, and a rather superficial discussion of the Indian labour problem ending with a plea for the extension of primary technical and commercial education, and a 'Vision of the Future' that is to be, if the author's recommendations are adopted, constitute the sum and substance of the paper. The author's partiality for quotations is something wonderful. We do not remember to have ever before come across a pamphlet of the same size bristling with so many quotations. Sociologists, economists, philosophers, poets, statesmen, historians, art-critics, pro-consuls, biologists, socialists, educationists, dramatists have all been ransacked for quotations which, however, besides showing the author's fondness for roaming at large in the light ways and byways of English literature, throw little light on the problems discussed.

P C B

**BHARATI SALT** a collection of addresses on Indian Culture by Sir John Woodroffe, collected together by Mr N Chatterjee and published at 29, Kaldar Sinha Lane Calcutta (by the Phoenix Printing Works) pp 1 and 26

Mr Chatterjee has done well to collect these addresses which deserve to be not only preserved by India but also valued as the thoughtful sayings of an honest foreigner, a true 'Mun' or 'Tree thinker' as he himself interprets the Hindu term. Sir John Woodroffe by his straightforward, altruistic and courageous exposition reminds one of the race of thinkers headed by Spencer and the positivists of the last century—a race which is now prominent by its abuse. The present war might revive the class who are really the seed store of 'dharma' or true principles of civilisation in their country.

Sir John is anxious "to stem those movements which work for the cultural conquest of this country and he fears that those movements in the absence of right resistance" might "acquire greater rigour after the war." Without "a successful cultural defence, we may have home rule but not a home to rule. Sir John welcomes the Home rule efforts as it will help us in combating with the march of cultural conquest against the Hindus."

Let us compare ourselves with our forefathers who combated against the attempted cultural conquest by Islam. Did we then adopt, for instance, the Mohamadan calendar as our daily life? Certainly not. The Samvat era which is the noblest monument of Hindu history, the Hindu month, the Hindu day are all to be found in the private records of the "Mohamadan period." But what do we do now. Christian month and date and years are replacing the Hindu calendar everywhere (except probably in Bengal). Take a magazine published up-country, take a religious paper, you will find the Christian date! Have the Hindus written anything in Sanskrit worth going down to posterity in the latter nineteenth century or in the present century? On the other hand, some gems of Hindu literature are products of so called Mohamadan period. The Christian missionary and the Christian 'Orientalists' are the two great factors of Indian denationalisation. We fight the third

factor, the politician, more or less successfully. We have fought the missionary and defeated him generally but the scars of his early attacks are unconsciously bearing as acceptable badges. Thus when we run down rituals (as such), when we run down the Great truths discovered by Hindu civilisation in the matters matrimonial and in eugenics, we are unwittingly showing ourselves as chelas of the mediocrity of Europe who fill the ranks of missionaries. Like a living organism we must cast off the foreign matter trying to bore a home into our intellectual system.

'Is India dead?' To this Sir John answers, 'India is yet alive' while her contemporaries have passed away. "It is precisely because it is a living force that it provokes antagonism from those who dislike or fear its culture. Does any one now fame against or ridicule the life and morals of Egypt or Babylon? But when touching India even scholars cannot be impartial. Why? Because India is not the mere subject of academic talk, but is a living force. India is still feared where she is not loved. Why again? Precisely because she lives. Because she is still potentially powerful to impose her ideas upon the world. She is still an antagonist to be reckoned with in the conflict of cultures."

This analysis of human mind explains the persistent Political malice which says that India is not one country. Sir John has the courage to say what he sees and he says that "India is not a mere geographical expression." Sir John's reference to the scholars is a matter which ought to be taken note of by Indian students and scholars relying on our friends the scholars. How diligently they have been searching for a Vikrama who was not a Hindu! How persistently they first proclaimed that there was no Vikrama at all! How learnedly they attempted to prove that Chandragupta and Buddha were, if not Parussians, at any rate Parsis.

Sir John does not spare the Indian mind in his analysis. He very ably has shown that our so often professed 'Vairagya' is more often our incapacity and sometimes philosophic confusion. The 'Pravritti Marga' the Path of action and love for the world is separate and ought to be kept separate from the 'Nivritti Marga' or the Path of Renunciation. Principles of one applied to the other will destroy it. "A state founded on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount would not last a fortnight."

He tells us that we ought not to have vairagya in the struggle for existence.

Sir John's speeches now collected in this book ought to be in the hands of every Indian. It would give him thought and self respect.

A Hindu

**THE NEW HAZELL ANNUAL AND ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1917**, by T. A. Ingram, M.A., LL.D. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press.

We owe an apology to the publishers for being so late in noticing this book. It is our old friend *Hazell's Annual* under a new title. It is a very useful publication, and is in fact indispensable for all who wish to remain *au courant* with the affairs of the world. It gives the most recent and authoritative information concerning the British Empire, the nations of the world, and all the important topics of the day, together with much astronomical and other useful matter. In its present issue it has been very much enlarged. The volume for 1916 contained 528 pages, and that for the present year contains 695 pages.

To THE NATIONS By Paul Richard: With an

*Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore Published by James B. Pond, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, U S A*

This book is a sign of the times. It pleads for lasting peace and for that change in the psychology of peoples which alone can make permanent peace possible. It strives to inculcate that large and sane patriotism which includes the whole world in its scope.

Rabindranath Tagore says in his Introduction

When I met Monsieur Richard in Japan, I became more reassured in my mind about the higher era of civilization than when I read about the big schemes which the politicians are formulating for ushering the age of peace into the world. When gigantic forces of destruction were holding their orgies of fury, I saw this solitary young Frenchman, unknown to fame, face beaming with the lights of the new dawn and his voice vibrating with the message of new life and I felt sure that the great Tomorrow has already come though not registered in the Calendar of the statesmen.

Some sentences from the book are quoted below

Is it asking too much of the nations of to-day to be civilized nations putting into practice the principles of the civilized man?

No nation lives but through the services it renders to Humanity

The struggle for life is changing into union for life

Peace had come to imply a state of things which permitted the big nations to treat the little nations as they pleased

The longer the war goes on the more the reasons for waging the war increase some bring less and less desirous of losing what they have gained the others more and more desirous of regaining what they have lost.

Even while wishing for peace selfishness makes war inevitable

Beyond the Europe which is dying there is another Europe which is preparing to live.

It is when their conflicts separate them that the people learn how close they are to one another

Of what uses are the enterprises of pacifism when peace is not in the hearts of men? R C

**I OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSLIMANS OF INDIA** by Mrs Meer Hassan Ali. Edited by H. Crooke late of the Indian Civil Service. Oxford University Press. Price six shillings net. Pp 442

Mrs Hassan Ali was an English lady married to a Mahomedan gentleman of Oudh who had visited England, and with whom she lived in India during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Being an inmate of the zenana she wrote with intimate knowledge and deep sympathy, and her observations are therefore valuable. The book is one of the series of which Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, Bernier's Travels, and Abbe Dubois' Hindu Manners and Customs are the other publications and will no doubt be much appreciated in India, specially by Mahomedan readers.

**II EARLY REVENUE HISTORY OF INDIA AND THE FIFTH REPORT, 1814** by F. D. Ascoli M. A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press 1917 46 net

This little book consists of eight short essays covering about 80 pages and the Fifth Report, reprinted from the official text. Mr Ascoli has done a great service to students of history by making the Fifth Report so easily accessible, and his introductory

essays will also throw light on the revenue problems dealt with in the Report. Mr Ascoli is not of course fond of the Permanent Settlement but all that can be said both for and against the subject has been said long ago, and well summarised in the Imperial Gazetteer. The glossary and notes will also be useful to readers.

**III INDIAN ADMINISTRATION** by Professor V. G. Kale, M. A. Third Edition Revised and enlarged. Poona 1917 Price Rs 2 4 0

That the book is in its third edition is sufficient proof of its excellence. The machinery of the government from the Imperial Council down to village panchayats has been described, and there are chapters on education law and justice finance land revenue, famine relief and the like. Blue books and other government publications have been freely quoted from, and the statistics have been brought up to date.

**IV THE STORY OF BENGAL LITERATURE** by P. Chatterji. Paper read at the Director's summer meeting on the 15th June Calcutta Weekly Notes Printing Works

As might be expected Mr Chatterji's little essay is full of points and throws new light on many aspects of the subject. That Bengalee literature is popular in its origin and is largely democratic in its ideas and sentiments is largely due to the Hindu minds coming into contact with Islam. Between Chanda and Rabindranath there is no other lyric poet who can be placed in the same rank with the former. Chaitanya deliberately turned his back on the intellectual and practical activities of man though he was himself the most erudite and brilliant scholar of his age. His appeal was to the emotional nature of man. Chaitanya's doctrine of spiritual liberty equality and fraternity could not but set free a quantity of spiritual energy in the heart of the people. If we tried to write poetry after the manner of the Neo-Vaishnav poets we should only succeed in copying their mannerisms. We have a new psychology with a wider range of emotions which can find utterance only in new poetry. There is a class of lyrics which reflects a sterner and gloomier side of the national soul. The Shakta cult had a strong hold over the minds of the higher castes. This Shakta poetry represents the very antithesis of the Vaishnav. The contrast between the two is well exemplified by the respective emblems of these two sects the red flower and the white. Social life in Bengal lacked that richness and variety that we find in the life of the West. The dramatic element which is the very stuff out of which immortal stories are made. The idyllic picture of a quiet and careful rural life, which we reconstruct in imagination from the poems connected with the worship of Manasha and Chandi, is a fancy picture. It is too early for a young nation like us to think of retiring on passion. With the solitary exception of Rabindranath no Bengali has shown such mastery over verse forms as Bharatchandra. The audacious poet Madhusudan deliberately invented a language of his own. He studied the dictionary and drew his vocabulary from it. His work is undoubtedly a masterpiece but of a literature manufactured in the library. It is obvious from the works of Bankimchandra and Rabindranath that their psychology has been profoundly modified by Western thought and Western feeling and yet retained its Indian character. In them the East and the West have met. Modern Bengali literature is born of the contact of these two

different cultures "At our back stands the ancient culture of India in all its lofty and static grandeur and in our front lies the wide expanse of European culture with all its inward depth and all its outward restlessness. Both have an equal fascination for us and we can no more deny our past than refuse to recognise the present. So our God-given task is to synthesise in our life and in our literature these two divergent and supreme manifestations of the human spirit.

**V STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE INDIAN PENAL CODE** by N K Venkatesan M A, L T Madras Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., 1917 Price 8 annas  
Useful for me noris ag the main contents of the code

**VI PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL INDIA** by S Ambrahaneswar M A, B L Trichino poly 6 as

An interesting essay

**VII THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT** by G A Roy Price Rs 2

The English and Ind a Acts with the proceedings of the council have been printed in this book A useful compilation

**VIII CHILD PROTECTION** by R P Maza II, M A Bombay The Times Press 1917

This is a lecture delivered at Bombay under the auspices of the Social Service League It is an excellent and thoughtful piece of work and will amply repay perusal The duty of the state, society and the home towards children has been ably discussed The pamphlet has been nicely got up and neatly printed

**IX THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN NATIVE STATES** The Karnataka office, Bangalore 1917

In this pamphlet all the various needs of native states, and the evils they suffer from, have been ably discussed in the form of a series of letters addressed to the Maharaja of Bikaner The following well known lines from John Russell Lowell summarise the writer's views

New times demand new measures and new men  
The world advances and in time outgrows  
The laws that in our father's day were best  
And doubtless, after us some purer scheme  
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we  
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth  
We cannot bring utopia by force  
But better, almost, be at work in sin  
Than in a brute inaction browse and sleep

**INTERMEDIATE POETICAL SELECTIONS** edited by Ashavalal Oza M A of Bhaubuddin College Junagad with an introductory note by F H Hayward B Litt M A B Sc Second Edition Pp 78 and 22 Price One Rupee

It contains 31 pieces of which 7 are from Shakespeare 10 from Wordsworth and the remaining 14 from Milton Daniel Shilley Gray Keats Shelley Vaughan White R Browning and Leacock

The book has a valuable introduction "The Critical and Biographical Study and the brief survey of the English Literature of the last two centuries given by the author will prove useful to the candidates The notes given at the end of each piece are both critical and explanatory

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

## SANSKRIT ENGLISH

**THE SANDHYAVANDANA OF ALL VEDIC SAMHITA** by B V Kaishara Aiyar, MA, Deenan Pethkar Pudukkottai Pp 11 and 285

Mr Aiyar is a scholar who has studied for thirty years the Vedas and the Vedic works by both the Eastern and Western scholars alike and his present volume contains the text with marks of accent in Devanagari of the Sandhyavandanam or the daily prayer of the Indian Aryans together with the transliteration translation commentary and notes in English

Sandhyavandanam is the daily prayer of the Aryans of India It embodies a simpler faith and breathes a lofty spirituality, and yet most of us Brahmans have turned it into a farce more or less We have no time for it in these busy days We hardly suspect its existence till it is time for breakfast or dinner then we mutter (or the old grandma at home) steps in and reminds us of our duty we owe to Brahmanhood We then throw down a few spoonfuls of water and utter a few words which convey no meaning to us and feel surprised that we have discharged a debt that is due to our religion We fail to see that here as elsewhere the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life (P 39)

This is the state of the Sandhyavandanam of the majority of those who are strongly enjoined by the seers to perform it thrice daily We know nothing of the meaning of the Mantras which we recite in performing it and so it is a dead thing to us and consequently cannot move and lead us to the final goal of our life It is repeatedly stated in our Shastras as one may naturally expect that a mantra without the knowledge of its meaning is nothing but useless. On the other hand most of our young friends reading at Schools and Colleges are completely forgetful of this sacred duty nay they have not the slightest idea of it

In this state of thing the book which is written in a simple style and contains a right exposition of the mantras as well as an introduction concisely surveying the Vedic texts deserves to be widely read by our English-educated friends both young and old We strongly recommend it to them

VIDYUSHEKARI BHATTACHARYA

## HINDI

**DISHABUL**, by Mr Babulal Mujashtankar Dube, Teacher, High School Rajnandgaon (C P) —B N R, and printed at the Hindi Press, Prayag Crown 8vo pp 165 Price—6

This is one of a series of cheap but useful books which the author proposes to publish The original author is Marathi and the B V I hadke of whose book this is a translation in Hindi The book may be compared for its views with some of the well known novels in English (e.g. Innocent by Marie Corelli), though there are certainly some differences in treatment An educated girl who has become self-conceited as a result of her education and surroundings does not wish to bind herself by the shackles of marriage but eventually after many sad experiences she realises what love is and surrenders herself to the same We commend both the original and the translation and encourage the author in his attempts This novel will be a new thing in the Hindi literature and is calculated to grapple with a new feature in the Indian society Needless to say that the book is very interesting and it is indeed very cheaply



proceed for its use. The translation has got, in some places, traces of Marathi ways of expression; but this does not detract much from the merits of the book.

**SHREE GOSWAMI TULSI DAS** by *Bibu Shrinanjan Sahu*. Published by *the Behar Store, Arrah and printed at the Khigwarid Press, Bankepur*. Royal 8vo. pp 432. Price—Rs 2

This is a very thoughtful critique written on the life and works of Shree Tulsi Das. The author has no doubt made a very careful study of his subject and he has approached it from a right critical point of view. All the available resources and materials have been made use of and the book has been made as thorough and exhaustive as possible. Dr Grierson, Pandits Jwala Prasad and Rameshwar Bhatta, as also others wrote theses and notes on the subject before; but we must consider the publication under review a masterpiece on the subject. The author is a well known Hindi writer and though he has not been voluminous in his writings his deep erudition is undoubted. We find a reflection of the same in the book, which has nothing like shallowness anywhere in it. The book is certainly an acquisition to the Hindi Literature.

**SARAL NAIK MALA** by *Pandit Narmada Prasad Mishra* and published by *Sharada Bhawan Pustakalaya, Miloungany, Jabalpur*. Crown 8vo pp 397. Price—Rs 1 8p

This is a collection of nice little dramas fit for being acted by students. The author is right in thinking that some of the plays acted generally by young men are not suited for the school or the college stage. The book contains 44 very nice plays which would be found to be very instructive indeed; and at the same time they afford much amusement. They are just suited for social gatherings in educational institutions. They are almost all in prose and there are no verses in them. However this is not a drawback. Just a few of the dramas will not do for quite young students, but there is no objection to their being played by and before grown up. College students. The language and style are quite satisfactory.

**BIR DHARAT** by *Pandit Bhairavi Datta Joshi* and printed at the *Onkar Press, Allahabad*. Demy 16mo pp 122. Price—as 12

This is another attempt by a different author to reform the character of plays staged in educational institutions. The author has succeeded in his own way, but the way in which he has drawn out his plot is not in fashion now a days. Many such books were written a few decades ago and they were liked too. However, the modern readers like men of concreteness than it is to be found in the book. However, the book is after all not quite dry, but is rather interesting on the whole, and we must say it is eminently instructive. The price of the publication is rather too high for the size. In other respects, the book is commendable.

1. TAINNAI KI VIDHI, Price—1 anna
2. SARVAJANIK SAITA, "—1 anna
3. PANCH SWAKAR, "—1 anna
4. SCOT BERNHAM, "—2 annas
5. BANSI DABU KI BULBUL, "—1 anna

Edited and published by *Daba Sitiram, Santa*

*High, Juhu, Calcutta, and printed at the Merchant Press, Calcutta*

These books have been written with a view to showing what qualities are needed in volunteers to assist people on the occasion of big fairs and gatherings etc. The first book gives practical and even novel hints on the art of swimming. The second contains twelve discourses on the various occasions when the services of scouts or volunteers may be needed with detailed instructions as to how to revive drowned persons and so forth. The third discusses the virtues and value of self-dependence and self respect, one's own country, people and religion. The fourth is a narrative of the heroic actions of a Scotch Spy in the Boer War. The fifth while dilating in a humorous way on the stopping of the practice of making birds fight refers to our ill attention to wrestling etc. The noticeable features in the pamphlets are that they are very cheaply priced, although they contain valuable informations in a supremely interesting garb.

**HINDIY TARANG** by *Mr. Dulare Lal Bhargava* and published by the *Nau ikushore Press, Lucknow*. Foolscap 16mo pp 50. Price—as 5

This is a Hindi translation of James Allen's "Out from the Heart." The rendering has been very satisfactory both with regard to matter and style. The book treats of moral culture and it is needless to say that the many books in English under this head will lose nothing when translated into Hindi, and their translations will enrich the Hindi literature in a pre-eminent degree. The book is printed very nicely on art paper and the get up is certainly excellent.

**SHIASAN PADDHATI** by *Mr. Prannath Vidyakankar* and published by the *Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha*. Crown 8vo pp 228. Price—Rs 1

This book belongs to the Manoranjan Pustakmala Series and has been written with considerable care. The constitutions of government of almost all the countries and states of the world have been given in the book, some in detail and others in brief. The introductory portion of the book will make it intelligible even to the commonest reader. A short vocabulary of the technical terms used with their English equivalents has been added. The book has been published under the editorship of the talented Hindi scholar Babu Shyam Sundar Das. A variety of useful matter has been compressed in the book and the book will no doubt prove very useful to the development of the Hindi Literature.

M.S

## PALI AND BENGALI

**BHIKKHU PATIMOKKHAM AND BHIKKHUNI PATI MOKKHAM**, edited and translated by *Pandit Vidhan Sekhar Sastri*. Pp 16+77+39. Price Rs 2-8

The book contains

- (i) A Preface (8 pages)
- (ii) A Table of Contents (3 pages)
- (iii) An Introduction (77 pages)
- (iv) The Full Text of the Bhikkhupatimokkham in Deva Nagri character (53 pages)
- (v) A Bengali Translation of the same (Pp 60-103)
- (vi) Notes on the same (Pp 107-260)
- (vii) The Pali Text of the Bhikkhupatimokkham in Deva Nagri character (Pp 263-286)

(viii) A Bengali Translation of the same (Pp 293 308)

(ix) Notes on the same (Pp 311 331)

(x) Appendices (p 337 392)

In the Introduction the author has discussed the following subjects—Vinaya and Vinaya Pitaka; the place of Patimokkha in the Vinaya Pitaka; the Vedic Asrama and the Buddhist monasticism; no provision for the salvation of the cripple and the invalid and of persons suffering from some particular diseases; the introduction of the order of Bhikkhus; its origin and its evil effects; Uposatha the meaning of the word Patimokkha etc.

The introduction is masterly and is what we expected from such a learned scholar. But we have not been able to accept all the conclusions of the author. He has cited many examples to prove that the introduction of the order of Bhikkhus has produced disastrous results. What he says is true but it is a partial truth. The name of woman may be frailty but man is no less frail. If we are to condemn the order of Bhikkhus we are to condemn on the same principle the order of Bikkhus also. It is not this branch or that branch of the system that is to be condemned, but it is the system itself. It is the whole system that will fall under the ban of condemnation. The whole system of monasticism is antagonistic to the best ideals of Humanity.

The translation given by the author is literal and the notes are useful and learned.

It is a valuable contribution to the Buddhist Literature of our country and we are grateful to the author for the production.

The book is confidently recommended to the reading public.

The paper and the printing of the book are excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

# SANSKRIT, HINDI AND ENGLISH

A SANSKRIT COMPOSITION AND TRANSLATION by Pandit Ramsundar Sharma Kabyatirtha Pp 274 Price one Rupee

The book is written in Hindi and is intended for Matriculation and Intermediate candidates. The rules have been clearly explained and the example carefully selected, and the questions given at the end of each section have added to the value of the book. It will prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

There are some misprints in the book. As it is intended for examinees a list of errata and corrigenda should be immediately printed and attached to the book.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

## GUJARATI

SOLICITOR by Bhogindralal R Dwivedi B.A. published by Maneklal Amhalal Doctor printed at the Sayaji Vyaya Printing Press Baroda Pp 144 Paper cover Price Rs 12 (1917)

Mr Bhogin Lalal is trying to establish his name as a writer of short novels in Gujarati, and the book under review is meant to depict the two sides—the light and the dark—of an attorney's profession. For this purpose he has taken two solicitor partners as his models—one of them honest and the other dishonest. Like all such narratives, in the end virtue is rewarded and vice failed. The main object however of the writer has hardly met with success. His treatment of it is superficial and does not touch even the fringe of the evil he means to expose. No intimate knowledge of the inner working of an attorney's office is shown beyond describing it as a group of ill-paid clerks working under a heaving master. Mr Motilal Tattavala's treatment and handling of the subject in his novel is far superior and more correct. His novel merely emphasises the notion that an attorney is a blood-sucking vampire, and sticks at nothing in search after lucre. Several aspects of modern female education and progress and glimpses of the life of a certain section of Bombay landladies are worked into the novel which are expected to interest the middle class reader.

VAISHNAV Dharma NO SANSKRIT ITIHAS, (વૈષ્ણવ ધર્મ નો સંસ્કૃત ઇતિહાસ) by Durga Shankar Kavalram Shastri written for the Gujarati Forbes Sabha printed at the Tadi Northcole Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Printing Press Bombay Cloth cover, pp 193 Price Rs 1-0-0 (1917)

A short history of the origin and rise of the tenets of the Vaishnav creed was desideratum in Gujarati because many of the followers of this creed are to be found in Gujarat. The writer has traced the history very well from original sources and also gives a very illuminating bird-eye view of the state of this belief in the past but neglecting its present state. In our opinion it would furnish instructive reading not only to that who follow the Bhagvat and Shrimad Valla bhacharya but also to those who are outside the pale of Vaishnavite doctrines and follow the teachings of the other Acharyas (religious leaders).

ISU NUN ANUKARAN (ઇસુ નુન અનુકરણ) by Thakorlal Harlal Desai B.A. published by Jnanlal Amarshi Mehta printed at the Natvar Printing Press Ahmedabad Thick Cardboard pp 84 Price Rs 8 (1917)

This is a translation of Thomas A. Kempis well-known book Imitation of Christ, which for its moral precepts is known as the Second Bible. Passages here and there from it were utilised for purposes of sermons by Rao Bahadur Ramabhai M. N. N. in his Prarthana Samaj addresses. The translation of the whole work therefore is likely to prove of much use to all serious minded men.

K. M. J.

## A DEMOCRACY IN ARMS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

APRIL twentieth, 1917, witnessed a great international event. It was the day of formal celebration in England of America's participation in the European war. On that occasion the Stars and Stripes of the United States were flung to the breeze in every English city. London was a blaze of red, white and blue. The American colors were raised over the Victory Tower, the highest tower of the parliament buildings at Westminster. It was the first foreign flag that had ever floated from that tower, and the immense crowds in the streets were moved with deep emotion as they saw the huge American flag floating by the side of the Union Jack. Banners of the American Republic were also unfurled over government buildings in London. Even mercantile and business houses were decorated with the emblem, and thousands of English men, women, and children were either bearing small starspangled banners or wearing them in their buttonholes.

Four thousand persons met at St. Paul's Cathedral for a religious ceremony. The English royal family was present, and so were the greatest nobles of the realm. The most impressive feature of the ceremony was when the band played the American national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." The large congregation rose to its feet as one man. The king's lips moved as he followed the lines. And as the words "the home of the brave, the land of the free" were reached, he turned to the queen and nodded approval.

Months have passed; but the United States has not yet abandoned itself to the mad excitement of war. America, let it be said to her credit, has kept her head cool. Why is she not hysterical? She feels that the war is beyond the hysteria stage. Moreover, America, like India, is not invaded. America has no lost provinces to redeem, no lust for revenge to gratify, no dream for a place in the sun to materialize, no ambition to rule the waves to indulge.

America has gone into the war, to use the outstanding phrase of President Woodrow Wilson's memorable war message to Congress, in order to "make the world safe for democracy;" in order to secure "freedom and justice and self-government among all the nations of the world." This fighting for world democratization, this fighting "for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force," is a far better and nobler ideal than that of any other nations. There is, however, nothing showy, about this American adventure! Americans have entered in a measured, business-like style, and with a steady determination.

The people of this nation realize that since they are now in the war, there is nothing to do but to go the limit. If they are beaten, things will be much worse for them than they were before. Hence America has no intention of fighting a ladies' war. The Republic will send the very flower and youth of the nation to the front. Following the proclamation orders of the President of the United States for select conscription, ten million men registered in one day for military service. Ten millions! Just think of that! But these ten million men came from only one body of American citizens, those who are from twenty-one to thirty-one years of age. The military age in America used to be from eighteen to forty-five, and had the call gone out for men of those ages, the response no doubt would have been as prompt.

It is true that fifty per cent of those who registered for war asked for exemption; but a large part of the exemption claims are based on the dependency of relatives. Many men classed themselves as disabled, and others asked exemption because of conscientious objection. In case of conscientious objections the applicants will not be exempted from all forms of military service. They will probably be used at work behind the lines. A

claimant for exemption at South Bridge Massachusetts said he had a wife and two horses to support. He claimed his wife could support herself but his horses were absolutely dependent upon him for support.

Owing to a report that the government would exempt married men for military service there was something of a spring drive on the marriage license bureau and the marriage mills were mercilessly overworked. Many young women reported that their husbands endeavored to be saved from the trenches by hurrying to the altar. In a single day in April eleven hundred and twenty six—1126—young men hastened to the license bureau in Chicago. Commenting on the feverish haste in seeking the protection of matrimony against the call to arms a Federal officer was moved to declare that any man who thus seeks to *hide behind a woman's skirts as a physical and moral coward*. In the city of Pittsburgh applicants at the marriage license counter were confronted by the following sign printed in black on a yellow background:

A man who marries a girl to shirk his duty to his country is not going to think very much of shirking his duty to his wife. Girls beware!

The morale of a nation in a great crisis is tested in two ways by the response of courage and the response of the purse. Millions of Americans by their registration have already given some demonstration of their courage. Under the circumstances it is not possible for every man to give his life. It is however possible for every man to give his money. So on the first day that the United States opened the national loan for the war known as the Liberty Loan subscriptions poured into the Treasury Department at Washington at the rate of nearly sixty million rupees an hour.

Everywhere in France one sees the notice: *Ssssh! The enemy is listening.* Everywhere in America during the Liberty Loan campaign we saw the notice:

Buy a Liberty Bond. No advertising campaign of such magnitude was before conducted on this continent on behalf of a national project. Windows were filled with Liberty Bond placards. They were pasted on automobiles buggies and drays. They were on every public sign board. Personal solicitation too had been vigorous. House to house office

to office canvasses were made by volunteers for subscription to war bonds. People entering shops, grocery stores, hotels and restaurants in large cities found themselves confronted by a special salesman who greeted them with the words:

Light this way for Liberty Loan. Don't be a slacker! If you can't enlist invest. Step this way and buy your bond! In New York spectacular Liberty Loan campaign was made by United States army aviators. They conveyed through air channels urgent appeals to the people of New York to purchase the bonds. Ten aeroplanes flew over the city carrying five hundred pounds of circulars. These the bird men dropped under rain filled clouds. It might have been a German bomb was the warning printed in red across each appeal. To avoid bombs buy bonds.

As a result of this extraordinary campaign the venture proved a complete success. The money was mobilized, the loan was subscribed—nay over subscribed by more than three billion rupees. It was perhaps the greatest outpouring of national wealth in the history of the world. When the first English war loan for four billion, two hundred and fifty million rupees was floated at three and a half per cent it was only slightly over subscribed. It was reported that only about a hundred thousand people participated in the loan. The first German loan was for three billion three hundred and seventy five million rupees but as the rate of interest was five per cent the subscribers numbered a million. For the American loan of six billion rupees at three and a half per cent there was an unprecedented over subscription. And of still greater significance is the fact that over three million individuals, corporations and institutions entered subscriptions.

An American missionary in China once noted that eighty per cent of the conversion of the Chinese peasants relates to one topic food and the other twenty per cent to domestic relations, the soul and other minor matters. However that may be it seems evident that ninety per cent of American discussions both in public and private are centred around food. Owing to the fact that thirty five million men have been withdrawn from productive occupation and put under arms there is a startling shortage of food stuffs in all

warring countries. Men are so busy in slaughtering men that they can not spare the time to raise crops to sustain life. The inevitable result is that the belligerent world is now living close to the margin and is facing a future when famine is a cheerful possibility. The United States must produce not only enough food for herself but also for the allies. America says: If poor England, France and Italy are not fed they will be defeated in ninety days and we, too, shall be defeated with them. Armies as of old walk on their stomachs and now the whole population of a fighting nation is also an Army. We must furnish our allies with the food they need even if we ourselves have to go on short rations. The immediate way to keep production and consumption on fair terms is to cut down consumption. Every family can not raise sugar and coffee and potatoes but every family can regulate the use of these articles. If a householder has no kitchen garden in which he can raise a dozen kind of vegetables he has a dinner table on which he can save five kinds. If he has no fishing tackle that he can use to catch fish he has an appetite and a palate that can be controlled and educated. If he can not produce let him save. Eat less and grow strong. Save and keep from hunger. Increase food production by decreasing food waste.

The United States is a luxurious nation and most prodigal in the flesh pots. Americans are not only most lavish they are culpably extravagant and wasteful. Social respectability has a kitchen and dinner table flair. Profusion is the hall mark of a decorous fashionable family. Just as the president of an American village bank set out two stone lions at the gate and two iron deer in the front yard as indications of his financial standing in the community so there are many American families who put on the dinner table six kinds of meat three kinds of fish eleven kinds of vegetables and four or five varieties of pies just for decoration merely as an evidence of their social importance in the community. Americans do not cook, manage or eat frugally. Students of the subject have time and again stated that enough food is wasted in America to feed the entire English army in France. The annual waste has been ascertained to be over two billion rupees. Food is wasted

in various ways it is wasted in the harvesting of crops in careless shipping by unscientific distribution by imprudent buying and by improvident cooking.

One thing that has interested me very much in my recent travels up and down this country is to see how idle lands everywhere are being put to national service. Corner city vacant lots unused portions of golf links tennis courts public parks are being eagerly cultivated. Railroad companies are giving free rental of their right of way to any person who will cultivate vegetable gardens. Thus the use of thousands of acres of idle railroad land on both sides of the road bed is given to people absolutely free. Select your land says a railroad announcement and start to plant. The company will also give advice regarding the planting and culture of gardens and in raising potatoes onions cabbages parsnips and other vegetables which will provide food throughout the winter months. This work is being carried on in co-operation with the various agricultural colleges in the states traversed by the railway. Has anybody in India heard Indian railroad companies making any such offer?

To-day in France Germany and England the amount of food a family may use and the price it must pay for it are partly regulated by the government. And we are warned that America may also impose the same restraint upon its people. The individual liberty must yield to the national necessity. Of course Americans are not asked to reduce within Spartan limitations of black bread and broth. They are not asked to starve. They are asked during these war shadowed days to refrain from making belly their god. Householders are asked to buy with French frugality. The French nation it is interesting to note is organized from head to foot for shopping. If there were a demand for half a crab or half a banana the French markets would have the half crab and half banana for sale and thrifty French wives could get them without loss of community standing.

In the meantime the whole situation as the farmers say is coming home to roost in the form of increased high cost of living. Prices of all articles of necessity are sky high—nay they are bumping the skies. A seer of rice costs eight annas a

egg six pice, a seer of lentiles a rupee and five annas, a seer of potatoes twelve annas, a pair of decent boots 'twenty-five rupees, and an ordinary shift from five to eighteen rupees

It has been suggested that the butchers of America, like those of Paris and Berlin, should be allowed to sell horse-meat. It is always wholesome and nutritious, and it contains more natural sugar than ordinary meats. Horse-meat may not be actually on the way to our tables, but there is no knowing what is ahead of us.

American women, it is inspiring to observe, are on the very firing-line of patriotism. They are doing everything in their power to assist the nation. They are asking themselves, "What can we do to serve our country?" American womanhood has at last taken its place on a high level of national efficiency. American women are now ready to make the greatest sacrifice this life can demand. They think patriotism and act patriotism. Women by tens of thousands are rushing to offer themselves for every emergency service from back yard farming to naval reserve.

At the University of Iowa a large number of young women practise an hour every day at targets under the direction of a member of the military instructional staff. Although the work yields no scholastic credit in the University, women have eagerly taken up shooting. Already a number of them have become crack shots with pistol and rifle, and men are in danger of losing their shooting laurels to women. Indeed there was a general amazement and mild consternation on the part of men when the officer in charge of the shooting gallery recently announced that the average score for the women had been higher than the men's average.

Even the idle rich women can no longer be classed as idle. Many of these women of wealth have earnestly taken up Red Cross work at the call of their country. Had they been eligible for enlistment in the army they would, by their rush to arms, make men look like craven slackers.

The bravery of women is sustaining the nation wonderfully. Few mothers want their sons tied to their apron strings. The moral tone of the women's courage was well reflected in the following letter which a patriotic mother of West Virginia wrote to President Wilson:

"I have sent two stalwart, strong, healthy boys to the front. While it hurts me very much to bid them good-bye, as I may never see them again, yet I know that their country needs them and I must not mind a few more pangs, must I?"

Women suffrage associations have sent out blank cards to women, especially to college women students, to register for war service. In these cards women have been asked to register in at least one of the following divisions for service to the nation:

#### A—THRIFT DIVISION

- 1 Increase of food supply by canning and preserving
- 2 Instruct in canning and preserving
- 3 Practice economy in household

#### B—AGRICULTURE DIVISION

- 1 Cultivate a garden of your own.
- 2 Assist in movement to cultivate vacant lots.
- 3 Work on farm

#### C—AMERICANIZATION OF FOREIGNERS:

- 1 Teach English.
- 2 Visit homes of foreigners
- 3 Give information and assistance.

#### D—WELFARE FOR CHILDREN

- 1 Care for soldiers' and sailors' children
- 2 Render aid to children of other countries.
- 3 Protect employed children.

#### E—INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS:

- 1 Factory work.
- 2 Office work
- 3 Outdoor city work

#### F—RED CROSS WORK

For knowledge concerning this work, apply to nearest Red Cross Chapter

Mrs. Wilson, wife of the President, Mrs. Marshall, wife of the Vice-President, and the wives of the members of the Cabinet issued an appeal to the women of the nation to adopt simple living and wear cheap clothing as a war-time measure. In a public statement they described the curtailments of social and household expenditures they purposed to practice, and called on all women to follow the example. The statement, which was given out by Mrs. LaSaug, wife of the Secretary of State, reads: "Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Marshall, and the women of the Cabinet, realizing some of the problems this country will have to face as a result of our being in a state of war, have resolved to reduce their living to a simple form, and to deny themselves all unnecessary expenditures while the war continues.

They have decided to omit the usual formal entertaining, and to eliminate largely their social activities so they will be enabled to give more time and money

to constructive preparedness, and relief work.

In the management of their domestic economy they pledge themselves to buy inexpensive clothing and simple food, and to watch and prevent all kinds of waste.

They believe the time and energy of the country should be given to the conservation of all its resources and the cultivation of all available land for the production of food, that it may be able out of its abundance to help those who are in such a desperate need.

They make an appeal to all the women of America to do everything in their power, along these lines, not only as individuals, but by organizing, to prevent actual suffering, and to hasten the end of the struggle for a real democracy."

The mobilization of the productive forces of the nation is calling forth every ounce of energy. Already plans have been adopted by which every resource of the country could come in as Uncle Sam calls for it. The first step in this direction has been the creation by the United States Congress of the Council of National Defense. It consists of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. In addition to these, the President was authorized to appoint an advisory commission of seven citizens, qualified by the possession of expert knowledge of the industrial and commercial resources of the country. To the Council of National Defense has been turned over the task of assembling the military, commercial, and industrial energies of the whole nation in order that they might be used as a unit for the defense of the country.

[Two pages of the manuscript of this article are here wanting. Perhaps they have been taken out by the censor.—Editor M. R.]

from the various government departments at Washington, but it withholds nothing which is "printable." It is, in fact, a news-bureau. Hitherto it has been well-nigh impossible for reporters to know all that the government was doing. The government officials were so busy that they could not find time to sit down and tell newspaper men all about their work. Now the Committee on Public Information, which is composed of an able corps of experienced journalists, gets all the in-

formation from the officials which their news instinct tells them to be of interest to the people.

In connection with the Committee there is a division for the foreign language press. It sends out authorized statements of American government for publication in neutral countries. It is constantly obtaining digests of what the newspapers abroad are saying about America. If misleading or distorted versions of the American position are circulated anywhere, the division sees to it that the true facts about the United States are widely disseminated there.

There is also an Art Committee which prepares cartoons and sketches, posters and drawings for advertising the needs of the government. It has done excellent work in stirring the patriotism of American youth and in securing recruits.

Still another division of the Committee on Public Information is that which is organizing the "four-minute men". They are going to be good speakers. They will appear at theatres and other places of public amusement to speak just on four minutes' subjects connected with the war.

A moving-picture bureau has also been established in co-operation with the Public Information Committee. Moving-picture films exhibiting the army and the navy, life, or demonstrating the various phases of the war will be sent to moving-picture companies for display in theatres throughout the country.

The war is blazing the trail in America, as in Europe, for various kinds of economic and social reform. One of these reforms will be the abolition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks in the near future. The booze industry is doomed to go. Scarcely had the United States declared war against Germany than a violent prohibition offensive was launched in this country. At present the President under the new Food Bill is given practically absolute power to prohibit the use of food materials in the production of distilled liquors, and to control the making of beer and wine, and to prevent it, if he sees fit, during the period of the war. As temperance is regarded necessary to win the war, there is little doubt that Mr. Wilson will enforce limitation of the use of alcoholic beverage, if not of its total prohibition. Furthermore, the United States Senate on August first passed a reso-

submitting to the States of the Union national prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution. If the House of Representatives concurs and thirty-six States ratify the amendment, then the manufacture, sale, and transportation of liquors will be forever prohibited in the United States.

The coming of America into the war has been hailed in Rome, Paris, Petrograd and London as the advance guard of democracy. It has been repeatedly asserted from high places in this country that the entrance of the United States transforms the European conflict into a war of liberation for all mankind. Candor, however, compels one to admit that though the great American Republic with its un-

limited resources is in arms, the prospects of realizing its mission of a free world lay in the "pathos of distance", as Nietzsche would put. All that one can venture to say is that Europe with its black horrors, its overwhelming disasters, its awful shattering devastations, its blasting of hopes is almost back in a nebulous state, and when it cools down, Europe will have new forms—let us hope. And as for President Wilson's "government by the consent of the governed" in all those parts of Asia which are held in the vice-like grip of exploiting European nations—well, that is a different story altogether.

August 7, 1917.

U S A

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Indian Colonial Emigration

In the *Indian Review* for September, M. K. Gandhi discusses the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London, which sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." Mr. Gandhi points out that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the colonial employer. Says he:

"The system" it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well being of the colonists themselves." So the resettlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it: "He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected

for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India, itself, if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded *depts* and *emigration Agents*, and no doubt on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

Mr. Gandhi voices the opinion of the country when he says:

So long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

The system of indenture was one of temporary



slavery it was incapable of being amended, it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

### On Criticism

The following is culled from an article published in *East and West*

If Criticism suggests wider thought and deeper study, it is fair and useful. This is the positive, true and good side of criticism which might more correctly be termed discrimination. There is another side which is negative, and answers no good purpose, this is personal criticism, which might more justly be called fault finding or censure, for it is rarely appreciative or encouraging. It is not really concerned with improvement, being generally ill considered and foolish, and most often proceeds from idle, thoughtless people, and is first cousin to scandal mongering.

True criticism, as Hugh Black says, "does not consist, as so many critics seem to think, in depreciation, but in appreciation. There are more lives spoiled by undue harshness than by undue gentleness. More good work is lost by want of appreciation than from too much of it. Unless carefully repressed such a spirit becomes censorious, or worse still spiteful, and has

often been the means of estranging a friend. It is possible to be kind without giving crooked counsel or oily flattery, and it is possible to be true without magnifying faults."

It is what we think of our friend which makes that friend a celestial gift to us. Human weaknesses melt before the gaze of true friendship which looks beneath man's exterior not lingering on the crust worn of the world's folly, but reaching past these to the treasures of the soul. For such an one "the light that never was seen on land or sea" illumines the whole world.

Love chants its own beatitudes. Our radiant thought tinged with love's hue enwraps us in a rosy warmth that uplifts the soul to higher spheres. Our beautiful vision reflected back on us as water reflects the glowing rays of the sun, raises our vibrations causing a stream of vital energy to course through soul and body invigorating the whole being so that it radiates a power and sheds an influence often felt by others even when not understood.

Critics should beware lest they ignorantly bar against themselves some gate that might have admitted them to priceless knowledge, to unexpected treasure. Who has not felt in himself the closing of invisible doors against an unsympathetically critical mind? Only a loving nature too kind to be critical can unlatch the doors of holy places and discover the hidden beauties of the immortal spirit.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Writing about the Russian revolutionists in the pages of the *New Statesman* a writer makes the following sane observations about

### Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Democracy can no more contrive to subsist without believing in the rights of nations than it can contrive to subsist without believing in the rights of man. Democracy, asserts that man must not be allowed to exploit man. It also asserts though more haltingly that nation must not be allowed to exploit nation. "No annexations" is a democratic cry only when it means "no exploitations." That is the principle for which the Allies profess themselves to be fighting and if they have frequently violated it in the past it is for the citizens of the Allied countries, whether Russians, English or French to keep their Governments more faithful to it in the future. Nothing in the war portends greater good for the world than the fact that the Allies have accepted the philosophy of Nationalism as opposed to the philosophy of aggressive Imperialism.

Each nation possesses its own genius. This is not a mere fashion of speaking, it is a fact. We recognize this even in our caricatures when we smile at the genius of America as Uncle Sam, the genius of England as John Bull, and the genius of Ireland as

Paddy. The question the Russian revolutionists have now to decide is whether any peace can be either tolerable or lasting except a peace which respects the genius and the personality of every nation.

Some cosmopolitans are hostile to nationality, not because they do not know a nation when they see one, but because they believe that the national spirit stands in the way of the brotherhood of man. Mazzini put the case against the cosmopolitans neatly when he said that to talk of one's duty to humanity and to ignore the nation was as if one bade men climb a ladder but took away the rungs. He saw nationality as a force that made for true internationalism. He believed that each nation has a duty to the world just as each citizen has a duty to his country. Nationality, he said, "is the conscience of the peoples, which assigns to them their share of work in the association, their office in humanity, and hence constitutes their mission on earth, their individuality." "I hate," he wrote again, "the monopolist, usurping nation, that sees its own strength and greatness only in the weakness and poverty of others."

We learn from an interesting article published in the *Dublin Review* that

### The Notebooks of Francis Thomson

"were his other self, his companions

through many solitary years, his life-work and his library, they were the only things he never discarded—shabby exercise books that filled a large tin box—dense piles of unstitched leaves covered with faded pencil marks."

One of the marvels of his manuscript is that it contains so little random writing. It is like the sketch book of a great draftsman: every impression is more or less completely set down, complete, as far as it goes, as an example of an artist's execution. It is true that every now and again one might receive from the notebooks the entirely opposite impression—of a writer uncertain of himself. But the fact remains, he never thought it expedient to cross out, though he will cover a whole page with variants of a verse or a line, all these variants remain upon the page, as if each were sufficiently expressive to stand as the final reading. Let me give an example:

Ran a rillet, chill at bosom,  
Wrinkling over mossy buds,  
While all nature, warm and woosome,  
Drowsed amid the great dumb woods

Shrill and fresh a rillet folden  
Wrinkled over mossy buds,  
While all nature love enholden  
Slumbered in the great dumb woods

Welled a water, cold and mazy,  
Slidng over mossy buds  
While all nature lay love lary,  
Slambrous in the great dumb woods.

Curled a runnel cold and cruised,  
Wimping over mossy buds,  
While all nature, that love oozed,  
Drowsed in the great dumb woods.

And another

For the field is full of } shades  
  } as I fear  
  } shadows

the shadowy coasts,  
And the ghostly batsmen play, and  
the bowlers too are ghosts.

And the ghostly batsmen play to the  
bowling of the ghosts,

And the ghostly batsmen play silent  
balls of bowling ghosts,

And I see the ghostly batsmen that  
play to bowling ghosts,

And I look through my tears at a

clapping } host  
soundless }  
cheering }

While } the run stealers flicker to and fro,  
Where } To and fro,  
O my Hornby and my Batlow long ago!

### Old and New in the Daily Press

is the title of an informing article appearing in the *Quarterly Review* from the pen of T. H. S. Escott, in which the writer

traces the growth and history of the Daily Press of England and gives us some account of English pressmen who acquired fame in their line

We read

John Birkenhead, Roger L'Estrange, Marchmont Nedham, and Daniel Defoe were called by Isaac D'Israeli the seventeenth-century fathers of the newspaper press. L'Estrange's *'Observer'* was at any rate the first journal enjoying full in nisteral confidence and run for the single purpose of supporting the Government. Rather less than a hundred years later an initiative, vigorous beyond precedent was taken in periodical letters by Daniel Sturt. This shrewd, suave, and clear sighted Scot, establishing himself in London during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, acquired, and so improved, as practically to recreate it, the oldest London newspaper the *'Morning Post'* then sold for three pence.

About the modern Press of England the writer has to say:

Originality and courage in enterprise, lavishness in expenditure, and a shrewd conception of what the public wants—all this the modern newspaper boss undoubtedly possesses. He has his reward in a circulation counted by millions, and an influence making him at once the "doctor dubitantum" and "arbiter elegantiarum" of the lower middle class. The *'Times'* at the zenith of its high priced omnipotence never spoke with such minutely far reaching authority as belongs to the modern press. For every suburban gentleman or rural squire who echoed with verbal fidelity the pronouncements on statesmanship, foreign or domestic, on social economy and finance, of the sixpenny or even three penny *'Times'*, there are today whole families innumerable, owing to that they think, believe, or say about the topics of the time to the leaderettes and paragraphs with which the half penny sheet abounds, or to the *Communique* on naval architecture, the cause and cure of our military blunders, the whole duty of cabinets, and the unknown art of discovering the indispensable man, not by any means always written by an expert in any of these departments.

What is sometimes called the significant unanimity of the English press may mean not so much that several journalistic minds think alike, as that one and the same dictator permeates the whole acreage of typography with his own notions. However, "it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good." The disestablishment and disendowment of the nineteenth century "staff" has opened the door to a large number of intelligent youths whose parents had long been vexed with the standing question "what to do with our boys."

Finally, the writer regrets the loss to the English speaking world of the "really national position which the *Times* first gained in 1784, under the second John Walter, with John Sterling as his second in the editorial command.

What it then became, it remained till its very identity was threatened by incorporation into a group of newspapers all bearing the impress of one controlling mind. This is a matter in which what has happened abroad not only doubles domestic experience but deepens the reason for misgiving at the

practical monopoly of the press long aimed at, in this country, now for the first time almost achieved by a few great proprietors. The group of Hearst papers in the United States is the best known as well as most alarming instance of journalistic process, which has been completed on the other side of the Atlantic some time since and is now steadily advancing towards perfection here.

In the long run, it may be said, every public has the newspapers it deserves or demands. On such a subject the susceptibilities of a prejudiced and unprogressive minority may perhaps some day be considered. One is disposed to wonder whether the American example must be eminently and minutely followed by a further increase of the space given to pictorial advertisements.

### Education of Indian Women

In the course of a thoughtful and sympathetic article contributed to the *International Review of Missions* by Eleanor McDougall occurs the following sane observations which should draw the serious attention of those engaged or interested in the furtherance of female education in India.

If education is to be to Indian women all that it can be, it is to bring to the highest development their sensitive and highly gifted personalities, education must be planned, organized and carried out mainly by women. The splendid development of the higher education of women in England and America though it owes much to the effective co-operation of certain men, yet derived its whole power, inspiration and success from the genius and devotion of English and American women. Just so in India there is room in this field for the co-operation and the self-denying labour of men, but the movement will be sorely weakened and retarded and may even follow misleading paths unless the chief part in it is taken by women.

Not only must the actual work of teaching be done by them but they must also devise the curriculum and what is far more important form the ideals and direct the aims of this education.

And these leaders of women's education should be Indian women. The difficulty of mutual understanding between eastern and western minds has been greatly exaggerated and this exaggeration is in itself partly the cause of such difficulty as there is but no one would maintain that a final scheme for national education can be drawn up for one nation by another. It has of course, repeatedly happened that one nation has begun the higher education of another, as when Greece handed on the torch of intellectual light to Rome, and as when Rome became schoolmistress to most of the nations of Europe, but after a due period of apprenticeship in some cases extending through centuries, each nation has developed its own scheme of education suitably to its genius and ideals. Such has been the normal course of the history of education in Europe and America and we look forward in India to see the same thing happen—a modification and adaptation of the present western education to the new needs and ideals of the nascent Indian nation.

In this work of adaptation, or perhaps transformation, women must take their share or the work will be imperfectly and partially done. The government of India in its declaration of educational policy in 1904 and again in 1913 remarked that 'a far greater proportion of impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people by the education of women than by the education of men' and it is a question of serious importance whether in a district where it is not possible to educate both it would not bring in a greater result of good to the community to teach the girls rather than the boys. The wife could then become the intellectual centre of the family, she could read to her husband after his day's work, and she could teach the children. If education can be given to only one parent, it might be more wisely bestowed on the one who can make the widest use of it.

### COMMENT AND CRITICISM

#### Basreliefs of Borobudur.

I welcome this opportunity of expanding my notes on the Basreliefs of Borobudur published in the August Number of this Journal and I am grateful to my friend Mr O. C. Ganguly for taking up the question. Mr Ganguly is an artist and he views the situation from the point of view of the Art connoisseur. I am a student of Indian History. In spite of this difference, I have found out to my delight that we agree in many points.

1. Like a true scholar Mr Ganguly keeps an open mind and so a discussion with him on scientific methods of Historical Research is always very pleasant. I note that Mr Ganguly does not attempt to question the identification of the Basreliefs at

Borobudur openly which have so long been paraded before a trustful people as Indian adventures sailing out to colonize Java." And Mr Ganguly tried to question this identification he would have found the task to his chagrin an impossible one. The method adopted with so much success in the identification of Jataka representations of unlabelled scenes (I mean basreliefs) which do not have an ancient inscription below it as its label like the Jataka scenes on the railing of the Bharhut Stupa) was the method adopted in this case. When it strikes anybody that any basrelief in question may be the representation of such and such a Jataka he takes out the text (or say the translation) of the Jataka in question, and compares the basrelief with the description. If there is anybody in India or abroad who still doubts these

identifications then he can convince himself by following this method and I am sure he will end by agreeing with the learned Dutch Scholar.

As to Mr C. B. Havell's methods it should be pointed out at the beginning that he had one drawback and this deficiency vitiates his work. Mr Havell is a mere artist. He had not acquainted himself closely with the materials of ancient Indian History before he set himself to write on Ancient Indian Art. Had Mr Havell merely attempted an appreciation of Ancient Indian Art then I would not have raised the question because the subject would have been beyond my province. But unfortunately for Indian History Mr Havell has not confined himself to his own subject. He has dabbled in Indian History as well as iconography tasks for which his artistic training alone is hopelessly inadequate.

It is true that Mr Havell affected moderation as a true Indologist would do. But there is a good deal of difference between the cautious statement of an Indologist and Mr Havell's moderation. Unless there is a strong reason or chain of reasons which indirectly hints at or proves a fact a true Orientalist would never hazard an explanation of things which have so long remained without one. But in the case of the so-called representation of Indian adventurers sailing out to colonise Java one fails to find the slightest trace of reason in support of the identification. Mr Havell adopted the cautious wording of the Orientalist but he did not think it necessary to adopt his method.

Faith in the ancient tradition of a country has proved to be the quick sand which has engulfed the fair reputation of many a promising historian. In our country the sympathy for tradition as it has been handed down to us is still very strong. We have not profited by the example of foreign historians who have vitiated their works by valuing tradition too highly. We have not yet realised that tradition cannot but be a long drawn contortion of truth. Mr Havell thought that there was enough reason in favour of his identification. Was not there a tradition current in Java according to which Indian adventurers came to colonise Java? Here was a Javanese monument with bassi relievi bearing representations of ships. He connected these two and thought that his identifications like the results of the majority of Orientalists rested on solid facts. Unfortunately for Indian History they did not. Messrs Rawlinson and Mookerji are merely followers of Mr Havell but this does not exonerate them. Both of them knew very well that the *ex cathedra* assertions of a mere artist should not be regarded as having any value at all in the domain of History proper. If an artist may be a very eminent artist has hazarded an opinion about a subject which belonged to the domain of History proper it was *his duty as a historian of the age of scientific research* methods, to have tested the result before they incorporated it as admittedly correct conclusions in their works. By failing to do so they have neglected to take precautions which is the primary duty of all serious students of history and have succeeded in misleading people.

To return to Mr Ganguly. I am afraid I failed to convey what I really meant to Mr Ganguly. C. M. Pleyte's book was published in 1901. It is true Mr Pleyte did not identify the bas-reliefs which form the subject of Dr J. Ph. Vogel's paper. If Mr Pleyte had identified these particular bas-reliefs then Dr Vogel's note would have been unnecessary. Even if he had written a note on these bas-reliefs after their identifica-

tion the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* would have refused to publish it.

Pleyte's identifications should have been taken as a danger signal by Mr Havell and his followers. The Brobudur was a stupa and the majority of scenes on its bands of bassi relievi were Jataka or Buddha-charita scenes. In that case if some remained identified according to the canons of scientific criticism in the domains of history and Archaeology, they should not have been taken to be secular scenes. Mons A. Faucher's name stands very high among Indologists and I have as much respect for him as my friend Mr Ganguly. Yet I consider it to be my duty to point out that Mons Faucher's identification of the profane subject is not absolutely reliable. The existence of a secular scene on the drum of a Buddhist stupa cannot be accepted to be true unless it is proved to be so by an epigraph of the same period as the bas-relief. I can only add that opinions of Orientalists held in high esteem are very likely to be summarily rejected if they hazard such improbable theories without proper corroborating factors.

I find it unnecessary to consider the different identifications of the bas-reliefs on the Pagodas at Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram or the Trimurti of Elephanta. My friend seems to forget that the majority of conclusions are based on that obscure chapter of logic, Probability and Chance. Just at present I am about a couple of thousand miles away from the nearest library which contains the *Journal Asiatique* but I can assure my friend Mr Ganguly that at a subsequent date I shall inform him what I think of M. Gollubew and Dubreuil. Scholars have always differed and the consensus of opinion among them have always been regarded as the true conclusion.

I feel it to be my duty to point out that my friend Mr Ganguly is very much mistaken when he pronounces the following dictum — For it must be admitted that works of art must be judged primarily as works of art and the historical materials which they yield are matters of secondary importance. Mr Ganguly true to his profession has tried to show that his view or the view of his class is the true view. Unfortunately it is just the reverse. Specimens of Ancient Art are of importance primarily as materials of ancient history as specimens representing the stage of culture an ancient people had reached, at a particular historical period and secondarily as objects of Art. A specimen of ancient sculpture is the source of manifold conclusions all of which are very important for the cultural history of ancient art. It is the basis of history of Sculpture, Architecture, Iconography and to some extent of Anthropology. Its appreciation as a work of art is of secondary importance to the serious student of its history and of human civilisation. Mr Ganguly and I have always differed on the point, the standpoint and mine differ very widely.

At present there are two differing views of Indian Art. Both of these are extremist views. At one end stands the Hellenist who sees Hellenic influence in all stages of Indian culture and Art and at the other end the party represented by Mr Havell. The Madhya Yana has not been adopted by any writer on Indian Art as yet. Mr Havell's views have been received with great applause but no serious criticism has yet appeared in print. At least no one closely acquainted with Indian sculpture and Architecture has attempted to analyse his data and conclusions. Such an analysis is very badly needed.

Mr Ganguly has misjudged me. It was not my

intention to comment on Mr Havell's aesthetic appreciation of Indian Art. I criticised his methods and conclusions about Iconography only. I hope some other students of Indian history better qualified than I will take up the analysis of the aesthetic appreciations of Indian Art and find out the mean between the extremes.

There is not much worth answering in Mr K. H. Vakil's note. It is quite evident that his acquaintance with ancient Indian History is not very intimate. I have not had the honour of meeting with his name in any recognised Journal devoted to Orientalology. It is not really necessary for one to show how Dr Vogel's note disproves Mr Havell's conclusions. If he takes the trouble of getting the traditions of the extant Jatakas and illustrations of the bas-reliefs in question he can find out the truth for himself. If he fails to find them he has only to apply to the Parish Archaeologist.

Mr Vakil's argument about the ships of these bas-reliefs is hardly logical. I admit there were trade relations between India and Java. Does that prove at once that these ships are Indian ships? There were trade relations between China and Java. Mr Vakil can find ample proof of this statement in the Fo-kwo-ki. Can't these ships be Chinese? Logically they can be Chinese, Javanese or Indian. Therefore it is not absolutely certain that they were Indian ships. According to modern scientific methods of historical criticism these ships should not have been paraded as Indian ships in the pioneer work on Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity. Mr Vakil is a patriot and I honour him for his patriotic

zeal. But I beg to point out to Mr Vakil and to others who I know are burning with a just indignation because I have exposed Messrs Havell and Mookerji that the Nation can be better served by a true representation of her past glories than by their misrepresentation. The history of Indian Maritime activity still remains to be written. The history of Indian colonisation, her extensive trade relations do not really depend on the interpretation of the bas-reliefs of Borobudur. Chinese records—Monuments and Inscriptions of Siam, Cambodia, Annam and Java—are the proper materials for the construction of the History of Greater India. Unfortunately for us nobody has even attempted to give us even an outline of the extent and magnificence of that vast Empire which was once ours and which we have entirely forgotten.

It is not at all necessary for an Indian to manufacture materials for the glorification of the History of the Ancient civilization of his country or to misrepresent facts for a similar purpose. The data for the history of Ancient Indian culture and civilisation is quite sufficient. We require more workers, honest specialists who would care more for the quality of the work they produce than for a swifter accumulation of their personal reputation. It is no longer necessary to attack the Indo-Greek school of Sculpture because it is recognised by scholars all over the world, many of whom have never heard of Havell's works, that that is not the highest point achieved by Indian Artists.

R. D. BANERJI

## THE COMING REFORMS, PART II

By HON'BLE BAIJI SURENDRANATH ROY

I HAVE in my previous article on "the Coming Reforms" given a general outline of the scheme of Reforms both administrative and legislative. I may say at the outset that a good portion of the article was written some time before the submission to Government of the memorandum of the 19 Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council. I intend in this article to give a detailed outline of the scheme of Reforms at least so far as Bengal is concerned so that it may help the Government to know the nature of the changes which may to a certain extent satisfy the aspirations of the educated community of the country. I have stated in the previous article in speaking about local self-government that it was more than thirty years after the proposal for the constitution of "Union Committees"

that it was now thought of to establish them throughout the country to help real local self-government. There is another matter about which I want to say a few words in passing though I have not touched upon it in my previous article. I mean about the Council of the Indian Chiefs. It is about thirty years ago that I suggested in my 'History of the Native States of India' the desirability of having a 'Council of the Empire' consisting of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and some High Officials. The suggestion was no doubt first made by Lord Lytton in the Delhi Durbar of 1877. Lord Morley also suggested a Council similar to that of Lord Lytton in his Reform Scheme but it was not given effect to. I said in 1888 that one of the most urgent demands so far as Native States were concerned was the

establishment of an Imperial Council in which the Native Princes should have some voice. It was quite immaterial whether the Princes themselves or their chosen ministers were nominated to the Council. The former practice would be better, for one as it would afford to the Council a thorough knowledge of Imperial affairs. I suggested then and suggest even now that the following topics may be considered in that Council —

(1) The formation of an Imperial army and the means of giving it increased strength and cohesion and perfecting its organisation

(2) All matters in which the general interests of the Empire as contradistinguished from the interests of particular provinces or states are concerned. These matters may regard both the internal administration and the external relations of the Empire—for example the introduction of any important social or economic reform affecting the whole Empire or the policy to be pursued towards a foreign or sovereign power

(3) The adjustment of the relations and the settlement of any difference between the Paramount Power and a particular Native State. The circumstances which led to the deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook or later of the Maharaja of Bharatpore may serve as typical examples

All these years this Council has remained a paper Council. It is only in 1916 that the real Council of Indian Chiefs first came into existence. I have said all this to show that some of the Reforms are overdue that owing to the apathy of Government the country is behindhand in the matter of self government as well as other Reforms by at least 30 years.

I shall now give a detailed scheme of the Legislative Councils. At present the Bengal Legislative Council is composed of 50 members consisting of Officials and non-officials both nominated and elected and three members of the Executive Council besides H. B. the Governor who is the President of the Council.

The Council however, generally consists of only 48 out of 50 members. 2 members being appointed when occasion arises as Experts. Of the 48 members 28 are elected and 20 nominated. Under the Rules not more than 16 members are to be officials. Out of the 20 nominated members one is

to represent the Indian Mercantile Community and one the European Mercantile Community excluding tea planting community and carrying on business outside Calcutta and two other non-official persons to be selected. The 28 elected members are at present elected as follows —

1	By the Corporation of Calcutta	1
2	By the elected members of the Corporation of Calcutta	1
3	By the University of Calcutta	1
4	By the Municipalities of Presidency Burdwan, Rajshah and Dacca Divisions	6
5	By the District Boards of the five Divisions	5
6	By the Landholders of the Presidency Burdwan, Rajshah and Dacca Divisions	4
7	By the Municipal Commissioners of the Chittagong Division and the landholders of the Chittagong Division	1
8	By the Muhammadan Community	5
9	By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce	2
10	By the Calcutta Trades Association	1
11	By the Commissioners of the Port of Chittagong	1
12	By the planting community	1

It must be said to the credit of that liberal minded Governor Lord Carmichael that when he first constituted his Council in January 1913 instead of 16 officials which he could nominate under the Council Rules he nominated only 14 officials, and in the Council of 1916 he nominated only 12 officials i.e. one-fourth of the total number 48. If the number of members be raised to 100 I would suggest the distribution of the seats in the following way —

#### DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE PROPOSED BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

I take it that there will be in the new Council 4 members in the Executive Council viz two Europeans and two Indians. Besides the 4 members of the Executive Council 9 officials and 5 non-officials may be nominated by Government, leaving 72 members to be elected.

The 72 elected members may be elected as follows —

1	Zamindars paying Revenue of Rs 1000 or Road Cess of Rs 300 or persons paying an Income Tax of Rs 100	10
2	General Calcutta Electorate of taxpayers who pay annual tax of Rs 100 or License fee of Rs 50 or Income Tax on Rs 2000 or upwards	4
3	Calcutta University	1
4	Dacca University	1
5	Graduates of the Calcutta University or any other recognised University specially registered	3
6	Bengal Chamber of Commerce	4
7	Calcutta Joint Association	1
8	Calcutta Trades Association	2
9	National Chamber of Commerce	1
10	Marwari Community of Calcutta and Howrah paying income tax on Rs 2000 or upwards	1

11. East Bengal Mahajan Sabha	1
12. Domiciled Anglo-Indians paying an income tax on Rs 2000 per annum	1
13. Calcutta Port Commissioners	1
14. Chittagong Port	1
15. European Tea Planting Community	1
16. European Mercantile Community outside Calcutta	1
17. Muhammadan Community—2 members from each of the 4 Divisions (Presidency, Dacca, Rajshahi and Bardwan)—8 and Chittagong	10
18. Muhammadan Merchants of Calcutta	1
19. Residents within Municipal area outside Calcutta paying a tax or license fee of Rs 10 per annum provided he is literate or pays income tax	14
20. Residents within District Board area paying a cess of Rs 10 per annum or pays income tax	14
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The seats within Municipal area may be distributed as follows:—

Municipal area	
1. 24 Pergannas	2
Nadia and Jessore	1
Murshidabad and Khulna	1
2. Howrah	1
Hughly	1
Burdwan and Bankura	1
Midnapore and Birbhum	1
3. Dacca	1
Mymensingh and Faridpore	1
Backergange	1
4. Chittagong Division including Tipperah and Noakhali	1
5. Rajshahi, Dinajpore, Jalpaiguri, and Rungpur	1
6. Darjeeling, Pabna, Bogra and Malda	1
	<hr/> 14

The seats within District Board area may be distributed as follows:—

District Boards	
1. 24 Pergannas	2
Nadia & Murshidabad	1
Jessore & Khulna	1
2. Bardwan & Beerbhum	1
Bankura & Midnapore	1
Hughly & Howrah	1
3. Dacca	1
Mymensingh	1
Backerganj & Faridpore	1
4. Chittagong, Noakhali & Tipperah	1
5. Rajshahi & Dinajpore	1
Rangpur, Pabna & Bogra	1
Malda & Jalpaiguri	1
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I suggested in the previous article that only one-fifth of the members should be officials. It would however appear that excluding the four members of the Executive Council there will be 96 members. By the nomination of 10 official members the number of officials will be about one fifth. Government will not be worse off than it is at present, for Government has already paved the way for introducing a

large non-official element by nominating only a proportionally small number of officials, i.e., though it has the power of nominating officials to the extent of one third it has nominated in the present Council officials to the extent of one fourth only. I need hardly say that this change of policy on the part of a liberal-minded Governor has not produced any catastrophe or revolution.

#### IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Imperial Legislative Council at present consists of 60 members besides the 8 Ex-Officio Official members (such as the members of the Executive Council etc.). Of these 60 members, 27 are elected, not more than 28 are to be nominated officials and 5 nominated non-officials. The proposal of the 19 non-official members is to raise the number to 150. A Council of the proposed strength would no doubt greatly add to its dignity and would be worthy of the great assembly. At present the 27 elected members are thus elected:—

(A) Two each by the Additional Non Official members of the Legislative Councils of—

(1) Bengal (2) United Provinces of Agra & Oudh (3) Bombay (4) Madras 8

(B) Additional non official members of each of the Legislative Councils of—

(1) Behar & Orissa (2) The Punjab (3) Burma, Assam 4

(C) One each by the landholders of—

(1) Bengal (2) Behar and Orissa (3) Madras (4) Bombay (5) United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (6) Central Provinces 6

(D) One each by the Muhammadan Community of (1) Madras (2) Bombay (3) Bengal (4) Agra and Oudh (5) Behar and Orissa

(6) A second Muhammadan member to be elected alternately by some of the Provinces 6

(E) By the District Councils and Municipal Committees in the Central Provinces 1

(F) By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce 1  
By the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1

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I shall now give a rough detailed scheme of the proposed expanded Imperial Legislative Council. As I have already said the proposal made in the memorandum of the 19 members is to raise the number of members to 150. India with its number of Provinces and millions of men of diverse races, creeds and interests should have a representative assembly worthy of itself. At present the members of the Legislative Councils of the different Provinces have the right to elect members for the Imperial Council. This franchise should be extended and the right may be

given to the members of the Municipalities and District Boards the Universities of the Provincial Capitals etc. Those bodies have now the right to elect members to the Provincial Councils but as the suggestion is to extend the right of electing members for the Provincial Councils to the rate payers and cess payers direct it is only in the fitness of things that the right to elect members to the Imperial Legislative Council should be extended to the Municipalities and District Boards to the Fellows of the Universities and residents of Capital cities

I would distribute the seats as follows —

Officials including Ex-Officers members	4
Nominated non-officials including experts	15
Elected Members	
Capital Cities—	8
(1) Calcutta (2) Patna (3) Allahabad and	
I know (4) Lahore (5) Bombay (6) Madras	
(7) Nagpur (8) Rangoon	
Municipalities and District Boards	30
Muhammadians	12
Landholders	1
Chamber of Commerce (Bengal)	—
Chamber of Commerce (Bombay)	2
Chamber of Commerce (United Provinces)	1
Chamber of Commerce (Madras)	1
Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community (Bengal)	1
Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community (Madras)	1
Universities including those of Patna and proposed	1
University of Dacca	7
Northern India Tea Industry (U P Bengal and	
Assam)	1
Indian Mercantile Community Bengal and	
Bombay	2
Madras Planting Community	1
Bombay Mill owners	1
Indian Mining Association	1
Seven Members may be elected from each of the	
following Councils —	
(1) Bengal (2) Bihar and Orissa (3) U P of Agra	
and Oudh (4) Punjab (5) Madras (6) Bombay (7)	
Burma.	

This completes the list

I would distribute the 30 Municipal and District Board seats as follows —

1 Bengal	—
2 Bihar and Orissa	3
3 United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	4
4 Madras	4
5 Bombay	4
6 Punjab	3
7 Burma	3
8 Central Provinces	2
9 Assam	2
	30

I would suggest the following allotment as regards the Bengal Municipal and District Board seats —

Presidency Division	—
Burdwan	1
Rajshahi	1
Dacca and Chittagong	1

The election from the Municipal and District Board seats may be by the Municipal Commissioners and members of District and Local Boards and not by the Rate payers and Cess payers

There are some who suggest that a few seats may be allotted to the Indian Princes. The idea no doubt is a good one. It is however a knotty question and it is for the government to decide whether their nomination to the Council will be helpful to government or not

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS OF OTHER PROVINCES

I have in my previous article suggested that the major Provinces should have 100 members in the Legislative Councils. At present we have in each of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras 42 members i.e., 21 elected and not more than 21 nominated of whom not more than 14 are to be officials. Besides the 12 members, two experts may be appointed. I think this is exclusive of the three members of the Executive Council. We have a Governor in each of the above Provinces.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh there is no Executive Council nor a Governor but a Lieutenant Governor. The Legislative Council consists of 21 elected and 26 nominated members of whom not more than 20 members are to be officials. As in other Provinces two experts may be appointed thus the Council consists ordinarily of 47 members and as occasion arises with the addition of these two experts there are 49 members.

These three Provinces, viz., Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh may like Bengal be termed as major Provinces and may be enlarged and may have 100 members. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is destined to belong to have an Executive Council.

In the Punjab Legislative Council there are 11 elected members and 17 nominated members of whom not more than 11 are to be officials. Two more members may be appointed whether officials or non-officials having expert knowledge of subjects connected with proposed or pending legislation. I need hardly say that there is no Executive Council in the Punjab but simply a Lieutenant Governor. In the Punjab the number may very well be raised to 50 besides creating an Executive



Council of at least two members, one of whom is to be an Indian.

Similarly the number of members may be raised in each of the minor Provinces, such as Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and Burma.

I have already suggested in the previous article that if there be any objection to give full financial control to the Provincial Legislative Councils at the outset, full financial and administrative control may be given to the Legislative Councils as regards certain departments of State such as Sanitation, Education, Law, Justice, Agriculture, Co-operative Credit, etc. Adequate sum of money may be set apart at present to meet the expenses on the heads but the Legislative Councils should have full control to increase or decrease the expenditure on these heads. As already suggested, different Boards or standing Committees may be formed of the members of the councils to administer and not simply to advise on these different departments. Much useful work may be done in these standing Committees if the Government care to co-operate with the members. This will be one way of providing some "facilities for the gradual cultivation of a sense of responsibility in the business of government" to the people of this country.

#### REDISTRIBUTION OF TERRITORY.

I may mention in passing that this is the proper time for redistribution of territory, viz., for the amalgamation of Orissa to Bengal, Behar to the Benares Division having its head quarters at Benares and the Districts of 'Purnia' and Sylhet to Bengal. There is also a proposal to amalgamate Chota Nagpur and Orissa to the Central Provinces. This would make a very prosperous Province. Whether this proposal is carried out or not, it is absolutely necessary that Orissa should come to Bengal as well as the districts of Purnia and Sylhet.

#### APPOINTMENTS IN THE HIGHER SERVICES.

I have in my previous article suggested that at least half the appointments in the higher services should be filled up by the Indians of ability. There are in Bengal at present 55 appointments in the superior Executive posts including the two posts of members of the Executive Council, and there are 36 appointments in the superior

Judicial posts including the 4 posts of High Court Judges.

We find that there are 12 Magistrates of the first grade, 12 Magistrates of the second grade and 14 Magistrates of the third grade, besides 4 Secretaries to Government and 5 Commissioners of Divisions and a Deputy Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta. That half the appointments of District Magistrates, the post of at least two Secretaries and the post of the Deputy Chairman of Calcutta can be given to the Indians of merit and ability within the next 10 or 15 years goes without saying. There are besides 91 posts, such as those of Under-Secretaries, Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates. As a matter of fact the Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates do exactly the same work as Deputy Magistrates. This war has shown that a large number of Sub Divisions hitherto held by the European members of the Civil Service are now being held by Deputy Magistrates and the administration of the latter has not been inferior to those of the former. If the posts of Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates be abolished altogether, the service will not be weakened at all. But it is necessary to retain them simply because the European District Magistrates may be promoted from among them. In the same way the post of the head of the Police in at least half the districts may be gradually thrown open to the Indians. As regards appointments in the Indian Education Service, there are about 40 such posts. That, at least 75 per cent. of the appointments in that service can be thrown open tomorrow to Indians no one can question. That some very inferior men, both Europeans and even some Indians, are in that service overriding the claims of Indians of superior ability and educational attainments cannot be denied. That there should be any race distinction made of all others in the Education Service is very much to be regretted. There cannot be any reasonable explanation for this state of things.

It will be found that there will be a saving of at least 5 lacs of Rupees in Bengal if half the appointments of the superior Executive and Judicial Services as well as the Indian Education Service be thrown open to the Indians. By such appointments what is said to be the British character of the administration will

not be changed. The work of administration will go on as efficiently as ever where as there will be any loss of prestige of Government.

I think Mr Justice Abdur Rahim as a member of the Public Services Commission has shown how the scheme of larger employment of Indians will reduce the permanent expenditure of the country.

The larger employment of Indians in the

higher services of the country formed the subject of a Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council only the other day. The reply of the Home Member the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent was sympathetic. We hope the Government will rise to the height of the occasion and grapple the question in a truly statesmanlike way.

I intend in my next article to deal with reforms in the Electorates

## IN JAPAN

By W W PARSON

### I

IT was the season of Cherry blossom when the roads to all places where Nature reveals the spirit of Spring were thronged with pilgrims to the shrine of Beauty. I was at Yoshino where the hillsides are covered with a thousand trees. Between the dark pine, the cherry trees, laden with their delicate pink blossoms, formed broad highways leading up to heaven. The roads to Yoshino were crowded with parties of eager sightseers, old and young alike happy at the prospect of the sight they had come to see. But my thoughts were with two Japanese students of whom I had read in the newspaper a few days before. Two boys, aged about sixteen, and of an adventurous spirit, had set out to climb one of the higher mountains of that district. They were missing, and search parties had been sent out from the villages. The day I left Yoshino, as I went out to see the flowers in the clear morning light after rain, I read news of these boys. Their bodies had been found in a remote valley on the spur of the mountain which they had set out to climb. They had been dead several days. Having lost their way they had been making an attempt to return when they were overcome by cold and fatigue. They had collected dry leaves and made a fire to keep themselves warm. Near their bodies were found some scraps of papers, pathetic evidence of their last hours when hunger had overcome them.

The last person to see them before they had started on their climb was an old villager who met them at the foot of the mountain and warned them of the dangers of the attempt. But they would not listen to his caution, the thought of danger only increased their courage. And so, on that Spring morning they climbed to their death, light of heart and eager to overcome the difficulties before them.

So I learned of the love of flowers and the courage which are combined in the heart of this people.

### II

Koyasan, set amidst the hill tops, is the most sacred centre of Buddhism in Japan. With its temples and tombs surrounded by the sombre silence of lofty cryptomeria trees, it is reached after a steady climb through scenery as beautiful as that of the Himalayas. At the foot of the mountain, on the river near Koyaguchi, a fisherman stood in the rushing water with the sun light playing on his sturdy limbs. It was late afternoon when I started and the light faded as we passed through forests which were solemn in their stillness. There were few people on the road. In the dark shade of tall trees some woodcutters were seated round a fire which lighted up their faces as we passed. I imagined, the temple I was going to visit would be a solitary place in the depths of the forest. It was therefore a surprise when we entered, after dark, what seemed to be a large town. For

Koyasan has many temples, and a Buddhist College as well as a School. Every day hundreds of pilgrims climb the mountain and make their way past the many temples to the tomb of a Buddhist saint of Japan, Kobo Daishi, which stands at the end of a long avenue of mysterious and gigantic trees. Nothing beyond it but the solitary forest where the nightingales sing and paths lead to distant villages. When next morning I went out into the streets, I met groups of the pilgrims, Buddhist priests and students who, in their black robes, looked like monks of the Middle Ages.

On the morning I left, the roads were muddy after three days of constant rain and I pitied the pilgrims as they ploughed their way up through the thick mud. But they were cheerful and content. About half-way down I met an old, old woman bent double with rheumatism so that the upper part of her body was parallel with the road as she climbed. She was on her way to worship at the tomb of Kobo Daishi, and it seemed as if every step must have caused her pain, but her face had a look of peace and exaltation. I remembered, with a certain sense of shame, how, a few days before, when the roads were dry, I had been drawn up by three men. But she was only one of many whom I saw climbing through the mud that day. And so I learned of the depths of devotion of Japan's women.

### III.

It was in Kyoto and the plum trees were just about to blossom, a warm spring day when the people were wandering in the parks and temple gardens. I was sitting at midday near a temple when three schoolboys came into the garden

and threw themselves on the grass. Near them was a child of three who had been brought to play in the garden by his brother. Suddenly one of the boys, a big strapping youth, got up and went over to this child. They began to talk and play together. Soon he was followed by his schoolfellows. After half-an-hour they got up, said 'Good-bye' to their new friend and sauntered away.

Then I remembered a similar incident related by a Japanese student who was the champion lawn-tennis player of his College. Let him tell it in his own words.

"One day, I went to the playground as usual, and played tennis with my friends. It was a bright and beautiful spring afternoon.

Two little children were playing at the side of the tennis court, the elder was perhaps twelve years old, the younger not more than ten. And they were so lovely that I gave up the game and played with them,—I love little children so much.

The boys were very clever and could catch the ball well. I played about one hour with them.

'Goodbye, we shall come again tomorrow,' was the last word of the elder."

And so I learned of the love for children which is so deep a characteristic of this people.

These people who love flowers and little children, who have the courage of heroes and the perseverance which overcomes all obstacles, who face even death with cheerfulness, whose women have such depth of devotion—what is their mission in the world? The answer can only be that it is a noble mission, one for which Fate has been preparing them through the centuries of waiting.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT REALISM

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

IT may be conceded that there is a certain broad difference between realistic and idealistic art, but there is no such thing as Realism, in the sense in which that

term is often used. For that reason a so-called realist may be very untrue to life, if he happen to possess false ideas, for he simply will not be able to see "things as

they are," in the right perspective, that is to say, while many things he will not see at all, whereas an idealist may be intensely true to life even though he transcend fact providing his ideals are reasonable and possible. In the former case it could legitimately be said that the artist had failed to be real, true to life and fact, because of his ideal of ideal and in the latter case that he had succeeded in being real because he was something more than a Realist.

It is beyond the power of an artist to say, concerning any work he has produced the extent to which he has been influenced by his ideals, his personal desires, aims, sympathies, imagination in producing it. He may think he has given us a picture that is true to life—a perfect copy of nature, and yet, as a matter of fact his production be coloured, affected in a hundred ways, by his personal sympathies, his temperament, etc. It is absolutely impossible to keep out of art the personal factor, idealistic elements, for the two things fact and imagination, the real and the ideal, must of necessity, and unconsciously where not consciously, be blended together, and certainly no art can be considered great that is not the product of such a unification.

"Realism," therefore, must always be a question of degree, as no man can be wholly a realist, while if he could, it would be at the expense of his art and of his humanity. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as realism in art, in that it is simply impossible for a human being by means of art, to copy nature. What the camera may be able to do we are not here concerned to discuss, for the reason that a man neither is nor even can be a mere mechanical instrument. And even if he could be, could really acquire the faculty of simply reflecting nature, it would be at the expense of his humanity, as it would involve the eradication from his nature of every spark of emotion every noble and pulsating idea, every conviction, all trace of temperament.

Obviously, for all art is interpretation, it could not possibly be anything else. And the sooner we recognise that fact and rid our minds of the absurd notion that the human mind can and does reflect nature, objects and happenings in the external world, the better it will be for our own personal development, if we

happen to be artists, or would be artists, and the better it will be for art. For why should man, who possesses a heart and imagination, wish to become a mere reflector, a feelingless machine?

Probably few fallacies have wrought more harm, or caused a greater waste of genius, than this one concerning Realism, for, starting with the foolish assumption that what is, is truth, its advocates have concluded that everything that exists or happens, simply because it does exist or happen, has a right to be described, and that to withhold anything that is seen or experienced, is to withhold truth, and thus to commit a crime against society. Art, therefore, according to this school, consists in describing just what one sees, everything else being pseudo art, mere romanticism, idle fancy.

Now there are many arguments which one might adduce to combat this fallacy, but there is one fundamental and irrefutable argument, which springs from the fact that there is no such thing as mere seeing: it is the argument that all art is interpretation. As a fact, the eyes, the physical organs of sense, see nothing, it is the mind alone which sees, for no sooner is an image thrown upon the retina than the mind interprets it, gives it a meaning, a certain value. And it is that meaning that value, which art conveys, and which it is the peculiar function of art to convey. All art is selection of significant experiences, and selection is governed by one's ideals, one's conception of values.

So that even supposing it were possible, with very great effort, to concentrate the mind on the mere outwardness, shall I say, of things and events, no true artist would ever dream of doing that, and certainly were a man to paint merely what he saw with the physical eye and not what he saw with the inward eye (in which case the description would be affected by imagination, impregnated with his spirit), none would in the least be attracted by his description. The effort to be Realistic would have destroyed the reality, the naturalness. Such art would be lifeless and meaningless, unhuman, devoid of all appeal, necessarily so, for it would be lacking in emotion, the colour which the mind and heart give to things.

What every artist inspite of himself does, and certainly what every artist ought to try to do, is to describe what he

sees or experiences in terms of value, moral and spiritual value, life-value; in other words, to interpret life. To prove this, take any simple work of art, and carefully examine it, and you will find that it conveys a certain meaning, makes you feel in a particular way towards a given object or experience. Another man, viewing the same scene or passing through the same experience, would have been quite differently impressed, and would consequently have given a quite different rendering of it. And this is the kind of art we want; that which reveals the value of things, tells us what can be got out of life, certain experiences; and it is the sort of art every artist who has not dehumanised himself by false ideas, cut out of his life all heart and soul, must necessarily produce.

And surely ought we not to ask: what is the object of all description whatsoever? It is to teach, inspire, reveal things that to the multitude are hidden. No artist describes everything he sees, but only such things as attract him, have some significance for him. Another man coming along would see absolutely no significance in what was perhaps filling the soul of a former observer with rapture. Would the description of the latter, therefore, be like unto that of the former? Decidedly not. But which would be the most real, the most true to life? We all know, which would be the most demanded, would appeal to the heart of mankind, and which the world would call art.

Every great artist is, and must necessarily be, such by reason of the eye that is in him; not the physical eye but the spiritual. In regard to every form of art it is the power to perceive, feel and understand the hidden mystery and beauty of things which distinguishes the genius. Let a man but describe the simplest thing, and we shall know by a hundred signs, what sort of man he is, what sort of mind he possesses. Whether he be Realist or no, if he have a carnal eye or a spiritual, we shall know at a glance.

Because a man must always be something more than a machine, art must always be interpretation; that is, description in terms of value. And because every man possesses an ideal of life, consciously or unconsciously, and thus a code of

morals, everything that is described must necessarily be described with reference to that ideal and that code. Consequently what every artist does, whether he will or no, is to interpret life; and the interpretation of one man will not be that of another.

And because art is interpretation; and interpretation involves valuation, the ascribing of a certain life-value to given objects and experiences, we are compelled to conclude that art has an essentially, moral function and significance, tending to promote well-being if it be good art and ill-being if it be bad art.

The phrase "Art for Art's sake" is sheer foolishness. For, as a matter of fact, art ought never to be done, and probably never is done, for mere art's sake. Neither is it done for morality's sake. It is done for life's sake. It is because it gives true pleasure, brings and leads to life, that art exists at all. Like morality, art is a means to life, a finger-post which points the way to a fuller and deeper life, a more beautiful and fruitful experience.

The more fully developed the mind, the more perfect and complete the ideals, therefore, the greater will be the chances of achieving great art. In the last analysis it is the man's soul itself, his power of vision into the inner meaning of things, the strength and breadth of his sympathies, etc., that will determine whether he is or can be a great artist. A man may be clever and yet live a vile life; but the man whose mind is corrupt cannot create great art.

Truth is conveyed through art by means of the colour which the heart supplies. Mere colourless description, were such possible, would be valueless, unreal, devoid of appeal. Unhappily, what is so often mis-called realism, is, but an excuse for bringing before the public things obscene and licentious. Nor can the Realist avoid being carried away by the seeming which is to cause the truth to lie hidden from him. Even were Realism possible, it could only give us the outsides of things, so to speak, never their essence and meaning. It follows, therefore, that all great art must be essentially idealistic, and that to strain after Realism is to degrade art and artist alike.

## IN AN AIR-RAID ON LONDON

BY ST. Nihal Singh.

**I** SAT beside my study window typewriting a letter on Saturday July 7, 1917, when I heard the panes of glass suddenly start to rattling. In these days no noise escapes one's attention, and one's sense of hearing seems to have acquired an acuteness that it never before possessed. Any unusual sound makes one ask: Was it only powder-testing, or soldiers learning to throw bombs, or was it a raid?

I was not left long in doubt. The reports of the anti aircraft guns came thick and fast from all directions. These guns make a noise peculiar to themselves and there is no mistaking it when one hears it. My typewriting advanced no further, though all that I had to do was to type a numeral to complete the address on the envelope that was in the machine.

One's first thought in such a case is always to get one's people down stairs, and to see to it that no one is outside the house. Of course, a bomb may fall on the roof, crash through floor after floor, explode in the basement, and demolish the whole building. But, all the same, safety lies on the ground floor or in the cellar. The danger is greatest in the open, for pieces of shrapnel fired by our own guns fly about, and one is more likely to be hit by them than by a bomb dropped by the enemy air-men.

A journalist's instinct will not let him "stay put" in the cellar when something extraordinary is happening high up above him in the heavens. As the guns were raining shrapnel towards an objective miles away from my home, I saw no particular reason why I should seek shelter in the cellar. After I had seen to it that all the members of my family were safe, I went, shrapnel or no shrapnel, into the back garden to scan the sky. There was nothing to be seen. I then went to the front verandah.

I had hardly reached there when I saw something moving in the sky. As soon as my eyes became accustomed to the glare of the sun, which was shining brightly at the time somewhat after half past ten o'clock

in the morning, I could distinguish a number of aeroplanes. A minute or two later I discovered that there were two groups of them flying not very far from each other.

It was not possible to tell just how many of them were flying about in the air. I counted more than twenty myself. A neighbour said that there were thirty or more. The shells were bursting all about them, and with the naked eye it was not possible to tell whether one saw puffs of smoke from the exploding shells or aeroplanes. We learned afterwards from the official report that twenty enemy aeroplanes had paid a visit to the Metropolitan area.

Some of the people round about me asked me if I could distinguish our own aircraft from those of the enemy. I could not. They said that they could. Our aeroplanes, they shouted above the din of the roaring guns, were far above the enemy machines and circling round and round them. It was not possible to say how much of this was imagination and how much reality. In a state of excitement, the imagination often supercedes the senses.

As we were watching, we saw an aeroplane make a curious evolution. It swerved and dipped its nose. Everybody within ear-shot said that it had been hit, and we expected it to drop to the ground. But it soon righted itself. It may not, of course, have been hit at all. How disappointed we all were!

My mind travelled back to the two occasions on which I had seen Zeppelins brought down. On one of these occasions I stood on the steps leading down from the drawing-room into the garden. My eyes were fixed on the heavens above. At first nothing was visible except the many searchlights playing upon the sky, dimming the few stars that hung overhead. All of a sudden one of the "searchies"—as we call them in our home—picked out a "Zep". It looked like a tiny silver boat floating serenely about.

"How 'pretty she looks," said some one.

"But what a 'horrible business she is about," retorted another.

"It is 'not longer than a yard-stick," all agreed.

We were discussing these details when we lost sight of the air-ship. The "search-lights" darted about the sky like mad. Then came a chorus of questions: "Where is she?" "Can you see her?"

No one could see her. A testy man shouted, "Keep quiet and see."

We peered at the heavens more intently. All of a sudden, a star-shell was seen descending. "What was it?" was asked from all quarters. No one could tell. Each one had a different theory.

We had not finished debating the point when a sudden glow attracted our attention. The sky became lighter and lighter, as if the day was about to dawn. That which was a silver boat a few minutes before had now become a golden boat. She became redder and redder—and larger and larger.

"She is hit!"

"She is coming down!"

An excited out-burst from the street below drowned our remarks. The sirens of the steamers on the river filled the air with their shrill shrieks. Between hurrahs we could hear the cry: "the blighters are burning."

"Jolly good thing too," said some one.

"After all they are human beings," protested another.

"Yes, and they come to kill our women and children. They are getting a dose of their own medicine. Serve them jolly well right," was the retort.

There was no mistaking the general sentiment, for the streets round about soon filled with crowds of people, who gave vociferous expression to their joy at having seen a "Zep" brought down in flames.

Some of the enthusiasts set out at once to see how she looked after coming to earth! Trams and omnibuses had stopped for the night. Even the last train had departed. But men and women thought nothing of trudging mile upon mile to see the wreck.

To return to the subject of the last raid:

Minute after minute elapsed, and no one heard any sound that could be taken

as the dull thud of a bomb striking the earth. The inference was that the enemy was after a definite objective, and was reserving his "eggs," as the German bombs are popularly called, for the particular area he proposed to demolish.

The aeroplanes looked like a flock of swallows flying close to one another. I, who had seen the locusts eat up more than one harvest ripening in the Indian fields, was reminded of those distressful experiences, and, in view of the horrific mission on which the aircraft had come, perhaps my simile was more apt than that of the Londoners.

If there was any impression common among the spectators, it was that the aeroplanes were flying at a very low altitude, and travelling at a slow speed. I learned, after the raid, from men who had been miles nearer the scene of the raid than I had been, that they appeared to be flying very low—one man said he could see the German air-men with the glasses and proceeding very slowly. According to one statement, they appeared to be proceeding at a "stately and almost majestically slow pace," and to be 'travelling' "with a calm leisureliness."

The statement made in an evening newspaper by "a high authority" would have us believe otherwise. It was very cleverly constructed, and deserves to be quoted in full:

"The height of aircraft from the ground is very difficult to arrive at. To make a reasonably correct estimate, the size of the machines must be known and the conditions of the atmosphere must be taken into account.

"The pace of aircraft is also most difficult to arrive at. To an observer on the ground only, the angular velocity of aircraft is apparent. The actual velocity, however, depends not only on the angular velocity but the distance and height of the machines from the observer, and its direction, whether crossing, approaching directly, or obliquely.

"It will be readily understood that a machine observed at a height of 15,000 feet may easily be thought to be almost stationary, whereas it is really travelling at a high rate of speed.

"In the raid of the 7th inst. statements have been made that the enemy machines flew at low altitudes, and that on occasions they 'hovered,' or remained almost stationary, whereas they were certainly never under 12,500 feet, and were travelling at from 70 to 80 miles an hour.

"It is also very difficult to judge the actual position of aircraft. Observers are apt to describe an aircraft as vertical when they are observing it at a considerable angle from the vertical. Aircraft at high altitudes observed at even a small angle from the vertical are actually a considerable horizontal distance from the observer."

Few persons could read through this statement without a buzzing in the head. Few would dare to challenge an authoritative explanation so evidently scientific. One emerges from the ordeal of reading it or listening to it with a confused jumble of ideas concerning "angular velocity" and "actual velocity" and in the end has to consult a dictionary to clear his befuddled brain as to the difference between vertical and horizontal. That is perhaps what the man who made the statement intended should be the case.

Whatever the altitude at which the enemy aircraft flew, and whatever the speed at which they moved, they remained in sight for many minutes—just how many I shall not attempt to say. We could hear the throbbing of their engines, and some of us heard, or at least thought that we heard, machine-gun duels in the air.

We continued to hear these sounds for several minutes after the aircraft were no longer visible. When almost completely out of sight, we heard sounds that we construed to be the report of bombs that they had dropped.

The accuracy with which the spectators round about me guessed the district on which the enemy was raining bombs was amazing. One woman actually named one of the buildings that I afterwards learned had been damaged.

We must, however, remember that the British are trained to observe in their childhood, in and out of school. Only the other day Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, the Education Minister of Britain, told me that one of the gravest defects of the present Indian system of education was that it did not train the eyes and ears of Indian boys and girls to observe accurately and quickly.

It seemed to be a long time from the moment I heard the rattling of the panes of glass in my study window when the sound of firing ceased. Perhaps it was not even half an hour; but it seemed much longer.

As soon as the people felt that the danger of being hurt by flying shrapnel was over, they stepped out from the places of vantage from which they had been watching the raid. Those who had relatives or friends in the area that they thought had been bombed made their way, as fast as they could, to the telephone

booths to enquire how their dear ones had fared.

Soon queues—lines of waiting men and women—formed before the public telephones, each person waiting for his or her turn. In several, fifty or more gathered to try to get word from their people in the danger zone. It was surprising to see that, though everyone was overwhelmed with anxiety, yet no one forgot decency and tried to slip into the line ahead of his turn.

I, myself, saw a fairly large queue, and noted that it was absolutely free from jostling and crowding. Persons standing in the line were trying to comfort one another. Britons who, as a rule, are very punctilious about not talking with persons to whom they have not been formally introduced, forgot that convention on this occasion.

The attempt to hile anxiety and even to look cheerful could not escape notice. It was wonderful that among all the persons whom one saw and heard during the moments of excitement, not one was actually panic stricken. It would not be right to say that people talked in their every-day tones while the raid was in progress and immediately after it. But they were singularly free from fear. Only a few took refuge in cellars. The others remained, where they could see what was going on.

The cool nerve that the telephone girls displayed during the raid was admirable. They stuck to their exchanges when bombs and shells appeared to be falling all about them. Many persons rushed to the telephones as soon as the raid began, and throughout its progress kept asking the telephone operators to connect them with their friends and relatives who, they feared, were in danger. This was against the rules, but in moments of peril human nature forgets regulations that may intercept communication between dear ones. The girls dealt with these persistent persons and interferers, and with the rush incidental upon the authorities dealing with the raid, with a resourcefulness that has made them little heroines in the eyes of the people.

The persons with whom one sympathized the most were those who had been injured in the air raid that had taken place about ten days before and were still lying in hospitals in the district, that was



being bombed. Their state of mind can be better imagined than described.

Among the men rescued from the very jaws of death on that occasion was a Punjabi Musalman whom the spirit of adventure had brought to Britain. He is not well read, but is a highly skilled printer. He was at his case when he was injured by scores of large and small pieces of shrapnel that flew from a bomb that had burst in the basement after descending from the sky and piercing the roof and two floors. He thought that some one had fired a shot gun at him from below, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded that he had been the victim of an air raid. He knew nobody in this country save me—I had met him casually a few weeks before—and as soon as he came out of his stupor at the hospital after being operated on, he wrote me a post card. I visited him at once, and have gone to see him from time to time.

While the last raid was in progress, I could not help thinking of my countryman in the Hospital, and as soon as it was over, I went to see how he had fared. I learned that he was taking his daily bath when he heard "loud thunder"—as he expressed it. He jumped out of the bath and rushed to the door, then, feeling faint, he groped his way back to his bed and fell in a swoon.

The sister in charge of the ward reached his bed almost at the moment he fell on it, and quickly revived him. Soon he was convinced that the safest place for him was where he was. The spirit innate in the Punjabi came to his rescue, and he behaved in a manner befitting his birth.

The authorities of the hospital are very much pleased with his conduct. Under the care that is being lavished upon him, he is rapidly recovering, and will soon be discharged, when he must go to the country for rest.

As our family party went to the hospital, we saw crowds of people making towards the places where bombs had fallen. There were all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children. It was literally a case of "some in rags and some in tags and some in velvet gowns." The rich were going in taxi-cabs, the poor were riding in omnibuses or walking. We even saw one jaunting car with a man, woman, and child seated in it, drawn by a tiny Shetland pony.

It was amusing to see men and children digging out pieces of shrapnel that had embedded themselves in the wooden paving blocks. Most of them were using pen-knives. Occasionally screw-drivers were pressed into service. One man had a particularly large screw-driver, and unless he happened to be a carpenter working thereabouts, he must have come very well prepared.

The policemen and "specials"—as the patriotic men who have volunteered to serve as extra police constables after their ordinary work is over or in cases of emergency are called—looked at the men and boys digging out shrapnel with an air of detachment. I heard a facetious policeman chuckle as he asked a boy "Well, Tommy, what is the idea? Do you want to dig up all the old nails in the pavement?"

The policemen detailed to prevent people from going into the barricaded districts, and to keep the crowds moving, did their duty efficiently, but quite pleasantly. The sightseers respected the ropes that had been slung across streets, and unquestioningly obeyed the policemen when they commanded them to "move on."

Though that was one of a number of raids that have taken place, and though the destruction did not present any new features, yet the crowds that had come out to see the sights were large. When I left the district, people were still streaming towards it, and those who were there showed little disposition to return home. We found plenty of room in the omnibus that was to take us home, though those coming towards the scene of the raid were as full as the law allowed them to be.

The people in the omnibus, like those who formed the crowds, were all full of rage at the Hunnish barbarity. They all said that the Germans were committing murder, and were not carrying on warfare.

The general opinion was that the only way to stop these raids was to send our airships to rain bombs upon German towns. Nothing short of that, it was said, would keep the Germans from killing English women and babies.

Any attempts made in defence of, clean fighting was at once booted down. "We are too soft," ran the refrain, and drowned all talk of ethics. One did not have even half a chance to tell these people that German towns were not within easy reach

of English machines, as English towns were easy of access to German air-men.

When one did not hear anger expressed at German barbarity, one heard complaints of the incompetence of the Government to protect British cities from attacks from the air. Both men and women declared that it was a shame that, although nearly three years of war had gone by, yet the German raiders could come, bomb London, and escape scot-free. But for muddling, they declared, the Germans would get such a warm reception from Britain that they would never again dare to poke their noses into the British sky. One heard frequently that nothing else could be expected when the various branches of the air service were jealous of one another, and the air service was not placed under a man of imagination and energy.

The official explanations made in Parliament only serve to make people exclaim, "we want action, not talk!" The air debate in a secret session that was held on the first day Parliament assembled after the raid has been taken to be an attempt on the part of the executive to hide inefficiency under the cloak of secrecy. The

information that shortly after the raid Lord French, the Commander of the Home Forces, had gone to Ireland, raised tests from people who thought that he ought to be in the Metropolis of the Empire devising means to render it impregnable to attack from the air.

Many are the persons who feel that the Rt. Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill is the one man fit to be at the head of the air service; but his political enemies are so opposed to him that the Cabinet does not dare to take advantage of his organizing ability. The announcement had actually been published in the papers that Mr. Churchill had been appointed Air Minister; it proved to be premature. Since then Mr. Churchill has been appointed Minister of Munitions—a position in which he will have the opportunity to do a great service to the Empire.

At present Mr. Lloyd George and General Smuts are enquiring into the subject. The people feel that they will not rest until everything that can be done has been done to make London secure. It is being said that the "Zep" problem has been solved, and the Government can solve the problem of aeroplane raids, if they set out in earnest to do so.

## NOTES

### Power of Ideas.

In the endeavour to obtain self-rule, it may be necessary merely to talk and write for years. There may be an impatient demand for action; and this demand has often led even to the criminal use of explosives. But it should be remembered that in human affairs ideas possess greater power than anything else. Chemists have not succeeded and will not succeed in inventing a more powerful explosive or a more potent dissolvent than ideas. When ideas are believed in, victory is sure: Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war!

"One person with a belief," says Mill "is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests. They who can succeed in creating a general persuasion that a certain form of government, or social fact of any kind, deserves to be preferred, have made nearly the most important step which can possibly be taken towards ranging the powers of society on its side." Let British capitalists talk of their vested interests, let some Indian landholders talk of their stake in the country: we shall be content with having beliefs and producing beliefs. "It is what men think that determines how they act" (Mill).

### Internment of a Newspaper Correspondent

Babu Aresh Kumar Banerji, special correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee*, who had gone to Arrah to report on the Bakrid disturbances there, has been interned, it is said, for sending "objectionable" news. That is the reason given in a letter from him published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Kindly make other arrangements for reporting the Arrah disturbances as I have been interned under the Indian Defence Act. The charge against me is that I sent 'objectionable' news to the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee*. I have been kept in a solitary cell in the Arrah jail. I was taken down from the train while returning from Patna on Wednesday (10th October) morning and taken in a motor to Arrah where the Inspector General (of Police) ordered my internment in jail. Wife and three infants are at Bankipore. They may die of starvation.

It is a standing joke in Bengal against patent medicines, that even if you lose a cow, it can be found by the use of some one or other of these remedies. The Defence of India Act appears to be such a universal remedy. It is a sure cure, and no mistake, for all the ills that the bureaucratic flesh is heir to. Supposing a man does send "objectionable" news, regarding some "religious riots" how does that affect in any way the military position of India? The correspondent went to report on disturbances created by mobs consisting for the most part of ignorant low class people. The Germans had nothing to do with them nor the revolutionaries of India. How, then, could the safety of India be imperilled by the despatch of even perversely wrong news regarding these disturbances? We have taken it for granted that the news sent were really objectionable. But the thing is that there is nothing to show that such an experienced newspaper correspondent as Babu Aresh Kumar has sent any news objectionable from the point of view of public welfare. No doubt, 'objectionable' may mean inconvenient or troublesome to some officer or officers. But the Defence of India Act was never meant to save the amour propre or to safeguard the interests of incompetent officials whose want of tact, judgment and discernment of the ethically best policy sometimes lead to untoward results.

But just as we do not desire that any non-official gentleman should be dealt with with unmerited harshness, so we

do not desire that any official should be prejudged. Therefore the best course would be for the Bihar and Orissa Government to inform the public what particular item of news sent by Aresh Babu was considered objectionable. If this were not done, people might naturally infer that his internment had been brought about by some officer or officers in order to prevent the publication of some facts which would have been damaging to their reputation. Or, if the internment be not at all due to the despatch of any alleged objectionable news, the Bihar and Orissa Government should issue a communique stating the real cause or causes.

The freedom of the press has hitherto suffered sufficiently from restrictive legislation. But even these restraints, it would seem, do not appear to some executive officers to be sufficient. They would press the Defence of India Act, too, into their service in unimaginable ways. Their resourcefulness is really admirable.

And is it true that the internment took place under orders of the Inspector General of Police? That officer, we presume, has no power under the law to pass such orders. And why should the *detenu* in this case be kept in a solitary cell?

It may have been a very successful stroke of policy to obtain from Mrs Annie Besant, before her release, a promise of co-operation with Government to produce a calm political atmosphere, but even a child may see that, if internments continue to increase, it would not be possible for even a hundred Mrs. Besants with all their occult powers, to produce or maintain a calm political atmosphere. It is necessary for the Government of India and provincial governments to maintain a vigilant watch and control over their subordinates if the feeling of uneasiness in the country is not to widen and deepen. And the people, too, have a duty. They should, in all localities, particularly in those provinces where men have been interned, meet together and tell the Government what they think of these internments. And as soon as the High Courts re-open, the relatives of some well-to-do *detenus* should institute cases to test the validity of the Defence of India Act, as has been suggested by Sir S. Sabramania Iyer in a letter to the *Hindu* of Madras. Not that we would desire them to build any hopes on such cases. F

place, the High Courts may hold either that they have no jurisdiction or that the Act is valid, and in the second place, even if the Act were declared invalid, much time would not be required to validate it. But we write only as laymen. Lawyers would be better able to say what legal steps may be taken to obtain relief for the *détenus*.

### A Committee of Enquiry

At the last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference Babu Srishchandra Chatterji moved the resolution about the Defence of India Act. He made an addition to the resolution to the effect that a Committee of enquiry be formed to enquire into the case of every person arrested or dealt with under the Defence of India Act or under Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818 and to approach the authorities to obtain relief where necessary. The committee was to consist of Messrs Surendranath Banerjee, Motilal Ghosh, Bhupendranath Basu, Krishnakumar Mitra, Fazlul Haq, B. Chakravarti, C. R. Das, Probhas Chunder Mitter, and some other gentlemen. We suppose this committee was never formed, or, if formed, never met. Such a committee is an urgent necessity. Even if such a body be not able to obtain the release of a single *détenu*, it can at least relieve the miseries of the dependants of some persons who have been interned, and bring to the notice of Government and of the public the defective housing and other arrangements made for some at least of the *détenus*, after detailed investigation.

### A Suggestion for the Relief of Detenus

We will give an instance. *The Athrita Bazar Patrika* writes that Babu Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, a teacher of the K. R. Jyotiba School, of Noakhali, is one of the hundreds of young men who have been interned under the Defence of India Act and tried.

The special feature of his case is that he got a certificate of good character from the Divisional Commissioner only 15 days before his arrest and a similar certificate from the District Magistrate a month before he was interned, showing how all powerful are C. I. D. officers. Well last year some questions regarding Nagendra Kumar were put in the Bengal Legislative Council. This was followed by Nagendra Babu submitting a petition to the Government of Bengal praying that he might be permitted to appear before the Additional Secretary to the Government and thus be given an opportunity to exonerate himself from the charges brought against

him and of which he was unaware. A reply was given to the petition.

### The Patrika proceeds.—

It is now more than a year since Nagendra Kumar was interned. At first he was domiciled in his father's residence at Srerampur in the district of Noakhali and then on the prayer of his grandmother, the Hon. ble Mr. Cumming was kind enough to remove him to his grandmother's house at Pukurdia (Noakhali), where he lived peacefully and where he had opportunity of looking after small properties which his mother inherited from her father. But on the 24th May last he was all on a sudden ordered to proceed to Kalchini in the district of Jalpaiguri—his present place of internment. It may be noted that the cause of his sudden removal is as mysterious as that of his arrest and detention. At this place he has been living a most miserable life. Nagendra Babu submitted a petition to the Hon. ble Mr. Cumming on 16th July 1917, stating his grievances. He also prayed in that petition for permission to appear before the Additional Secretary to know the charges against him and answer them. In the first week of August last he got replies to his petition. The Under Secretary kept silent as to his prayer to appear before the Additional Secretary. He however assured him that his (Nagendra Babu's) complaint as to being badly housed will be removed.

As to how this complaint has been actually removed, the *Patrika* says, 'a local gentleman has written to us thus describing the condition of the house in which Nagendra Babu is being confined.

The house which is a thatched one is situated on marshy land which is submerged during heavy rain and rests on very low bamboo posts. There is not a single window for ventilation in this house and there is not even one piece of furniture. Even a bedstead has not been given though repeatedly asked for. In short it is in no way superior to a cowshed is a gentleman's house."

"And," asks our contemporary, "what has been done to repair the house?"

We are told by our correspondent that the only so-called measure taken by the Superintendent of Police of Jalpaiguri to make the house more suitable was the post of three or four bamboo posts.

The last extract which we will make from the *Patrika* about this case is

One of the complaints of Nagendra Babu is that the allowance he gets is very scanty, it being rupees sixteen per month. He informed of this to the Additional Secretary to Government and in compliance with his instructions applied to the Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri on the 28th August for an increment of his allowance. And what was the result? After a month he got a reply from the Deputy Commissioner refusing the prayer.

We have heard of some other *détenus* being "compulsorily domiciled" in worse houses than the one described above, but, not having been able to enquire into the reliability of the reports refrain from giving details. We only make the following extract from the *Bengalee*.

## SNAKE PFSTS AT RAMGATI

Danger to Detenus.

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Noakhali, Oct. 11.

It is a notorious fact that Ramgati and other islands in this district abound in venomous snakes, and they are largely in evidence at this season of the year. Only the other day, Surendra Nath Bose, a jemadar attached to the Ramgati P. S., was bitten by a snake while asleep on his bedstead at night and who was found dead the following morning. We understand that a large number of detenus have been lodged in Ramgati and other islands, and, one of them, it is said, could not enter his shed for nights together for fear of a snake that had taken its abode there, and he had therefore, to keep up at night. Being exasperated, he at last moved the local police authorities, who, we hear, have very kindly accommodated him temporarily in the inspection bungalow there.

It is also believed that many detenus besides, Nagendra Babu get insufficient allowances, and what allowances the families of poor detenus who were their breadwinners get is not known. Every case should, therefore, be inquired into in detail, and proper relief be given. This should be done by the Indian Association or the proposed enquiry committee.

Many of the detenus are kept in villages where there are no qualified medical practitioners, or druggists' shops. So in case of illness the men interned there have either to go without medical treatment, or wait long for it, until official sanction has been obtained for such treatment. There are difficulties as regards nursing, too. Here is an instance. Babu Paresnath Banerji wrote to us from Kushtia (Nadia) on the 13th October:

"My nephew Bejaykanta Roy Chowdhuri (an M. A. Student), interned at Kharaul, Dinajpur, (since February, 1915) is seriously ill. I sent an urgent telegram (reply prepaid) to Additional Secy. to the Government of Bengal requesting him to permit me to live with the detenu during his illness. But the Additional Secy. does not think it necessary to reply to this. The message was sent 8 a.m. 11. 10. 1917. No reply yet."

This letter was written to enquire what further steps could be taken to obtain permission to go and nurse the detenu through his illness. The same gentleman wrote to the Bengalee also, giving details of Bejoy Kanta's illness.

He has got a severe pain about his right collar bone and the ribs on the right side, attended with high fever. He has requested me to go to his place to nurse him.

We were subsequently informed that the detenu was better.

We have thus four classes of grievances to deal with, three relating to the interned

themselves and one relating to the condition of their dependants. We have to enquire whether the detenus are properly housed, whether their allowances are sufficient to maintain them in health, whether they receive proper and prompt medical attendance and nursing during illness, and whether the dependants of those who were the breadwinners of the family have the wherewithal to live. One of the officially admitted facts relating to the suicide, of Haricharan Das is that as no allowance was fixed for and given to him as soon as he was interned, he had to borrow money from police officials. Probably in the case of some other detenus, too, the giving of allowances is not as prompt as it ought to be.

Now, our reluctant suggestion is that so long as Government are not able to make proper housing and other arrangements for the detenus, they should all be provided with accommodation in jails, but not, of course, in solitary cells. For, in jails, the houses are masonry buildings, and better than many of those assigned to the interned; a man gets food in jail from the very day he is sent there,—he has not to wait for days and weeks for any allowance, or to borrow; and every jail has a hospital, a dispensary, and a qualified medical practitioner attached to it. In these respects the lot of prisoners is better than that of many detenus, though in others it is worse, particularly as in jails one loses much more of his liberty and is thrown against one's will into undesirable company. On the whole, however, so far as the preservation of life and health is concerned, jail life would seem to be preferable to the life led by some detenus. A humourist might even be permitted to suppose that the escape of some detenus from compulsory domicile might have been due to their desire for a physically better life, namely, life in jails; for when arrested after their escape they would be sure to be sent to jail.

In the case of Mrs. Besant and her associates, it was not necessary for the public to make any suggestions for improving the conditions of their internment. They had been allowed to choose any one out of six healthy places, and they chose Ootacamund, the healthy and fashionable summer resort of the Madras Government. When the climate of even this place did not suit her, she was allowed to go to Coimbatore.

Many people who saw her in Calcutta have observed that she did not look like one who had recently suffered from any illness. But nevertheless it must be presumed that her illness and her sufferings must have been terrible for not only did all India in the words of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, weep for them, but the news was flashed across oceans and continents to England and there compelled the authorities to explain how prompt and considerate they had been in giving her relief. In support of what is written above we extract the following from *New India*:

#### THE CENSOR

##### 1. THE Labour Herald writes —

The Editor of *New India* sends us the following reply to an inquiry as to the state of Mrs Besant's health:

Lausbury Editor Labour Herald London Mrs Besant is slightly better. Not likely to recover during internment—Telang Editor *New India*.

We are permitted by the Censor to print the above conditional on our publishing the following official statement:

As soon as Mrs Besant's indisposition was known to the Government of Madras the services of the District Medical Officer were placed at her disposal and in case her indisposition should be due to the climate of Ootacamund a change of residence was offered to her. This offer was accepted and Mrs Besant is understood to have gone to Coimbatore.

In suggesting what ought to be done for the relief of the interned and their dependants, we have not taken it for granted that they are innocent. We have proceeded on the supposition that they may be guilty. It is quite legitimate and lawful to seek to make the treatment of even the worst criminals in jail more and more humane so that jail life may be a means of reclamation without ceasing to have a deterrent effect. In fact jail administration has been growing more and more humane in civilised countries. Suggestions made for the better treatment of mere political suspects should therefore, be welcomed by Government who may be presumed to be anxious to free their officers from the faintest suspicion of vindictiveness towards such persons. Kindness is appreciated even by these men.

#### 2. Internments Again

Recently some interned persons forming a very small fraction of the total number of such men are reported to have been released in Bengal on the receipt of guarantees for their future good behavior

from their guardians or others. This is good. But as fresh internments have been taking place from time to time the total is probably not going down but rising. *The Bengalee* has the following:

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Rangpur Oct. 11

Ajay Ch. Das Gupta, an M. Sc. student and the second son of Babu Jogesh Ch. Das, Gupta, B.L. pleader has been arrested under the Defence of India Act. It may be of interest to note that Ajay Ch. is the elder brother of Sachindra Ch. Das Gupta an ex-detenué who committed suicide at Rangpur under circumstances already reported.

#### "The Review of Reviews" on Indian Reforms.

*The Review of Reviews* for September has a long note on 'Indian Reforms' which on the whole correctly represents educated Indian opinion. Miss Stead, the Editor writes:

Reforms for India remain a burning topic. Early last month Lord Islington, parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, delivered an important speech at Oxford in which he suggested the improvements that his private opinion on need to be made in the Indian Administration and the concessions that ought to be given to Indians. His recommendations if adopted in the future, would no doubt make the machinery of Indian governance less cumbersome and would somewhat improve the position of Indians in the administration. But his political programme is weak; he would leave national affairs including national finances, tariffs, customs, railways and other means of communication entirely out of Indian control, pretty much as they are at present. Many Indians will object to this. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League—which between them represent the majority of the educated Indian community—have met and formulated demands that leave not the shadow of a doubt that Indians will not be satisfied until the Central as well as the Provincial Governments are made responsible to them. They are not pressing us to give India complete Home Rule, not even in the Irish sense of the word, much less a kind of self-governing Dominion. But they do want us to end the irresponsibleity of the Indian executive, national as well as provincial, for on account of distant occupation with domestic affairs and lack of local knowledge Parliament has never been able to exercise the necessary check over British officials in India. The statement made by the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20th just before Parliament adjourned is somewhat of a disappointment. It implies that he has had to subordinate his opinion as expressed in his speech of July, when he was still a private member and which boded so well for the future of India to those of his colleagues in the Ministry. We welcome the decision that Mr. Montagu shall go to India and there study the reforms on the spot, and we hope that when there no obstacle will be placed in the way of the free and informal exchange of opinion between him and representative Indian bodies and that on his return he will be able to announce concessions that will not fall below that which Indians regard as the irreducible minimum.

### Indian Civil Service Examination.

India says that Indian candidates have captured the successes in this year's open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. There are only five successful names on the list. They are, with the total number of marks in each case, as follows:—

1, Reuben, David Ezra, 2,565; 2, Gupta, Satyendranath, 2,492; 3, Jayaratnam, T. C. S., 2,334; 4, Ellis, Thomas Hobart, 2,230; 5, Rau, Pendala S., 2,203.

Numbers 1 and 5 are marked as having been provisionally admitted to the examination. ("The meaning of this is merely that these candidates have not yet produced the certificates of age and nationality," required under the Government of India notification, No. 2252 of August 21, 1888, as amended by notification No. 404 of May 19, 1898.") The sixth and seventh names in order of merit are:—Bhadkamkar, B. V., (2,165), and Chunder, Kamal Ch. (2,124).

India informs us:—

"This year the advertised number of vacancies was five, and thirty-five candidates sat for the examination, of whom the names of thirty-one are published. Last year there were 20 Indian and nine Cingalese candidates: this year all the candidates with the exception of two (Mr. T. H. Ellis, who is 4th, and Mr. J. Burrows, who is 18th), are Indians or Cingalese."

"While the number of advertised vacancies is five, it is open to the Secretary of State to nominate other Indians, 'in accordance with the intention' of the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act. Last year three candidates were so appointed, in addition to the two who were actually successful at the open competition. If this precedent be followed, both Mr. Bhadkamkar, who is sixth, and Mr. K. C. Chunder, who is seventh, should obtain appointments this year: for three of the successful candidates are Indians."

### Pataliputra Excavations.

The excavations at Patna have cost some 75 thousands of Indian money. In return for this money the country had the benefit of the charming theory of Dr. Spooner that Buddha, the Nandas, Kautilya and Chandragupta were Parsis. The theory was *aparatamaniya* (चापारतमनीय), charming only so long as it did not collapse. And it collapsed at the first touch of criticism. It was too big a pill to be swallowed even by those who call themselves "Orientalists" and who are too glad to find foreign origins for everything Indian. A few more theories, like this would lead to the collapse of public faith in the value of the

work of the department which maintains Dr. Spooner and many others and which in turn is maintained by the Indian taxpayer. What the Department of Archaeology in India is expected to do is to find tangible materials, to tabulate, and describe them *faithfully* as they are, not as they would appear to support or discredit some preconceived theory. To indulge in fancies which would ultimately prove not to have been worth the paper they were written upon would render the department fit to be abolished, as nobody would like to pay for fancies. Another duty which is a most sacred duty of the Archaeological Department is to conserve the monuments which time seeks to destroy *but earth seeks to preserve. If you mercilessly separate them from the protecting bosom of Mother Earth which gave them shelter for centuries from rude vandalism and impious curiosity, you must take upon yourself the duty of preserving them for the future, for mankind yet to be.* This has been admitted even by professional archaeologists. "Conservation must be his first duty" says Petrie, the veteran archaeologist, in his "Methods and Aims in Archaeology".

"To uncover a monument, and leave it to perish by exposure or by plundering, to destroy thus what has lasted for thousands of years and might last for thousands to come is a crime" (P. 178).

Have these ethics been followed in the excavations of Pataliputra? Is not the whole excavated area an uncare for pool of putrid and putrefying water? The remains of ancient brick and wooden walls, pavements and the rest have been forsaken to the mercy of the monsoon and to the morning desecration of villagers at will. The "life solidified" of ancient ages has been exposed to the elements for thorough destruction. The future has a right to read the remains in its own way. But why talk of the future? Even the present is being deprived of the opportunity of interpreting the remains in its own way, of judging the soundness of Dr. Spooner's interpretations. The remains, as said to have been found by Dr. Spooner, remain no longer. Where are to-day the gravel pavement, the drainage canal, the marks of charred bean-pavement, the so-called circles, the well, the remains of the passage inside the wall of the Kumhar excavations? What has become of the wheel which the initiated called—"of the

Mauryan" and the lay, 'of the Moghul' period? Has it not gone to pieces now? Was it not perfect when first dug out? Are not the wooden palisades of Bulandi Bagh under elephant-deep waters? Who on earth will call it excavation? It is a pure exposure to death of the life solidified.

We enter our strongest protest against such a state of affairs in Bihar archaeology. The protest is not only in behalf of Indian history, but also in the interests of the Department itself. If the public is going to have this sort of "surgical operation in ignorance of anatomy," in the words of Petrie, better let us have no excavations at all. Let all our ancient treasures be preserved and secluded from impious touch of irresponsibility as heretofore. For we say with Petrie, "Far better let things be a few centuries longer under the ground, if they can be let alone, than repeat the vandalism of past ages without the excuse of being a barbarian."

Another point which calls for public attention is the preservation of relics. The relics were originally locked under the weight of hundreds and thousands of tons of bricks and stone, with the simple object that they should remain where they have been deposited, that they should remain in India. But against the pious wishes of those who built the sacred monuments, the relics are removed not only from the old sites but from even the country of the sites. Where are the relics of Sariputra and Maudgallayana, the two disciples of Buddha, dug out from Sanchi by General Cunningham? The ship which was carrying the find went down to the bottom of the sea. Where are the contents of the casket enshrined by Kanishka in the bowels of his great stupā? Not in India. One wonders by what right and on what ethics they are removed out of the country. Their removal even to a Museum is highly impious from both religious and historical points of view. "To raid the whole of past ages, and put all that we think effective into Museums," says Petrie, "is only to ensure that such things will perish." The fate of the Museum of Kertch is an example and in our own times that of the Belgian Museum. "Broadly speaking, there is no likelihood that the majority of things now in Museums will yet be preserved anything like as long as they have already lasted." The relics ought to have been reburied under casts and copies taken

and kept. To remove the relics out of this country is absolutely unpardonable.

### "Our day."

#### HER EXCELLENCY'S APPEAL TO BENGAL.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford have issued appeals to the people of India, which have already appeared in the newspapers, for funds for The St. John Ambulance and Red Cross Society and they have intimated their intention to set aside the 12th of December as a public holiday throughout India, for a special effort for this deserving work. This date will be known as "Our Day."

In Bengal, we are in many different ways aiding the various organizations in connection with the war, but I am now asking the people of Bengal to make a special effort to raise funds on this occasion. I appeal to all communities, both rich and poor, to do their best. I have formed in Calcutta a Central Committee of European and Indian gentlemen to help me to carry out Their Excellencies' wishes. I hope those in the districts will form Committees and arrange entertainments and collect subscriptions. The idea of "OUR DAY" is not that we should confine ourselves to this particular day, but that it should be the culminating point of our effort in Bengal to help the Red Cross.

I hope all will contribute to make this my first appeal to Bengal for funds in connection with the war a successful one, and that after meeting the needs of our Red Cross Branch, Bengal will be able to hand over a very substantial sum to the Central Fund.

CICELY RONALD SHAW.

Government House,

Darjeeling;

6th October 1917.

#### Riots and Home Rule.

In literature repetition is a fault, and should be avoided. In journalism, as arguments which have been refuted again and again are brought forward again and again, repetition becomes unavoidable and necessary.

The occasional occurrence of riots, particularly of "religious" riots, has this year again been brought forward by the foreign press of India in connection with the Bakrid disturbances in Arrah, as a conclusive argument against the grant of



self-government to India. As riots and disturbances of various descriptions occur in independent and self-governing countries, including England, and as they do not disqualify these countries for self-rule, we are not convinced either of the cogency or of the honesty of the arguments of our journalistic opponents. Instances of such riots have been quoted in previous numbers of this Review and brought together in "Towards Home Rule." We quote some of them below.

"We take the following Reuter's telegram from the morning papers :—

London, June 23. Fifty Liverpool schools have been closed owing to fights between the Protestant and Catholic children aided by their mothers

"We think Reuter has made a mistake. These fighting children are certainly Hindus and Musalmans in disguise, who suddenly dropped down on Liverpool, having travelled thither in fifty air-ships. For, we have been told by Englishmen that India cannot have self-rule because there are religious faction fights here. The converse must also be true, namely, that in a self-governing country there cannot be "religious riots." And as England is self-governing, either Reuter dreamt a dream, or the children, as we have said, were Hindus and Musalmans in disguise."

"M. R., July, 1909."

(From our own correspondent.)

"Allahabad, July 13th, 1910

The following telegram appears in the Australian papers dated London, June 29th :

—While the Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool was driving to his residence after laying the foundation stone of St. Alphonso's Chapel, his carriage was stoned by a Protestant mob."

"We take the above from the *Indian Daily News*. Perhaps the news-agency which cabled this piece of news to the Australian papers omitted to add that the people of Liverpool had been disfranchised on account of sectarian rancour caused by religious fanaticism. This has certainly taken place, because we have been often told that one of the causes why we cannot have self-government is that we indulge occasionally in (i-) religious riots."

"M. R., August, 1910."

"Anglo-Indian extremist papers and British Tory journals do not fail to remind us every now and then that India cannot have self-government because, among other causes, there are occasional racial riots and religious feuds in this country. We

find however, that when such riots occur in Great Britain the people of the towns or counties concerned are not deprived of the franchise and other civic rights. The latest instance is the attacks on the Jews in South Wales which have assumed serious proportions.

Owing to attacks made on the Jews in South Wales a number of Jewish refugees have arrived at Cardiff. They endured considerable suffering and were frightened out of their lives. Rioting continues at Bargod and Gilsfach. It is described as a guerilla warfare against the police and infantry. Two Jewish shops have been burned at Senghenydd.

The 'Daily Telegraph's special correspondent states that as a result of a lengthy enquiry he is convinced that the tales of extortion are absolutely devoid of truth.—*Reuter*.

"We hope none of the papers we have referred to above will call upon the British Government to disfranchise South Wales."  
"M. R., September, 1910."

"The *Christian Register* tells the story of a "religious" riot in the United States of America in the following words :—

The recent riot in Haverhill, Mass., which prevented an anti-Catholic from being heard and destroyed a considerable amount of property, making it necessary to call out the militia, is a discreditable event on both sides. The lecturer was advertised as an ex-Catholic, the American Luther of the New Reformation, with reference to bachelor priests, mixed marriages and Romish opposition to the public schools, together with notices of his book exposing Romanism. It was just the sort of notice to suggest scurrility. How much, however, he might have uttered will never be known, as he was not permitted to be heard. On two previous occasions he had attempted to give a lecture, but was prevented by the uproar of the crowd in attendance. The third time came the riot, before he had completed his first sentence or said a word to which objection could be made. The disturbance was not unpremeditated but organised in advance. Cardinal O'Connell was reported recently to have said that the time had come for the Catholic Church to speak out. It was a welcome word, but apparently it is not a rule that is expected to work both ways. It is difficult to believe that the clergy could not have prevented these disturbances if they had been so minded, for they had ample warning. It would appear, then, that they are not prepared to stand for the principle of open discussion. It will not be surprising if, among many, an exaggerated idea of things that will not bear the light of day should be the result.

"The occasional occurrence of 'religious' riots is said to be one of the reasons why the people of India ought not to have self-government, the strong arm of a third party being necessary to settle the disputes of the contending parties and maintain order. Our Boston contemporary, however, does not say that the United States of America has already ceased to be self-governing, and that Japanese overlordship

has been established there to preserve order. Perhaps it is an omission."

M R, June, 1916

"In *The Literary Digest* for June, 1916, occurs the following paragraph:

German sympathies are who enjoy any trouble that breaks out in parts of the British Empire are now turning their eyes toward the Dominion of Canada where press dispatches inform us the French language agitation has grown from a provincial problem into a national issue. An important feature of the dispute between the English and French Canadians in the schools of Ontario is the discovery that the recruiting statistics of the various provinces show that out of a total of 330,000 men enlisted French Canada, with more than a quarter of the entire population of the Dominion, has furnished fewer than 14,000 men. Agitation against enlistment has been boldly carried on by Mr. Henry Bourassa leader of the Nationalists.

"In its issue for September 30, 1916, the same journal writes:

A bitter fight has been raging in Canada over the use of the French language in the schools of Ontario and we are told that it has not only engendered the sharpest race feeling between the British and French inhabitants but still more remarkable it has divided the Roman Catholic population into 'French' and 'Irish' camps. It is further alleged that this language issue is responsible for the small percentage of French-Canadians found in the Canadian force in France. The whole question is discussed in detail in the *London Round Table* an authoritative quarterly review of the politics of the British Empire, which puts the question before us in its briefest form:

"It is beside our purpose to enter into details or comment on the features of this racial, linguistic and sectarian strife, which, be it noted, has seriously affected recruitment for the army. We only wish to point out that Canada is a self governing country, and this 'bitter fight' has been raging there. Any kind of strife between nations, or between classes in the same country, are, no doubt, to be deprecated. But non-believers in self rule for India, both among our own countrymen and among our British and Anglo-Indian opponents should take note that self rule can be obtained and maintained in spite of the existence of racial, linguistic and sectarian strife."

M R, December, 1916

"In British India there are some Bakird riots every year, and occasionally caste riots in the southern presidency. These are alleged to constitute one of our disqualifications for self rule. We have met this objection in our pamphlet 'Towards Home Rule'. To the examples quoted therein of such riots in the West, we add the following account of the East St. Louis

Race Riots in America from the *Literary Digest* of July 11, 1917:

On the anniversary of the signature of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the State of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospital, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis, guarded by two thousand militiamen, was reeling from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history while investigations by Federal State and municipal authorities were on foot. Altho the blame for the loss of life and property is laid by many observers at the door of local and State officials the underlying cause of the riot the press generally agree was the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration as our readers are aware is no more keenly felt at the South than at the North. Indeed as the *New York Evening Sun* remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, so that as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in so Southern communities mob the employment agents for inducing them to go out. Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women and children.

While the press of the country more or less calmly consider the underlying causes of the East St. Louis riots and discuss the economic effects of the war, and the development of race hatred in the United States papers near at hand are imprecise with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi River in St. Louis *The Globe-Democrat* denounces the failure to impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob that attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves. This paper believes that firmness early in the afternoon of the first days rioting would have saved East St. Louis the State of Illinois and American civilization itself, a record of indecipherable shame. But it continues after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob slaughter and burning raged unchecked.

The unleashed passions of the mob ignored questions of guilt and innocence and of age and sex. They disregarded the safety of bystanders and cared not what ruin the incendiary fires might bring. The lust of murder turned the mob into savages.

"Such occurrences are most shameful and deplorable. Nevertheless the independent countries where they happen are not deprived of the natural human right of self rule." M R, Sept., 1917.

At present if we say that ordinarily the relation between Hindus and Muslims is friendly, its truth will be disputed on the ground of its being a partisan statement. On the other hand, if foreign journalists in India say that this relation is unfriendly, we too, must say that it is a biased statement. Let us, therefore, take some statements, made long ago without any reference to any political controversy,

"The Topography of Dacca by Dr. Taylor, written in 1839 at the instance of the Medical Board at Fort William in Calcutta, is a book which amply repays perusal. The amount of scholarship and the spirit of research displayed by the learned author does him credit, considering the times in which he lived and wrote. In those days Mahomedan influence was still strong in the city of Dacca, the line of genuine Nawabs, called the Naib Nazims of Dacca, had not yet become extinct, and the pomp and pageantry of the Moghul Court had not passed into a dream. One feels interested to learn the nature of the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in those times. In *Alamdar*, page 257 of Dr. Taylor's book, we get a glimpse of them. He says —

'Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah.'

M. R., June, 1908.

"In our last number we quoted a passage from Dr. Taylor's *Topography of Dacca* to show the amicable relations which prevailed between Hindus and Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal about 1839, when the book was written. In this number we shall make some further extracts, but from another source, to show that the same happy state of things prevailed all over India, and even beyond it, in countries governed by Mahomedan rulers. The book to which we shall refer is the *East India Gazetteer*, by Walter Hamilton, published in two volumes in the year 1828, dedicated by permission to the Court of Directors. The materials from which the work was composed were either printed documents, or manuscript records deposited at the Indian Board, so that it was something in the nature of a semi-official publication. We shall give the passages with the headings of the articles in which they occur.

**Hindustan:** Open violence produced little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries intermixed with Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter; on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies (vol. I, p. 649).

**Rangoon:** The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the

deities or saints of the other, when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual. (Vol. II, p. 478).

**Malabar:** When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans and this class of the population is now considered greatly to exceed in number all other descriptions of people in the British District of South Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hyder and Tipoo) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the government or obstructed by the jealousy of the Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration, or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindoos to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own (II, 181).

**Deccan:** There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindoos (I, 484).

**Kelat:** [The capital of Beluchistan] — The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Mooltan and Shikarpoor, who occupy about 400 of the best houses, and are not only tolerated in their religion, but also allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda (II, 81).

**Afghanistan:** Brahminical Hindus are found all over Cabul specially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain sellers (I, 12).

**Cabul:** Many Hindus frequent Cabul, mostly from Peshawar, and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afghan Government (I, 307).

**Candahar:** Among the inhabitants he [Seid Mastapha] reckons a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanooj Brahmins) both settled in the town as traffickers, and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity. . . with respect to religion, a great majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Soonee persuasion, and the country abounds with mosques, in which, Seid Mastapha asserts, both Hindoos and Mahomedans worship, and in other respects nearly assimilate (I, 311).

M. R., July, 1908.

### The Bishop of Bombay on Democracy for India.

The Deccan Sabha of Poona is, we believe, not an Anglo-Indian Association. The very name *Sabha* shows that it is Indian. We are all the more surprised to find, therefore, that the Bishop of Bombay had been asked to lecture on the Democratic Ideal under its auspices and under the chairmanship of Prof. Limaye. The Associated Press of India has very kindly given a full summary of the lecture delivered by this clerical politician, but as regards Prof. Limaye's criticism of it, we are told merely that "Prof. Limaye replied at length to several points raised in His Lordship's Lecture!"

While the greatest of British and

American statesmen have been telling the world that the present war is for the establishment of democracy throughout the world while Mr Lloyd George the Premier has declared that Indians are entitled to ask that they should be treated not as a subject race but as partners in the British Empire the Bishop of Bombay has been trying to throw ice cold water on the growing democratic aspirations of educated Indians. And in this attempt he was driven to such sore straits that he was compelled to hold up to our admiration the example of Prussia. With all its faults the Government of Prussia for the last 150 years have proved how most effective a Government could be. And yet British statesmen have still been repeating for the thousandth time that the aim of the war is to destroy Prussianism. If Prussianism be so good a thing as the Bishop would make it out to be why should it be destroyed? But if it be an accursed thing why should an Anglican Bishop whose salary is paid by the subjects of the British Government be allowed to praise it publicly? What would have been the fate of an Indian speaker if he had praised Prussianism?

The Bishop said we must not expect to find it [democracy] a complete ideal. But is there any political ideal which is entirely free from defects? This world is imperfect and its ideals too are imperfect. And among these imperfect ideals of government the ideally best form of government in the opinion of Mill is representative government. Mr A. J. Ballou has said. We are convinced that there is only one form of government whatever it may be called namely where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people.

Speaking about the desirability or otherwise of this ideal for India the lecturer asked two questions to Indians. (1) Are Indians by temperament or by conviction democratic and (2) is the democratic ideal suitable to India at this juncture? Answering the first he said the answer must be given by Indians but so far as he had observed it was not an accident that India had shown in the past no tendency towards democracy.

Can the Bishop prove that in all countries where now democracy prevails the people were all along democratic by temperament and conviction? If he knows history well which we doubt he will find that in every one of the countries where at present there are either constitu-

tional monarchies or republics there was at some period of their history absolute monarchy. The Bishop will find it stated even in a popular work of reference like *Chambers's Encyclopedia* that democracies have grown up in large states in which absolutism formerly prevailed (Article Democracy.) So even if we were not or are not democratic by temperament and conviction there is nothing to prevent us from being democratic in future.

As to whether it is really true as the lecturer says that India had shown in the past no tendency towards democracy we think it would not be proper for us to repeat here all the historical and other proofs and arguments which we have been printing in this Review for years past. The most important of these proofs and arguments are to be found in *Towards Home Rule* parts I and II. Some time ago we presented the Bishop of Bombay with a copy each of the two parts of this book. If he has not thrown them away we would ask him to read the following articles: part I—India and Democracy; Self rule in Oriental Countries; The Popular Assembly in Ancient India; Votes on Self rule in the East; part II Public Administration in Ancient India; Municipal Institutions in Ancient India; Ancient Village Government in Southern India.

Speaking under correction as an outsider he suggested that the political counterpart of Moha-lanism was autocracy and that of Hindulism monarchy resting on oligarchy.

Instead of speaking under correction the Bishop ought to have first acquired knowledge and then spoken. He would not have had to go to reconcile sources of information so far as Islam is concerned pages 128 133 134 of *Towards Home Rule* part I would have told him to what extent Muhammadanism is democratic even in politics. As regards Hindulism the articles named above would have given him useful information. We are not referring him to our opinions but to the opinions expressed and historical evidence collected by well known orientalists. Europeans should first know our case before discouraging or opposing our aspirations. They have power in their hands now but they ought to know that this power depends partly on their moral and intellectual prestige. But

how long can this prestige last, if they speak and write like ignoramuses?

Should anybody after reading the articles suggested by us say that after all the Hindus, Buddhists, Musalmans, and Sikhs had not developed perfectly democratic political institutions, we would ask him to bear in mind what the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (article "Democracy") says even with regard to ancient Greece and Rome, which are popularly believed to have been models of democracy "Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Rome"

Referring to the second question his lordship remarked the democratic ideal implied that the whole people was capable of being interested in the questions of government. So far as the speaker could tell the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in political questions. They wished to be governed and not to govern but they wished to be governed impartially justly and consistently. They wished to have an equal chance in the law courts. They wished to be secured against petty oppression and fraud. A government which secured all these things to them would have their consent. In fact it would not be necessary to ask of them to give their consent in words.

In the democratic countries of the world, including England, were the whole people capable of being interested in the questions of government when rudimentary democratic institutions (such as we are now demanding) were first established there? Are the whole people capable of being so interested even now? Even in modern England have not many voters to be directly and indirectly bribed in order to be induced to simply exercise the right of voting? In Australia, which is a democratic continent, have not electors sometimes to be punished in order to encourage them to exercise the franchise? The Bishop may satisfy himself on the point by reading the following extract from the *Christ in Life* of London —

Forty electors in Australasia have just been fined one shilling each and costs (with the option of three days imprisonment) for neglecting to get their names on the Federal electoral roll. Those who cannot pay the fine must therefore go to jail for refusing to be politically enfranchised. It is queer that in a country boasting of its freedom the man who simply allows people who know more about the business than he does to make its laws should be punished as a criminal. Let numbers of people are constantly being brought up for this offence.

How does the lecturer know that the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in

political question? Has he ascertained this by a plebiscite? If not, why does he indulge in such a sweeping statement? The 'dumb millions' of India are dumb, it would seem, only when their educated countrymen require their support, but they are not dumb when their voice has to be requisitioned by their Anglo Indian (old-style) friends to oppose the political claims or propaganda of their educated countrymen.

Let us take it for granted that "the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in political questions". But should not an attempt be made to rouse their interest in political questions? Suppose some one said to the prelate, 'The mass of the people are not interested and did not wish to be interested in religious questions and in Christianity, would he allow the matter to rest there?' Would it not be his duty to rouse the people to take interest in religion, in Christianity? It is our duty and our aim to make people interested in political questions. Mill says "A people may be unprepared for good institutions, but to kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation" (*Representative Government*, Chapter I). It is our duty to kindle a desire for good political institutions.

"A government which secured all these things to them would have their consent." How does he know? By telepathy? By a plebiscite? By talking in their vernaculars with at least one million of the illiterate in each province out of the hundreds of millions of Indians?

The prelate shows that he has a very low ideal of human welfare, when he says with tacit approval that the people of India 'wished to be governed, and not to govern,' and that 'it would not be necessary to ask of them to give their consent in word' to the kind of government which agrees with his ideal. The highest human good does not consist simply in being secured by others against oppression and fraud or even in having plenty of good food, good clothing, good houses, &c., but it includes the power to secure oneself from fraud and oppression; it includes moral and mental welfare, the power of self-direction, &c. That form of government is the best under which every one can have the opportunity to rise to his

full moral and intellectual stature and to develop the power of self help and self-direction

Two heads as they said in England were better than one but it was equally true that one will was better than twenty. The British Government in India had slipped into a rough approximation to the rational system of government

But what if that one will is perverse and goes wrong as despots frequently do? Is it not more probable that out of twenty wills a majority should be more generally right than that the one will should be generally right? Mill observes for one despot who now and then reforms an abuse there are ninety nine who do nothing but create them. We are sorry we have no space to quote here the calm discussion of the despotic and bureaucratic forms of government in Chapter III of Mills *Representative Government* leading that eminent thinker to declare—

There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereign or supreme controlling power is the last resort vested in the entire aggregate of the community every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty but being at least occasionally called on to take an actual part in the government by the personal discharge of some public function on local or general

The extract given above will furnish a reply to the lecturer's opinion that the vesting of the supreme power of democratic states in an assembly was by no means clearly the best method of obtaining wisdom in legislation or in executive action

Under despotic and bureaucratic government

The nation as a whole and every individual composing it are without any potential voice in the common destiny. They exercise no will in respect to the collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regime? What development can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it? Nor is it only in the intelligence that they suffer. Their moral capacities are equally stunted. Wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed in the same proportion. The food of feeling is acted on even domestic affection rests upon voluntary good offices. Let a person have nothing to do for his country and he will not care for it. It has been said of old that in a despotism there is at most but one patriot: the despot himself; and the saying rests on a just appreciation of the effects of absolute subjection even to a good and wise master. Religion remains and here at least it may be thought is an agency that may be relied on for lifting men's eyes and minds above the dust at their feet. But religion even supposing it to escape perversion for the purposes of despotism ceases

in these circumstances to be a social concern and narrows into a personal affair between an individual and his maker in which the issue at stake is but his private salvation. Religion in this shape is quite consistent with the most selfish and contracted egoism and identifies the votary as little a feeling with the rest of his kind as secularity itself. Mills *Representative Government*

If as the lecturer said the British Government in India had slipped into a rough approximation to the rational system of government why is India the poorest unhealthiest and most illiterate large country in the world ruled by a civilised nation? Why of all countries in the world ruled by civilised people in India alone there has been plague for more than a decade and why India alone among such countries is frequently visited by famines? Of course Government alone are not to blame we are also to blame. Why again if our government is so rational has there been such a strong condemnation of it by the Mesopotamia Commission?

In reply to the prelate's second question namely is the democratic ideal suitable to India at this juncture we would ask him to read *Self-government for India under the British Flag* by Mr V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Servants of India Society Allahabad) and the following articles in *Towards Home Rule* Home Rule for India Contemporary India and America on the Eve of Separation from England and Is Parliamentary Government Suited to India?

The lecturer has appealed to the people of India to abhor imitations. His meaning is quite clear. He wishes us not to imitate but to abhor the democratic ideals methods and institutions of the West. Is his appeal confined to the sphere of religion or does it extend to the sphere of religious beliefs and socio-religious matters also? Does he a Christian clergyman, appeal to us to abhor the imitation of the religious ideals methods customs rites and institutions of the Christians of Western countries? If he does his profession becomes a puzzle. His occupation must be gone, he should cease to be a minister of the Christian religion and become merely a plain Anglo-Indian (old style) politician. If he does not appeal to us to abhor the imitation of Western Christian ideals &c we have a question or two to ask. (1) Why is imitation to be abhorred in politics and not in religion? (2) He has said that the political counterpart of Mohammedanism was autocracy and that of Hinduism

monarchy resting on oligarchy," which suggests that Christianity, too, has a political counterpart. If so, what is the political counterpart of Christianity? If it is not democracy, why does not the Bishop return to England to preach to his Christian countrymen that they must give up democracy and cease to fight for "the establishment of democracy throughout the world," as their foremost men have declared they are doing? But if the political counterpart of Christianity be democracy, then by trying to Christianise India, the Bishop is trying indirectly to democratise Indians. Or does he wish and hope that the Indian Christians are to be *twinned*, European in religion and Indian (as understood by him) in political instincts? If that be so, let his spiritual lordship settle their spiritual and political ideals with Indian Christians.

### To Hindus and Musalmans

We desire to call attention to the following paragraph which has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*

#### BEWARE, HINDUS AND MUSSALMANS!

While on the above subject, we must warn both Hindus and Mussalmans against sinister attempts of designing men, both non official and official, who are just now busily engaged in sowing dissensions amongst them. The report comes from many parts of the country that both Hindus and Mussalmans under evil counsels, are arming themselves to break one another's heads during the Dusserah and the Maharam festivals, which this year fall on the same day. In Calcutta we have our Durga Puja and in the upcountries they have their Ramleela processions on the Dusserah day. These and the Maharam processions may come in contact and a collision may take place. These can be easily avoided by changing the time or the routes of the respective processions, and the local executive authorities are empowered to do it. We are, however, surprised to learn that, in some places, though the Hindu and Mussalman leaders are quite willing to agree to such arrangements, the officials would not allow them to act according to their mutual settlement. Take the case of Delhi to which we referred yesterday. The Hindus and the Mussalmans suggested certain routes which would prevent the meeting of two processions. The Magistrate, however rejected their proposal, without rhyme or reason. We hear that some other Magistrates have also acted in a similar manner. This means not only bloodshed but also an outbreak of rancour and racial bitterness between the two great communities of India, to the great delight of our enemies. Therefore, Hindus and Mussalmans beware! It also means mob rule, though for a temporary period. Therefore, the authorities also beware!

Riots are of no use to either Musalmans or Hindus from either the worldly or the other-worldly point of view. It is not laid down in the scripture of any sect that

it is absolutely necessary for salvation that religious processions should follow any particular route at any particular moment. We should endeavour to live in amity with our neighbours and make all the sacrifices and concessions which neighborliness requires. Educated men of all sects should exert their influence in this direction. Calcutta has already had a foretaste of hooliganism within the past few days.

### The Indian Association and Internments

We are glad to learn the Indian Association sent the following telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 12th October on the question of internments.—

Private Secretary to

His Excellency the Viceroy, Simla

Indian Association Calcutta pray general amnesty of all political detainees and such interned persons in Bengal as are not directly implicated in conspiracies or crimes. Failing this we pray that they may be allowed to live with parents or guardians under proper security and safeguards.

(Sd) Surendranath Banerjee  
Secretary

### The Duration of Internments.

The *Indian Daily News* writes:—

It is very difficult to get at the facts of these internments, but we have heard from men (the equal of any of Dr. Paley's twelve men of undoubted probity) that some are entirely unjustified. But be that as it may, one wonders how long the Government intends to intern these people and if that point of view has ever been considered. Are they, for example, going in for a revival of the Basile and white haired prisoners, or do they consider the possibility of their ever being "disintegrated." And if they are disintegrated in the near or remote future, has any one considered whether internment has softened their sentiment towards law and order and British rule? Already, one hears of suicides among them. It seems a question worth thinking about somehow, especially by those who are always professedly anxious about the future of this country.

### Mr J. G. Cumming.

The *Indian Daily News* gives the following certificate to Mr J. G. Cumming:—

The return of Mr J. G. Cumming from the Internment department, or whatever it is called, is a matter for congratulation, for he was and is the most respected man in the Bengal service and wanted for governing the country, and not the sort of person to waste on a kind of Sherlock Holmes business. Lord Carmichael thought to soften the internments by choosing a person whom all respected, but if you lie down with dogs, you get fleas, and if you associate with the C. I. D., your common sense will probably get warped, and you will get circumstantial evidence on the brain. That is what happened to Mr Cumming, and his friends and well wishers are glad that he has got back from the files of criminal literature. Some one of the Lombroso type, some

one who knows a criminal by his nose and eyes and the backs of his knuckles was the person for the job. They called them witchfinders a century ago now they are Professors of Criminology.

### "A Calm Political Atmosphere"

We Indian journalists have no reason to be in love with a stormy political atmosphere. Whenever the weather is politically stormy executive officers feel inclined to try to bring back calm by demanding heavy securities from persons connected with the press and by internment of people whom they suspect and among the latter are men belonging to our profession. So if for no other reason than merely to safeguard our worldly interests we must in India like a calm political atmosphere. But by a calm atmosphere we do not understand that utter absence of all political activity on our part which non-official (and possibly official) Europeans appear to understand by it. While replying to the address of the Home Rule League at Benares Mrs Besant wonderful to relate, exhorted the large open air assembly to practise moderation and calmness in discussing politics. Even such an attitude on her part has not placated Anglo Indian (old style) journalists. They probably want her tongue and pen to have absolute rest. They want all Indian political speakers and writers to refrain from any political work. We do not want such a calm. We do not understand why a calm atmosphere is particularly indispensable during Mr Montagu's visit. We are not going to hold noisy political demonstrations at the door steps or under the windows of the houses where he will receive deputations grant interviews or study the representations submitted to him. Whatever meetings we may hold or articles we may write in the newspapers he will be able to do his work undisturbed. If we remain entirely inactive during his visit a wrong use may be made of that fact by our opponents. It may be wrongly represented to him that it is only the self-elected deputations and the few persons seeking interviews who for their own selfish purposes want reforms that the country is quite satisfied with the present system of administration and that that fact is demonstrated by the silence that prevails all over the country. Therefore to prevent such misrepresentation let us at least try to submit from all provinces very numerous signed memorials supporting the

Congress League Scheme. As only those would sign the memorial who understand and approve of the scheme, the work of explaining it to the people in villages and towns would be an educative effort which would demand all our energies. Let us do it during the Dusserah holidays.

### Bengal Congress Committee Publications

In this connection we are glad to find from the columns of the *Bengalee* that a pamphlet containing the Congress League scheme of reforms the famous memorandum of the nineteen additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council Sir William Wedderburn's Catechism for the British selectors together with some of the pronouncements of leading Indian publicists on the subject of Indian self government has recently been published as a Green book by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee 110 pages.

A shorter pamphlet in Bengalee explaining the main demands of the Congress and giving in substance the outline of the reform scheme has also been issued by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The memorial to be submitted to Mr Montagu on post war reforms together with printed forms for signature are also now ready.

Copies of any of the above may be forwarded to any affiliated Associations or public bodies on application to the Hon'ble Secretaries B. P. C. Committee {62 Bowbazar Street Calcutta.

### La Detenu's Suicide.

The following communique has been issued by the Bengal Government Political Department.

The attention of Government has been drawn to certain newspaper comments relative to the suicide of one Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta which convey the impression that the boy was a detenu under the Defence of India Act and that he took his own life in consequence of the persecution to which he was subjected by the police of the Rangpur district. Investigation has accordingly been made into the facts. The deceased was arrested under the Defence of India Act on the 24th August 1916 and in September 1916 was interned in his father's house. He was released from all restraint under the Act on the 1st December 1916 i.e. one month before his death when his father gave a guarantee of his good behavior. No police surveillance was ordered and there was indeed no surveillance either by the local police or by the special police. Moreover this fact is admitted by a near relation the father of the deceased has no personal knowledge of any shadow of violence or incident of the kind alleged by a brother has been



shown to be without foundation. Enquiry has also failed to establish any case of police persecution. It is correct that the boy was not allowed to study in the Rangpur College, the order to that effect was passed by the local educational authorities after consulting Government and was based on information showing that in the interests of discipline it was inexpedient that the deceased should enter the college.

If any one was under the impression,—we were not,—that Sachindra was a detenu at the time of his death, the communique ought to remove that impression.

The question that naturally arises is, who conducted the investigation on which the communique is based? The matter was sufficiently important to require to be personally investigated by the Member of the Executive Council in charge of the Political Department or by the Secretary to that Department. Did either of these gentlemen or both jointly carry on the investigation? If not, did the Magistrate of Rangpur or any executive officer subordinate to him conduct the investigation, or did the Rangpur police (ordinary or C I D) do it? We ask these questions, as investigation by the executive and police of Rangpur may not naturally inspire as much confidence as if it were conducted by higher authorities, for the ex detenu has in his letters directly or indirectly blamed some of these officials.

It is said, "No police surveillance was ordered." We do not know who orders police surveillance. Is there one authority to order such surveillance in Bengal, or are there many? Are such orders always written, or are orders ever orally given? Is a complete record kept of all such orders, written or verbal? Is it the case that there is no police surveillance beyond what is actually ordered? Is a complete record kept of all surveillance by police officers and by spies and informers?

As in these days it is not at all difficult for the police to get any man interned, Government may consider whether it is easy to know the whole truth when it can be obtained only by men openly bearing testimony against the police. When an ex detenu belonging to a certain family has committed suicide and another person of the same family has been interned a few days after such suicide, is the family in such a frame of mind as to make it natural for any relation of the deceased to give out the whole truth? "The father of the boy has no personal knowledge of any shadow-

ing." There are many fathers and other guardians of interned young men who have declared that they have had no knowledge of their wards' criminal activities or associations. But such ignorance on their guardians' part is not accepted by Government as a proof of absence of criminality. So Sachindra's father's ignorance of any shadowing of his son may not be a conclusive proof of the absence of such shadowing.

As the boy was not allowed to study in college one would have liked to know in what ways Government desired him to make himself useful, but such curiosity would now be useless.

In the letters purporting to have been written by Sachindra,—and their authenticity has not been questioned,—and published in the papers, he definitely complains of being watched by the C I D, of being asked by the C I D "not to associate with any of my friends", and of being troubled by them. The communique contradicts these allegations. We are, therefore, reduced to the acceptance of one of three alternatives: (1) that the investigation on which the communique is based has not been as sifting and thorough as it ought to have been, (2) that Sachindra deliberately wrote false things on the eve of his death, (3) that the boy was a weak minded victim of cruel hallucinations. As to (1), we can pronounce no opinion. As regards (2), we do not think it is usual for men to indulge in gratuitous lies on the eve of death. As for the third alternative also, we are unable to say anything definite. The boy's relatives and friends will be able to say whether he was weak minded and ever subject to hallucinations. We have not read of any such suggestion from any quarter. A fairly long letter written in Bengali to his father has been published in the *Prabasi*. That does not seem to show that he was of weak intellect. To enable the readers to judge for themselves, we give a free translation of it below.

Father I understand to what extent you will be overwhelmed with grief at my suicide. Your sorrow may be somewhat assuaged if you know why I am going to commit suicide.

I am highly dissatisfied with my present state of idleness. It is impossible for me to lead such a life if I take walks with anybody that becomes a matter of police investigation. If I try to do good to anybody the police will think the man is doing good to others to obtain the sympathy of the men of the

country. The police or the Government want that I should lead a merely animal life like birds and beasts but that is impossible for me. When I have come to the world, I have not come for myself but for the good of man. I have never had the idea of earning large sums of money or of gaining honours. My desire has always been that I shall spend my life in improving my soul and doing good to others. But that is not to be in this life. You are hoping that when Montagu Sahib comes he will set everything right. But that is a vain hope.

You know very well that merely to live on is not the object of our lives. When a flower blossoms the object of its existence is gained when it fills the atmosphere with its fragrance or dedicates itself to the feet of God. Such is the case with us too. Many lofty thoughts fill our minds at this age which are subsequently crushed by the pressure of the world. Then thoughts of our own worldly advancement engross all our attention. We have no leisure to think of other things; so much so that the mind gets ready even to injure others for one's own worldly advancement. Would you like me to lead a life like that? Does a life like that fulfill the object of existence? At this age of mine the two paths leading to good and evil lie stretched before me. If I have to live idly without any good company for some time longer I shall have to go down to the level of beasts. I think that it would rather be a matter of pride to you that having up till now lived a pure life I am preparing to be born again. You will be able to say to all with your head erect 'My son has followed the path of death in quest of the True only in order to eschew what is evil.' If I could have lived a long life by committing some sin or tarnishing myself that would not have been, I think, anything but a matter of regret for you. I am giving up my life with this object that I shall be able to be born again and shall sacrifice myself for the good of the universe endowed with a heart and with unmeasured physical and mental power. There can be no higher hope. I hope you also will pray to God for such a future life for me. Perhaps you had hopes that our family would live in comfort when we brothers all grew up and began to earn. But I pray you to consider that in this India 10 crores of people get no more than one meal a day. They suffer in winter and the rains like wild birds and beasts. No other country equally well watered and fertile gives so much trouble to its inhabitants. But we have no hand over the matter. Still we are much more comfortable than many other families. I shall thank God if you can pass your days in this way.

Then it should be considered that we are eight brothers and out of them I alone am going away—I from whom no good to the family or the world could be expected. If the remaining seven live there will be no discomfort. There are few families on whom the shadow of sorrow has not fallen. Think of the elder brother of Santu Babu; of how much help he could have been, but he had to give up his life untimely. As for me there was no possibility of any good being done to anybody by me. If at present I spend two or three nights in nursing a boy during his illness I must be prepared to be punished. If I do any good work, the C. I. D. will look upon me with disfavour. I shall not be able to waste the best part of my life in this way. This is why I am giving up my life in order that by being born again I shall realise the great hopes of my life. For these reasons pray do

not at all give way to sorrow. I beseech you to bear in mind that it is the last prayer of my dying moments that you will not waste your body by unavailing sorrow. This big family of ours looks up to you for support. The little children of this family are growing up with hopes centred in you.

I feel great pride today. To-day I am able to die with this happy feeling that my father is such a person that by his teaching and example I am giving up my life because I am resolved not to lead a bad life.

Then it has to be considered that I promised [to the authorities] that I would not take part in any political affair. But in the days that are coming no one will be able to rise without politics. Of course things are different for those who wish to lead only a selfish animal life. I am released today from my promise [not to take part in politics] by invoking the aid of Death. Look at history. Think of Blignu France, Russia and at present, Ireland. Government did not act according to any law in preventing me from studying in any college.

Then you were all always full of concern only for me and thought only for me. You did not think with your whole souls of the condition of anybody else. This death of mine to-day will universalize your sorrow. Your hearts will weep for all those who are in like condition with me. God will raise your hearts from a circle of narrow selfish anxieties and place them in a wider circle.

I have written letters about myself to *dada*, *Indu* and *Boudi*. As you are the oldest calmest and wisest member of the family pray console them. I shall not be able to adequately describe your great love for me. I beseech you to forgive my fault that I am following this path without obtaining your consent.

A throbbing of life will be felt in the country at my death. I shall thank God if my death be of any help to any one similarly circumstanced with me. You will perhaps say that I am acting like a fool in killing myself. But please judge whether I am acting foolishly after considering all that I have written. At my death you need not feel humiliated but proud rather. I beseech you be not overwhelmed with sorrow. My belief is that you will grant the last prayer of my dying moments. Please accept my reverential obeisances and tender them to *Badama*. Let not *Badama* be overpowered with grief. Do explain everything to her. I have said all that I had to say. Numberless obeisances at your feet.

We do not wish to make any comments on this letter. We would earnestly ask all detenus, particularly those who are young, to be hopeful and patient under all circumstances, not to give way to despondency. It is always darkest before the dawn.

#### Justice to and Consideration for Detenus

Those murderers and robbers who in Bengal have been dubbed revolutionaries by the police, have murdered and robbed their own countrymen. Their countrymen amongst whom we are included, have no reason, to be particularly fond of them. The reason why we write repeatedly about internments and detenus is that

we are not convinced that there are not many innocent men among them. In fact, we cannot consider a single detenu to be guilty, because no one has had a trial before a law court. So, while it is possible that the whole lot of them is guilty, we are bound according to the principles of jurisprudence to think that they are all innocent.

Even if all of them be really guilty, it is necessary that their guilt should be proved in a law court. It is an accepted principle that not only should justice be done, but that the people should be satisfied that justice has been done.

Even if only a few are innocent means must be found to separate them from the guilty and to release them. It is a British principle that it is better that ten guilty men should escape punishment than that one innocent man should be punished. Personal liberty is so precious a thing that the belief in its inviolability has found expression in that maxim. And personal liberty is as valuable here as in England.

There is a Defence of the Realm Act in England, too. But there are safeguards there which do not exist here. There are, for instance, advisory committees and the right to get a case considered by the highest court in the land. In reality there ought to be greater safeguards here than in England, because in this country public opinion is weak, and the people have no control over the administration. There ought to be at least those safeguards which exist in England. There is much less risk here than in England in being even overcareful in thoroughly sifting the evidence against a man and spending much time over it before depriving him of his liberty, because India is far from the seat of operations.

Among the interned there may be some who are suspected of complicity in some murder or some dacoity, but there must be also others who have been interned only for their political opinions or suspected opinions. If in Ireland, which is quite close to the seat of operations and where the Sinn Feiners actually rebelled and fought killing men and destroying property, political prisoners who had been actual rebels can be and have been released, why cannot mere political suspects in India, those of them, we mean, who have been deprived of their liberty only for holding certain opinions, why cannot these be released? Government have taken great risk in

Ireland. Why cannot they follow the same course here in the case of those at least whose release involves little or no risk?

### A Justification of Internments.

A justification has been found for the policy of internments in the fact that in 1916 'there were 24 cases of revolutionary crime reported during the year as against 36 in the preceding year.' 'The Governor in Council has no hesitation in saying that, but for the measures taken under the Defence of India Act, the year's record would have been much blacker than it is.'

Let us look at the records of the previous years. In the Bengal Police report for 1914 it is said: 'In 1914 there were 12 so-called political cases against 12 in 1912 and 14 in 1913.' So in 1912, 1913, and 1914, the number of political cases remained almost stationary. 'In 1915 there were 36 criminal cases due to political unrest as against 12 in the preceding year. What was the cause of this sudden increase?' The 12 'so-called political cases' in 1914 'comprised 6 dacoities, 1 attempted dacoity, 3 assassinations by shooting, 1 assassination by a bomb and 1 attempt at assassination by a bomb.' Of the 36 cases in 1915, dacoities numbered 24, attempted dacoities 2, murders 9, and attempted bomb outrage 1. The increase in the number of dacoities is explained thus in the Government Resolution on the Annual Police Report for 1915: 'In the cases of dacoity, however, there appears to be good reason for attributing the increase almost entirely to the state of unrest created by the war. This is rightly only a presumption though a probable presumption, Government are not and could not be positive. The increase in the number of political murders and attempted murders is nowhere explained. The war, it is to be noted, began in the last week of July 1914, and yet in 1914 in spite of five months of war there was not only no increase in political crime but a slight decrease. As regards ordinary crime, however, according to the Government Resolution on the Police Report for 1914, "The increase was most marked under the heads of 'Murder and Dacoity.' Most of the murders were due to domestic quarrels, intrigues and jealousy, and no special significance can be attached to the increase

*in this form of crime* The increase in dacoities is, however, directly attributable to the general feeling of unrest and uncertainty caused by the war. "So in 1914, there was increased ordinary crime owing to the war, but less political crime in spite of the war"

As regards political crime in 1915 and 1916, dacoities and attempted dacoities numbered 26 in 1915 and 18 in 1916, and murders and attempted murders numbered 10 in 1915 and 6 in 1916. But as the total number of ordinary reported dacoities, too, fell from 837 in 1915 to 703 in 1916, and as ordinary dacoits or men suspected to be such are not interned, it can not be said positively that the policy of internment alone has brought about a decrease in the number of political dacoities, the decrease in their number may also be due to the same causes e.g. better administration and organization, 'special measures adopted in Barisal' and the 24 Parganas greater expenditure in rewards &c. mentioned in the Report for 1916, which have brought about a decrease in ordinary dacoities. The fluctuation in the number of political murders between 1915 and 1916 is not great. Cases of political assassination have been sporadic throughout a decade or so and no explanation has so far been attempted of the increase or decrease in their numbers.

We have incidentally seen above that nowhere in the Police reports for 1914, 1915 and 1916 is the number of ordinary or political murders connected with the war. Nowhere has it been said that war can have increased their number. But we find that the number of political murders and attempted murders was 5 in 1914, 10 in 1915, and 6 in 1916. So the number in 1916 was greater than that in 1914, though less than that in 1915. Seeing that there was a reduction in political crime in 1914 in spite of the war, why was there more political crime against human life in both 1915 and 1916 than in 1914? The Defence of India Act was introduced in April. The Government Resolution on the police report for 1915 says "An outbreak of revolutionary crime

statesmen among our rulers to consider whether increase in political offences against human life may not have been and may not be partly due to the abuse of repressive laws, as opposed to the proper use of such laws

We read in the Bengal Police Report for 1916 that in that year the Civil Police force was increased to some extent, and the strength of the Intelligence Branch was temporarily increased by two Additional Superintendents, one Inspector, 53 head constables and 46 constables. It should be considered whether this increased strength had anything to do with the diminution of political crime.

The non official public find one great difficulty in judging whether there has really been a falling off in the number of revolutionary crime. The police may have some sure criteria by which they distinguish political from ordinary crime, but we do not know of any such. It is always possible to show a decrease or increase of revolutionary crime, as required according to preconceived notions, by classing a requisite number of offences as political. But how can it be incontestably proved that some of the cases in 1916 classed as ordinary crimes ought not to have been classed as revolutionary crimes, or some of these in 1915 classed as political were ordinary crimes? We may, of course, take the correctness of the police figures and classification for granted, but how can the sceptical be convinced? When policemen are murdered, it is presumed that the murders are political, and there is much to be said in favour of the presumption. But as policemen used now and then to be murdered for private reasons before revolutionary crime was heard of in Bengal the mere fact of a murdered man being connected with the police cannot make an offence political. Similarly a dacoity committed by men of the *bhadra lok* class is not necessarily a political dacoity, because professional robbery by very 'respectable' men has never been an extremely rare occurrence in modern Bengal. And, moreover, how can the public judge how many dacoities were

to political crime have been brought under control by some means or other, it ought to be a matter for congratulation to both the public and public servants.

The means adopted must, however, still be scrutinised. If a state is to be progressive, prosperous and strong, its citizens must be left in the enjoyment of much personal liberty. And this liberty may be and often is abused. But in the interests of civic progress that risk has to be taken. For, though the loss or decrease of liberty may prevent crime, it also prevents the growth and exhibition of great civic virtue. By casting the C.I.D. net very wide and internment the whole catch, it is always possible to get hold of some actual or would be criminals along with a good many others who are innocent. But the question is, is that the right way? We do not think. Giving a *carte blanche* to the police may be the bureaucrat's royal road to crime prevention, but it is not the royal road to civic progress. We must insist on the police depending more on the ordinary means of catching murderers and robbers.

If what are called anarchical tendencies have really diminished, that fact can be correctly accounted for in other ways than giving the whole credit to internments. The repeated declarations of British statesmen that the war is a war for liberty and democracy throughout the world and that India's position after the war will be better than now has certainly made Indians hopeful, to however small an extent, and hopefulness certainly decreases revolutionary tendencies. The Bengal Ambulance Corps and Bengal Regiment have given an outlet to the spirit of adventure in hundreds of Bengali young men. That also has eased the situation. The worshippers of "Martial Law and no d—d nonsense" are apt to forget these simple facts, and think that the use of coercion has produced a most wonderful result.

The police do not generally send up persons for trial unless there is a great probability of obtaining conviction on the evidence. Therefore they carefully sift the evidence before instituting a prosecution. But in cases for internment, as there are no trials, the evidence need not be strong and need not be sifted, and it was more than once admitted by Lord Carmichael that the evidence on which men are interned would not be accepted in a law court.

Now, the percentage of persons convicted in police cases to persons sent up for trial was 74.8 in 1913, 77.3 in 1914, 78.8 in 1915, and 77.3 in 1916. So about one fourth of the men sent up by the police for trial are found by the law-courts innocent. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that at least a much larger proportion of those who have been interned are innocent. We want these innocent men to be set free. Government should devise some means to pick them out and release them.

In his Report on the Police Administration in the Bengal Presidency for the year 1916, the Inspector General of Police has made a statesmanlike observation says he

'At the same time it is fully recognised that the problem is not merely a police problem, namely, the prevention and punishment of actual crime though this is absolutely necessary. It is an economic problem, a social problem and a political problem of grave magnitude, and the police measures taken can only be a contribution to its solution.'

What steps have Government taken to solve this economic, social and political problem?

### Questions Relating to Detenus

The Mesopotamia Commission has told us that it is not wise to ignore persistent rumours, for they found that the rumours relating to the horrible state of things in Mesopotamia were subsequently borne out by facts. We refer to the matter here only to enforce the principle, for there is no parallelism between Mesopotamia and the world in which detenus live.

We find there are certain persistent rumours regarding the detenus. We have no means of verifying them and so should not say what they are. We shall only indicate the directions along which Government and the public should make enquiries. It would be very good if Government could publish a complete list of all the detenus with their place of domicile and place of ordinary residence, together with the allowances granted to them and their families. The facts which ought to be ascertained are

Whether before internment men are kept in some jail in solitary confinement for one month. If so, for what purpose and under what law they are so kept? To what use is the time put, and whether the men are during this period treated as ordinary prisoners or otherwise?

When a detenu is sent to his place of domicile, is he supplied with clothing and bedding, and sufficient cash to purchase necessities? Are there any instructions conveyed by the police to the inhabitants of the villages where detenues are kept as regards holding or not holding social intercourse with them or lending or not lending money to them? In domiciling a man in a particular village, is it ascertained beforehand whether the ordinary daily requirements of *bhadralok* can be procured from any shop or market there? Is the allowance sufficient in the case of every detenu? In how many cases have allowances been given to dependants, and whether many more do not require help? A complete list of the places of domicile should be published to show that the worst malarious districts have been avoided. Whether there are non official visitors to see that the houses of detenues are rain proof, dry, lighted and ventilated. It is said that formerly sub inspectors of police could send detenus seriously ill to the nearest hospital, but that now the permission of the Bengal Government must be obtained before that is done. If so, whether this arrangement should not be changed. Is it not possible to keep detenues only in places where qualified physicians are available? Whether non official visitors have been appointed to ascertain direct from each and every detenu whether he has been told the charge against him and been given a proper opportunity to exculpate himself with the help of lawyers, if necessary.

### Do not the Minority Rule in England?

Opponents of Indian Home Rule say that if Home Rule be granted to India at this stage of her development, the country will be ruled by an oligarchy, that is to say, by the representatives of a small minority. But that has been the case in the past in England, too. How far that is the case even now, will appear from an extract made by the *Indian Daily News* from *Reynolds'* Says our Anglo-Indian (old style) contemporary

The announcement that the Labour Party will start 300 candidates at the next general election shows how little real representation of the people has existed in England in the past. *Reynolds'* writes this week. The work of classes from the great bulk of the nation, in the House of Commons it is very evident that the vast majority of the members have neither the knowledge nor the qualifications to represent the

workers. And yet politicians talk glibly of the House of Commons being a microcosm of the nation! As if any statement could well be more absurd! The great task of Labour and especially of the Trade Union Congress which is its largest and most potential organisation is to alter this. Or else depend upon it, Congress may pass resolutions till it is blue in the face and it will find its efforts stultified at every turn by bureaucrats and politicians whose aims are not those of Labour at all. We want then, Education Agitation Organisation. There is no time to waste. The amount of thought and work to be done is immense. But that thought and work must come from Labour itself for it will come from nobody else.

Which all means that the governance of England is going to shift to the less wealthy classes and probably to those who have higher ideals.

### The European Agitation

The *Indian Daily News* writes —

The Herbert Bill alienated the European and Indian communities for ever and dug a deep gulf between them. The bureaucracy has exploited that gulf for forty years for all it is worth and are exploiting it to day. The prosperity of European capital is much more likely to be secured by good relations with Indians than by bad ones. And that is why we have deprecated the recent agitations and recriminations.

### Voters and Representatives in Reform Schemes

Many persons are inclined to give excessive representation to the land holders and the European mercantile community in their Reform Schemes. We are against such undue representation. There should be as much direct voting as possible, and there are many English educated men now sprung from the families of ryots who can very well represent ryots. Literacy need not be considered a *sine qua non*. Many illiterate shopkeepers, carpenters, blacksmiths and others are as intelligent as most literates. We are in substantial agreement with what our contemporary the *Mussalman* says on this subject.

The rival claims of the Bengal Zamindars and the British merchants urged in the public meetings held at the Town Hall and the Dalhousie Institute by Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti and Sir Archy Birmyre respectively as the proper representatives of the 30 millions of Bengal ryots who grow jute and other raw materials and of Bengal tradesmen who collect them in the rural areas and small towns seem to us more or less ridiculous. One item of agreement came to be by the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow was wide extension of the franchise. We trust that these bodies will at once come to a definite conclusion as to the extent of this extension of franchise. We Muslims follow a religion on which is the highest type of democracy and would therefore prefer that direct vote for electing members to the Provincial Legislative Councils should be conferred on all rate-payers recorded in the registers of assessors of Moulis capities and on all persons ryots and fakirajdars.

shown in the road cess returns of landlords or in the *khattans* of Settlement records prepared under Chapter V of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

This matter of extension of direct franchise should be considered fully by all Provincial organisations of the Muslim League and the National Congress. In Bengal the Mussalmans form two thirds of cultivators, weavers and handicraftsmen. Any franchise that will not include one and all of them and will leave any Nawab Bahadur or Raja Bahadur or British merchant opportunity to brag that he is the proper representative of the classes who live in rural areas and form the nation will not satisfy the Moslem community. When all those whose names are in the Road Cess returns of landlords and who pay rates and taxes to a Municipal Board have been given the right of direct vote to elect members of Provincial Councils we shall be spared the sorry exhibition which the landlords and the merchants are making of themselves as the proper representatives of the ryots and growers of raw products. Before the agricultural labourers and the workmen of mills and factories were enfranchised in Great Britain the landed aristocrats and the cotton lords respectively claimed to be their proper representatives. We know—Mr Byomkesh Chakravarti and Sr Archy Birmyre know—who are the representatives of the agricultural labourers and workmen in the British House of Commons. One may no doubt prefer representation by indigenous landlords to representation by foreign merchants but the former can be no substitute for direct representation.

Another question which the Provincial Congress Committees and the Provincial Moslem Leagues should settle before Mr Montagu arrives is, how many of the one hundred members of the proposed reconstructed Provincial Councils should be allotted (in the case of Bengal) to the 3 millions that live in towns and to the 42 millions that live in rural areas.

These are pressing questions that should be promptly answered by the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the All India Moslem League.

### An Internment Enquiry Committee.

As our previous notes on detenus and internments in this number were about to be printed, we were glad to read in the *Bengalee* that at a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on Wednesday the 17th instant, the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to take such steps as may be deemed necessary in connection with the internment cases—

Babu Surendranath Banerjee,  
Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Roy,  
Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray,  
Babu Satyananda Bose,  
Mr B C Chatterjee

"All persons interested in cases of internment and having any definite information regarding the grievances of the detenus which they want to be redressed, will be good enough to communicate with Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray, 39, Creek Row,

Calcutta. All communications will be treated as confidential."

### Non Brahmin Movement

#### DETRIMENTAL TO NATIONAL INTERESTS

Mr C V Narasimha Raju, who presided at the special sessions of the Andhra Conference, at Bezvada, in the course of his presidential address, referring to the non Brahmin movement, said—

A non Brahmin movement has been newly started in our province and carefully engineered. According to the view of some non Brahmin leaders they want separate representatives for the various castes according to their importance in the various localities, but this cannot be accepted. No workable scheme can be put forward on this basis and it is detrimental to the national movement and to national unity. Even the principle of separate representation for Mahomedans is detrimental to the national interests. When the Government called for the views of various gentlemen in 1907 on this question the most prominent non Brahmin leaders such as the Maharaja of Bobbili, the Raja of Pithapuram, the Raja of Kollengode, Mr Rajaratnam Moodliar and many others disapproved of the idea of representation by castes. The Board of Revenue and the Madras Government came to the same conclusion on that occasion. The number of non-Brahmin representatives in the local Council is always satisfactory.—Associated Press

### Lord Willingdon and Students

Speaking on the occasion of the anniversary day of the Deccan College Lord Willingdon addressed a few words of advice to the students. He said in part

The Secretary of State for India had made a pronouncement that the natural goal of British rule in India was responsible Government. The present students being the future citizens of India the conduct of public affairs would soon fall on them, and as such His Excellency proceeded to ask, did they realise what it meant in politics? His Excellency had found a great deal of loose talking and loose writing by people who are described as leaders. Much is generally said which is unfair. His Excellency, therefore, urged the students to think out big questions for themselves, instead of allowing themselves to be led away by what others say. In this connection His Excellency related a personal incident. Recently he had a talk with a young man who he asked the reasons that prompted him to join the Home Rule League. The young man confessed that he knew nothing about the Home Rule League. He joined it because he was asked to do so. This pointed out Lord Willingdon, was what young men like the students he was addressing should not do. They should learn to cultivate the habit of independent thinking and should do what their conscience tells them to. If they did that they would be a credit to their country and to their college. He exhorted his hearers to do their actions on the highest principles. He assured them that he spoke to them in the way he did because he was interested in their welfare.

His Excellency will find "a great deal of loose talking and loose writing" by official

and non official Anglo-Indians (old style) too, who also say much that is unfair. It is to be regretted no Governor has the courage or the fairness to read a homily to them. However, that is not our business, our duty is to avoid loose talking and loose writing, and we thank His Excellency for the reminder, though we may not have required it. Because a single student has not been able to tell His Excellency why he joined the Home Rule League, it does not follow that all Home Rulers, young or old, are given to act in that thoughtless fashion. Dadabhai Naoroji and other Indian Home Rulers were once students. They adopted Swaraj as their ideal after independent thinking. They "are described as leaders" now. When the students whom his lordship addressed grow up some of them are sure to become Home Rulers as the result of independent thinking. Then a future Governor will speak of them as men 'who are described as leaders'."

His Excellency advised the students to do their thinking for themselves and do what their conscience tells them to do. No better advice can be given. If any students, following his advice, arrive at the conclusion that Home Rule is the only ideal rule for India and if he wishes to obey the dictates of his conscience and join the Home Rule League, we hope His Excellency's Government will not stand in the way.

### A Pariah Reformer

There are signs, says the *Indian Social Reformer*, that there is a ferment among the depressed classes which seem to be awaking to a consciousness of the vast possibilities latent in them. The Tiyas of Malabar have produced a leader from among themselves. A correspondent, writing to the *Hindu* of Madras, notes the advent in Conjeevaram, the ancient cathedral city of southern India, of a Panchama Swami whose preachings have extorted the admiration of educated men of caste. The name of the reformer is Swami Sahajananda, and he is only twenty-seven years of age. Unlike some others who, when they attain a certain eminence, take immense pains to hide their origin, the Swami not only preaches philosophy but is engaged in social work for the uplifting of his own people. It is a sign of the times that in so conservative a

province as Madras two Shastris were found willing to impart instruction to the Panchama boy in the Sanskrit sacred books, and we should like to pay a tribute of hearty admiration to these two Pandits.

We are in agreement with our contemporary

### Minority Cannot Represent Majority

*The Indian Daily News* has made some rather pertinent comments on the speech of Mr Jones, editor of the *Statesman*, at the Dalhousie Institute meeting of the European Association. Our contemporary calls him the logician of the meeting, and observes—

ANOTHER argument put up by the logician that a small minority of semi-educated people can not represent the mass of ignorant Indian humanity has often been answered. Read English history. How long have the masses been represented? People will tell you that they are not represented yet and that is to a large extent true. Certainly they are not represented like the population of France or America, where there is manhood suffrage. But one has only to read Pickwick and the description of the Patens will election to see that at the world went somehow on in 1830 with the smallest possible representation of the people through a few ignorant and disreputable voters. That was the case for a century before the Reform Act and some people think that the property and residential qualifications on voting which still prevail in England totally prevent the representation of the masses. At all events the fact remains that England was for a century before Waterloo represented by a small set of voters who were mainly rascals. Yet England had a fairly respectable political history in that century. The real fact is that in England the dumb millions have never been satisfactorily represented and we are only just coming to it. As to whether the British officials or the Indian ex-grinders most properly represent the dumb millions is at least a very arguable proposition—and we cannot pretend to judge between Colenso and Short. But to say that a country is not fit for self-government because its voters are few and of no character, and do not represent the people is to fly in the face of the facts of English political history.

### Hardships of Third Class Passengers

Mr M. K. Gandhi travels third class over Indian railways by choice. He has fairly covered the majority of railway systems in India. Having done so, he has in a letter to the press, invited the press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty. Here is Mr Gandhi's description of a typical journey which he made in September last.

On the 12th instant I looked at Donkey for Madras by the Mal train and paid Rs 13.90. It was labeled to carry 22 passengers. There could only



have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Pooni it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Kanchi the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers. A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the Terminus. There were during this night as many as 33 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time provoked only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got for tea tannin water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid mis-called milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter, they had to take things as they came.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The Mosafirkhanas or passengers' rest houses, which he describes, are veritable hells. He observes

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the 1st class passenger with that of the 3rd class. In the Madras case the 1st class fare is over five times as much as the 3rd class fare. Does the 3rd class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth of the comforts of his 1st class fellows? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and the comfort.

It is a known fact that the 3rd class traffic pays for the ever increasing luxuries of 1st and 2nd class travelling. Truly a 3rd class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the 3rd class passengers, the opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in order

less, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters 3rd class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described I would respectfully include this: let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the commander-in-chief, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the Imperial councillors and others who generally travel in superior classes without previous warning go through the experience now and then of 3rd class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the 3rd class travelling and the accompanying millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with the ordinary creature comforts.

Middle class educated people should also travel third class, as Mr Gandhi suggests, and see things for themselves. The larger the number of articulate aggrieved people, the sooner may improvements be expected.

### Education of the Future.

The following observations about Educational reform have been made by the Scientist Haeckel in his "Riddle of the Universe" translated by J McCabe. They may prove useful to those interested in the subject —

1. In all education up to the present time man has played the chief part, and especially the grammatical study of his language, the study of nature was entirely neglected.

2. In the school of the future, nature will be the chief object of study. A man shall learn a correct view of the world he lives in. He will not be made to stand out of and opposed to nature, but be represented as its highest and noblest product.

3. The study of the classical tongues (Latin and Greek) which has hitherto absorbed most of the pupils' time and energy is indeed valuable but it will be much restricted and confined to the mere elements (obligatory for Latin optional for Greek).

4. In consequence modern languages must be all the more cultivated in all the higher schools (German, English, and French to be obligatory, Italian optional).

5. Historical instruction must pay more attention to the inner mental and spiritual life of a nation, and to the development of its civilization, and less to its external history (the vicissitudes of dynasties, wars and so forth).

6. The elements of evolutionary science must be learned in conjunction with cosmology, geology must go with geography, and anthropology with biology.

7. The first principles of biology must be familiar to every educated man, the modern training in observation furnishes an attractive introduction to the biological sciences (anthropology, zoology, and botany). A start must be made with descriptive system (in conjunction with actiology or bionomy), the elements of anatomy and physiology to be added later on.

8. The first principles of physics and chemistry must also be taught, and their exact establishment with the aid of mathematics.

9 Every pupil must be taught to draw well and from nature and wherever it is possible the use of water colours. The execution of drawings and of water colour sketches from nature (of flowers animals landscapes clouds etc) not only excites interest in nature and helps memory to enjoy objects but it gives the pupil his first lesson in seeing correctly and understanding what he has seen.

10 Much more care and time must be devoted than has been done hitherto to corporal exercise to gymnastics and swimming but it is especially important to have walks in common every week and journeys on foot during the holidays.

The lesson in observation which pupils obtain in this way is invaluable.

### Dedication to the Nation of Bose Research Institute

We are informed that on the 30th of November, the birthday of Prof Sir J C Bose, he will dedicate his Research Institute to the nation. All his old students are invited to be present on this unique and auspicious occasion.

It will be a red letter day for India when foreign students will come to this Institute for education.

### Conferences

Important political social and industrial conferences have recently taken place in the United Provinces. The Bihar Students' Conference has also held its sittings under the presidency of Mr M K Gandhi. We hope conferences will continue to be held, as needed, in all provinces. No reasonable man can say that they disturb the calmness of the political atmosphere. As owing to the Dussehra holidays we have to publish this number ten days before the due date, we are sorry we are

unable to deal with the various recent conferences in an adequate manner.

### Largest Generator in the World

We read the following in the *Electrical World of the New York*

**Germans building the largest Generator in the world.**

We are advised by Dr Karl Georg Frank the American representative of the Siemens-Schuckert Werke of Berlin Germany that that Company is now building a 60 000 Kilo volt ampere generator wound for 6 600 volts and operating 1 000 revolutions per minute. The generator is intended for Rheinische Westphalische Elektrizitäts Werke, and will be delivered by April 1917 which throws interesting light on the conditions of the German electrical industry in spite of the war.

It may probably be necessary to explain some of the technicalities used above in order that our readers may be able to appreciate the above extract. Generator is an electric machine generating electricity. The biggest electric machines used in India are at the Tata Hydro Electric Plant at Kharoli each generator having a capacity of 10 000 K V A (kilo volt ampere), i.e., about 11,000 horse power. So the above generator alone will give us 70,000 horse power. The largest hitherto on record was one of 40 000 horse power capacity. A correspondent sent us the above in order to lay stress upon the point that the German industries are all of them intact, and, immediately after the war, Germany will try to assume its position in commerce, while our India remains as before the war, at the mercy of outsiders for our industries.



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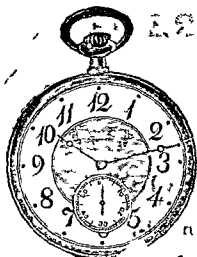
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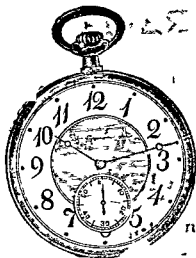
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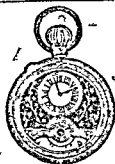
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXII

No 6

DECEMBER, 1917

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No 132

## THE VOICE OF LIFE\*

**D**EDICATE today this Institute—not merely a Laboratory but a Temple. The power of physical methods applies for the establishment of that truth which can be realised directly through our senses, or through the vast expansion of the perceptive range by means of artificially created organs. We still gather the tremulous message when the note of the audible reaches the unheard. When human sight, fails, we continue to explore the region, of the invisible. The little that we can see is as nothing compared to the vastness of that which we cannot see. Out of the very imperfection of his senses man has built himself a raft of thought by which he makes daring adventures on the great seas of the Unknown. But there are other truths which will remain beyond even the super-sensitive methods known to science. For these we require faith, tested not in a few years but by an entire life. And a temple is erected as a fit memorial for the establishment of that truth for which faith was needed. The personal, yet general, truth and faith whose establishment this Institute commemorates, is this that when one dedicates himself wholly for a great object, the closed doors shall open, and the seemingly impossible will become possible for him.

Thirty two years ago I chose teaching of science as my vocation. It was held that by its very peculiar constitution, the Indian mind would always turn away from the study of Nature to metaphysical speculations. Even had the capacity for inquiry and accurate observation been assumed present, there were no opportunities for their employment, there were no well equipped laboratories nor skilled mechanicians. This was all too

true. It is for man not to quarrel with circumstances but, bravely accept them, and we belong to that race and dynasty who had accomplished great things with simple means.

### FAILURE AND SUCCESS

This day twenty three years ago, I resolved that as far as the whole hearted devotion and faith of one man counted, that would not be wanting, and within six months it came about that some of the most difficult problems connected with Electric Waves found their solution in my Laboratory, and received high appreciation from Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh and other leading physicists. The Royal Society honoured me by publishing my discoveries and offering, of their own accord, an appropriation from the special Parliamentary Grant for the advancement of knowledge. That day the closed gates suddenly opened and I hoped that the torch that was then lighted would continue to burn brighter and brighter. But man's faith and hope require repeated testing. For five years after this the progress was uninterrupted, yet when the most generous and wide appreciation of my work had reached almost the highest point there came a sudden and unexpected change.

### LIVING AND NON LIVING

In the pursuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerge between the realms of the Living and Non living. In organic matter was found anything but inert, it also was a thrill under the action of multitudinous forces that played on it. A universal reaction seemed to bring together metal, plant and animal under

\* Sir J. C. Bose's inaugural address dedicating the Bose Institute to the nation.

a common law. They all exhibited essentially the same phenomena of fatigue and depression, together with possibilities of recovery and of exaltation, yet also that of permanent irresponsiveness which is associated with death. I was filled with awe at this stupendous generalisation; and it was with great hope that I announced my results before the Royal Society,—results demonstrated by experiments. But the physiologists present advised me, after my address, to confine myself to physical investigations in which my success had been assured, rather than encroach on their preserve. I had thus unwittingly strayed into the domain of a new and unfamiliar caste system and so offended its etiquette. An unconscious theological bias was also present which confounds ignorance with faith. It is forgotten that He, who surrounded us with this ever-evolving mystery of creation, the ineffable wonder that lies hidden in the microcosm of the dust particle, enclosing within the intricacies of its atomic form all the mystery of the cosmos, has also implanted in us the desire to question and understand. To the theological bias was added the misgivings about the inherent bent of the Indian mind towards mysticism and unchecked imagination. But in India this burning imagination which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts is also held in check by the habit of meditation. It is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of truth, in infinite patience, to wait, and reconsider, to experimentally test and repeatedly verify.

It is but natural that there should be prejudice, even in science, against all innovations; and I was prepared to wait till the first incredulity could be overcome by further cumulative evidence. Unfortunately there were other incidents and misrepresentations which it was impossible to remove from this isolating distance. Thus no conditions could have been more desperately hopeless than those which confronted me for the next twelve years. It is necessary to make this brief reference to this period of my life; for one who would devote himself to the search of truth must realise that for him there awaits no easy life, but one of unending struggle. It is for him to cast his life as an offering, regarding gain and

loss, success and failure, as one. Yet in my case this long persisting gloom was suddenly lifted. My scientific deputation in 1914, from the Government of India, gave the opportunity of giving demonstrations of my discoveries before the leading scientific societies of the world. This led to the acceptance of my theories and results, and the recognition of the importance of the Indian contribution to the advancement of the world's science. My own experience told me how heavy, sometimes even crushing, are the difficulties which confront an inquirer here in India; yet it made me stronger in my determination, that I shall make the path of those who are to follow me less arduous, and that India is never to relinquish what has been won for her after years of struggle.

#### THE TWO IDEALS

What is it that India is to win and maintain? Can anything small or circumscribed ever satisfy the mind of India? Has her own history and the teaching of the past prepared her for some temporary and quite subordinate gain? There are at this moment two complementary and not antagonistic ideals before the country. India is drawn into the vortex of international competition. She has to become efficient in every way,—through spread of education, through performance of civic duties and responsibilities, through activities both industrial and commercial. Neglect of these essentials of national duty will imperil her very existence; and sufficient stimulus for these will be found in success and satisfaction of personal ambition.

But these alone do not ensure the life of a nation. Such material activities have brought in the West their fruit, in accession of power and wealth. There has been a feverish rush even in the realm of science, for exploiting applications of knowledge, not so often for saving as for destruction. In the absence of some power of restraint, civilisation is trembling in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin. Some complementary ideal there must be to save man from that mad rush which must end in disaster. He has followed the lure and excitement of some insatiable ambition, never pausing for a moment to think of the ultimate object which success was to serve as a incentive. He forgot that far more



than competition was mutual help and co-operation in the scheme of life. And in this country through milléniums, there always have been some who, beyond the immediate and absorbing prize of the hour, sought for the realisation of the highest ideal of life—not through passive renunciation, but through active struggle. The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to renounce. He alone who has striven and won, can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. In India such examples of constant realisation of ideals through work have resulted in the formation of a continuous living tradition. And by her latent power of rejuvenescence, she has readjusted herself through infinite transformations. Thus while the soul of Babylon and the Nile Valley have transmigrated, ours still remains vital and with capacity of absorbing what time has brought, and making it one with itself.

The ideal of giving, of enriching, in fine, of self-renunciation in response to the highest call of humanity is the other and complementary ideal. The motive power for this is not to be found in personal ambition but in the effacement of all littlenesses, and uprooting of that ignorance which regards anything as gain which is to be purchased at others' loss. This I know, that no vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of distraction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest.

Public life, and the various professions will be the appropriate spheres of activity for many aspiring young men. But for my disciples, I call on those very few, who, realising some inner call, will devote their whole life with strengthened character and determined purpose, to take part in that infinite struggle to win knowledge for its own sake and see truth face to face.

#### ADVANCEMENT AND DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE

The work already carried out in my laboratory, on the response of matter, and the unexpected revelations in plant life, foreshadowing the wonders of the highest animal life, have opened out very extended regions of inquiry, in Physics, in Physiology, in Medicine, in Agriculture and even in Psychology. Problems,

hitherto regarded as insoluble, have now been brought within the sphere of experimental investigation. These inquiries are obviously more extensive than those customary either among physicists or physiologists, since demanding interests and aptitudes hitherto more or less divided between them. In the study of Nature, there is a necessity of the dual view point, this alternating yet rhythmically unified interaction of biological thought with physical studies, and physical thought with biological studies. The future worker with his freshened grasp of physics, his fuller conception of the inorganic world, as indeed thrilling with "the promise and potency of life" will redouble his former energies of work and thought. Thus he will be in a position to winnow the old knowledge with finer sieves, to re-search it with new enthusiasm and subtler instruments. And thus with thought and toil and time he may hope to bring fresher views into the old problems. His handling of these will be at once more vital and more kinetic, more comprehensive and unified.

The further and fuller investigation of the many and ever-opening problems of the nascent science which includes both Life and Non-Life are among the main purposes of the Institute I am opening today; in these fields I am already fortunate in having a devoted band of disciples, whom I have been training for the last ten years. Their number is very limited, but means may perhaps be forthcoming in the future to increase them. An enlarging field of young ability may thus be available, from which will emerge, with time and labour, individual originality of research, productive invention and some day even creative genius.

But high success is not to be obtained without corresponding experimental exactitude, and this is needed today more than ever, and to-morrow yet more again. Hence the long battery of super-sensitive instruments and apparatus, designed here, which stand before you in their cases in our entrance hall. They will tell you of the protracted struggle to get behind the deceptive seeming into the reality that remained unseen;—of the continuous toil and persistence and of ingenuity called forth for overcoming human limitations. In these directions through the ever-increasing ingenuity of device for advancing

science, I see at no distant future an advance of skill and of invention among our workers; and if this skill be assured, practical applications will not fail to follow in many fields of human activity.

The advance of science is the principal object of this Institute and also the diffusion of knowledge. We are here in the largest of all the many chambers of this House of Knowledge—its Lecture Room. In adding this feature, and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in a Research Institute, I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge, with the widest possible civic and public diffusion of it; and this without any academic limitations, henceforth to all races and languages, to both men and women alike, and for all time coming.

The lectures given here will not be mere repetitions of second-hand knowledge. They will announce, to an audience of some fifteen hundred people, the new discoveries made here, which will be demonstrated for the first time before the public. We shall thus maintain continuously the highest aim of a great Seat of Learning by taking active part in the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. Through the regular publication of the Transactions of the Institute, these Indian contributions will reach the whole world. The discoveries made will thus become public property. No patents will ever be taken. The spirit of our national culture demands that we should for ever be free from the desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain. Besides the regular staff there will be a selected number of scholars, who by their work, have shown special aptitude, and who would devote their whole life to the pursuit of research. They will require personal training and their number must necessarily be limited. But it is not the quantity but quality that is of essential importance.

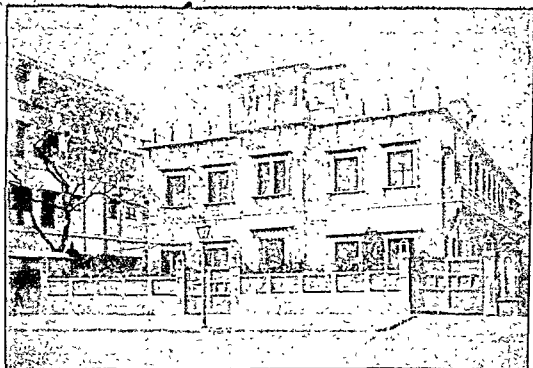
It is my further wish, that as far as the limited accommodation would permit, the facilities of this Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country, which so far back as twenty-five centuries ago, welcomed all scholars from different parts of the world, within the precincts of its ancient seats of learning, at Nalanda and at Taxila.

### THE BURGE OF LIFE

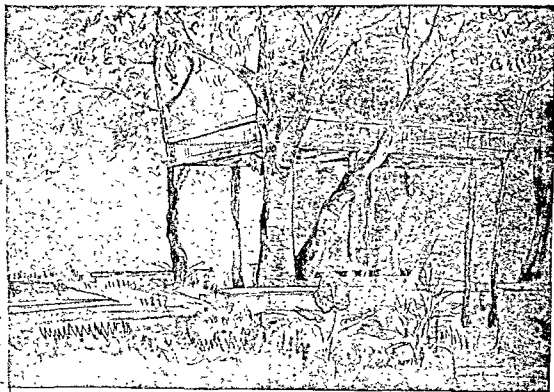
With this widened outlook, we shall not only maintain the highest traditions of the past but also serve the world in nobler ways. We shall be at one with it in feeling the common surgings of life, the common love for the good, the true and the beautiful. In this Institute, this Study and Garden of Life, the claim of art has not been forgotten, for the artist has been working with us, from foundation to pinnacle, and from floor to ceiling of this very Hall. And beyond that arch, the Laboratory merges imperceptibly into the garden, which is the true laboratory for the study of Life. There the creepers, the plants and the trees are played upon by their natural environments,—sunlight and wind, and the chill at midnight under the vault of starry space. There are other surroundings also, where they will be subjected to chromatic action of different lights, to invisible rays, to electrified ground or thunder-charged atmosphere. Everywhere they will transcribe in their own script the history of their experience. From his lofty point of observation, sheltered by the trees, the student will watch this panorama of life. Isolated from all distractions, he will learn to attune himself with Nature; the obscuring veil will be lifted and he will gradually come to see how community throughout the great ocean of life outweighs apparent dissimilarity. Out of discord he will realise the great harmony.

### THE OUTLOOK

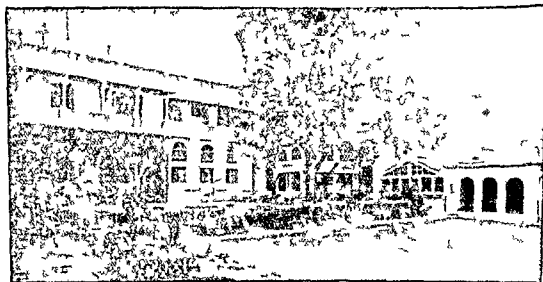
These are the dreams that weave a network round my wakeful life for many years past. The outlook is endless, for the goal is at infinity. The realisation cannot be through one life or one fortune but through the co-operation of many lives and many fortunes. The possibility of a fuller expansion will depend on very large Endowments. But a beginning must be made, and this is the genesis of the foundation of this Institute. I came with nothing and shall return as I came; if something is accomplished in the interval, that would indeed be a privilege. What I have I will offer, and one who had shared with me the struggles and hardships that had to be faced, has wished to bequeath all that is hers for the same.



The Bose Institute, Calcutta.



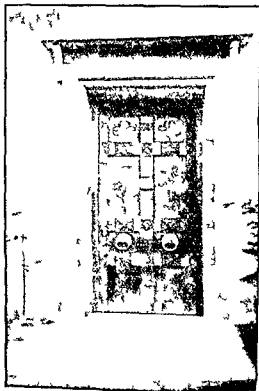
The Platform supported by the Banian trees in the compound/garden of the Bose Institute.  
From a Sketch by Mr. Mukul Chandra De.



The Garden Compounds of the Bose Institute Calcutta  
The two big Banan trees at the back of the compound were transplanted from a distance  
after they were made useless



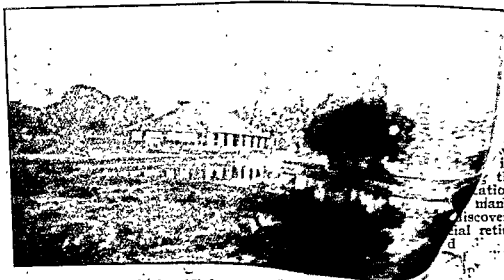
The Outlook Garden  
S. Jagadish Chunder Bose's Research Station



The Main Entrance of the Bose Institute  
Calcutta

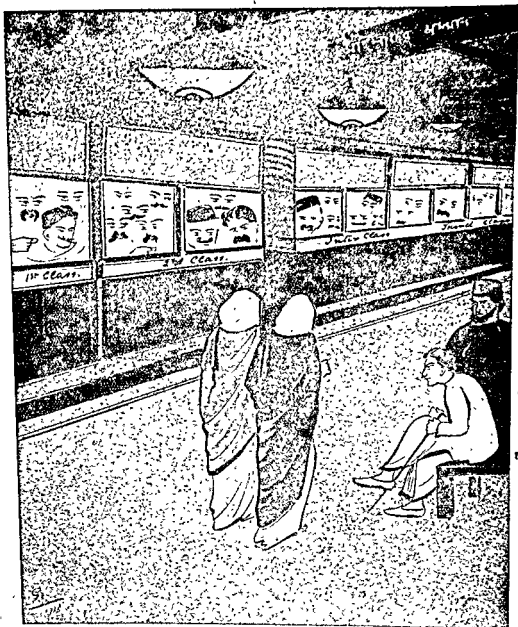


Glen Eden Research Station of Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, *Indo-Ban*



Experimental Garden of Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, *Indo-Ban*

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Respect for Women !  
By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore,

object. In all my struggling efforts I have not been altogether solitary; while the world doubted, there had been a few, now in the City of Silence, who never wavered in their trust.

Till a few weeks ago it seemed that I shall have to look to the future for securing the necessary expansion of scope and for permanence of the Institute. But response is being awakened in answer to the need. The Government have most generously intimated their desire to sanction grants towards placing the Institute on a permanent basis, the extent of which will be proportionate to the public interest in this national undertaking. Out of many who would feel an interest in securing adequate Endowment, the very first donations have come from two of the merchant princes of Bombay, to whom I had been personally unknown.

A note that touched me deeply came from some girl-students of the Western Province, enclosing their little contribution "for the service of our common mother-land." It is only the instinctive mother-heart that can truly realise the bond that draws together the nurselings of the common home-land. There can be no real misgiving for the future when at the country's call man offers the strength of his life and woman her active devotion; she most of all, who has the greater insight and larger faith because of her life of austerity and self-abbatement.

Even a solitary wayfarer in the Himalayas has remembered to send me message of cheer and good hope. What is it that has bridged over the distance and blotted out all differences? That I will come gradually to know; till then it will remain enshrined as a feeling. And I go forward to my appointed task, undismayed by difficulties, accompanied by the kind thoughts of my well-wishers, both far and near.

#### INDIA'S SPECIAL AFFINITIES IN CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE

The excessive specialisation of modern science in the West has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science which includes all the branches of knowledge. How chaotic appear the happenings in Nature! Is Nature a Cosmos, in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequence, order and law? India through her habit of mind is pecu-

liarily fitted to realise the idea of unity, and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe. This trend of thought led me unconsciously to the dividing frontiers of different sciences and shaped the course of my work in its constant alternations between the theoretical and the practical, from the investigation of the inorganic world to that of organised life and its multitudinous activities of growth, of movement, and even of séparation. On looking over a hundred and fifty different lines of investigations carried on during the last twenty-three years, I now discover in them a natural sequence. The study of Electric Waves led to the devising of methods for the production of the shortest electric waves known and these bridged over the gulf between visible and invisible light; from this followed accurate investigation on the optical properties of invisible waves; the determination of the refractive powers of various opaque substances; the discovery of effect of air film on total reflection and the polarising properties of strained rocks and of electric tourmalines. The invention of a new type of self-recovering electric receiver made of galena was the forerunner of application of crystal detectors for extending the range of wireless signals. In physical chemistry the detection of molecular change in matter under electric stimulation, led to a new theory of photographic action. The fruitful theory of stereo-chemistry was strengthened by the production of two kinds of artificial molecules, which like the two kinds of sugar, rotated the polarised electric wave either to the right or to the left. Again the 'fatigue' of my receivers led to the discovery of universal sensitiveness inherent in matter as shown by its electric response. It was next possible to study this response in its modification under changing environment; of which its exaltation under stimulants and its abolition under poisons are among the most astonishing outward manifestations. And as a single example of the many applications of this fruitful discovery, the characteristics of an artificial retina gave a clue to the unexpected discovery of "binocular alternation of vision" in man; each eye thus supplements its fellow by turns, instead of acting as a continuously yoked pair, as hitherto believed.

## PLANT LIFE AND ANIMAL LIFE

In natural sequence to the investigation of the response in 'inorganic' matter, I have followed a prolonged study of the activities of plant-life as compared with the corresponding functioning of animal life. But since plants for the most part seem motionless and passive, and are indeed limited in their range of movement, special apparatus of extreme delicacy had to be invented, which should magnify the tremor of excitation and also measure the perception period of a plant to a thousandth part of a second. Ultra microscopic movements were measured and recorded, the length measured being often smaller than a fraction of a single wave length of light. The secret of plant life was thus for the first time revealed by the autographs of the plant itself. This evidence of the plant's own script removed the longstanding error which divided the vegetable world into sensitive and insensitive. The remarkable performance of the Praying Palm Tree of Parí, which bows, as if to prostrate itself every evening, is only one of the latest instances which show that the supposed insensibility of plants and still more of rigid trees is to be ascribed to wrong theory and defective observation. My investigations show that all plants, even the trees, are fully alive to changes of environment, they respond visibly to all stimuli, even to the slight fluctuations of light caused by a drifting cloud. This series of investigations has completely established the fundamental identity of life reactions in plant and animal as seen in a similar periodic insensibility in both corresponding to what we call sleep as seen in the death spasm, which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity in organic life is also exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is heart beat, it appears in the identical effects of stimulants anaesthetics and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. This physiological identity in the effect of drugs is regarded by leading physicians as of great significance in the scientific advance of Medicine, since here we have a means of testing the effect of drugs under conditions far simpler than those presented by the patient far subtler too as well as more humane than those of experiments on animals.

Growth of plants and its variations

under different treatment is instantly recorded by my Crescograph. Authorities expect this method of investigation will advance practical agriculture, since for the first time we are able to analyse and study separately the conditions which modify the rate of growth. Experiments which would have taken months and their results vitiated by unknown changes, can now be carried out in a few minutes.

Returning to pure science, no phenomena in plant life are so extremely varied or have yet been more incapable of generalisation than the "tropic" movements, such as the twining of tendrils the heliotropic movements of some towards and of others away from light, and the opposite geotropic movements of the root and shoot in the direction of gravitation or away from it. My latest investigations recently communicated to the Royal Society have established a single fundamental reaction which underlies all these effects so extremely diverse.

Finally, I may say a word of that other new and unexpected chapter which is opening out from my demonstration of nervous impulse in plants. The speed with which the nervous impulse courses through the plant has been determined, its nervous excitability and the variation of that excitability have likewise been measured. The nervous impulse in plant and in man is found exalted or inhibited under identical conditions. We may even follow this parallelism in what may seem extreme cases. A plant carefully protected under glass from outside shocks looks sleek and flourishing, but its higher nervous function is then found to be atrophied. But when a succession of blows is rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the shocks themselves create nervous channels and arouse anew the deteriorated nature. And is it not shocks of adversity, and not cotton wool protection, that evolve true manhood?

A question long perplexing physiologists and psychologists alike is that concerned with the great mystery that underlies memory. But now through certain experiments I have carried out, it is possible to trace memory impressions backwards even in inorganic matter such latent impressions being capable of subsequent revival. Again the tone of our sensation is determined by the intensity



of nervous excitation that reaches the central perceiving organ. It would theoretically be possible to change the tone or quality of our sensation, if means could be discovered by which the nervous impulse would become modified during transit. Investigation on nervous impulse in plants has led to the discovery of a controlling method, which was found equally effective in regard to the nervous impulse in animal.

Thus the lines of physics, of physiology and of psychology converge and meet. And here will assemble those who would seek oneness amidst the manifold. Here it is that the genius of India should find its true blossoming.

The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve and the resulting sensations, how diverse are these and yet how unified! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted but transmuted and reflected like the image on a mirror, from a different plane of life, in sensation and in affection in thought and in emotion. Of these which is more real, the material body or the image which is independent of it? Which of these is undecaying and which of these is beyond the reach of death?

It was a woman in the Vedic times who when asked to take her choice of the wealth that would be hers for the asking inquired whether that would win for her deathlessness. What would she do with it, if it did not raise her above death? This has always been the cry of the soul of India, not for addition of material bondage, but to work out through struggle her self-chosen destiny and win immortality.

in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction: that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations.

Not in matter but in thought, not in possessions or even in attainments but in ideals are to be found the seed of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established. Thus to Asoka to whom belonged this vast empire bounded by the inviolate seas after he had tried to ransom the world by giving away to the utmost, there came a time when he had nothing more to give, except one half of an *Amlaki* fruit. This was his last possession and his anguished cry was that since he had nothing more to give, let the half of the *Amlaki* be accepted as his final gift.

Asoka's emblem of the *Amlaki* will be seen on the cornices of the Institute, and towering above all is the symbol of the thunderbolt. It was the Rishi Dadhichi, the pure and blameless who offered his life that the divine weapon the thunderbolt, might be fashioned out of his bones to smite evil and exalt righteousness. It is but half of the *Amlaki* that we can offer now. But the past shall be reborn in a yet nobler future. We stand here today and resume work tomorrow so that by the efforts of our lives and our unshaken faith in the future we may all help to build the

## THE SMALL AND THE GREAT

[TRANSLATION OF A PAPER READ BY RAHINDRANATH TAGORE]

INDIA, in the throes of long suffering from the barrenness of political drought, was anxiously scanning the skies, political weather prophets had reported that a strong Home rule moonoon had crossed the Arabian Sea, and forecasted

heavy showers, when lo! and behold! showers descended on Behar of rioting of Hindus against Mahomedans—heavy showers!

We hear of sectarian quarrels in other countries as well, owing to rivalry or

serve our Mother Country, the natural right to take up its responsibilities, for lack of which the torments of the degradation of hopeless futility are becoming too unbearable within our breasts

That is why, of late, we see the eagerness of our youths to thrust themselves forward to render social service. Man cannot go on living in a hot house of inane peacefulness, for his most intimate want is the scope to struggle towards growth, of which the expression is the consecration of self in suffering, to a great Idea. In the history of all great peoples the irresistible progress of this struggle foams and roars and splashes over the ups and downs of success and failure, breaking through all obstacles. It is impossible to keep hidden, even from political paralytics such as we, the grand panorama of this history. To a youth, instinct with the enthusiasm of Life, inspired by the words of the Great taught by the lessons of History, enforced inactivity is worse than death itself—as is only too clear in the heart rending letter written by the one time detenu Sachindra Das Gupta on the eve of his suicide.

But only the opportunity for rendering occasional service during flood or famine is not enough to give scope to the inner promptings of man's complex nature which can only find fulfilment in the constant and various expression of everyday work, failing which they get confined within, there to fester and become poisoned, and originate the secret activities from which the country is suffering. Wherefore we see the suspicions of the authorities most keenly directed towards those who have ideals and are trying to act up to them. Those who are selfish and unprincipled, inert and indifferent—under the present day spy system it is they who have the least to fear, it is they who are rewarded and rise to the top. Unselfish activity for the sake of others is so difficult of explanation! How is one to reply to this question of inquisitorial authority? "What business have you, forsooth, with great deeds? When the way is open for you to eat, drink and live easily upon the fat and lean wages you may earn by hiring yourself, what possesses you to indulge in a wild goose chase at your own expense?"

But whatever authority may say, is this underground tunnel, where there is neither light nor sound, nor justice, nor

legitimate way of escape, is this, I ask, a good path for Government to follow? You may bury without trial all the best activity of the country,—but can you in this way lay its ghost? To try to give an outward aspect of respectability to inward hunger by force of punishment can neither be called good nor wise.

While this underground policy is rampant, the news comes from over the seas that a draft scheme of self government is being prepared. I can but suppose that the higher authorities have begun to perceive that simple repression will not exorcise the disturbing spirit, but that conciliation is also needful. This country is my country, not only because I happen to be born in it, but because it has a claim to the best of my striving and achievement—the British Empire in India can only become permanent if it can encourage the realisation of this truth by its people. To keep so vast a country enfeebled, inefficient, indifferent to its affairs of state, is to make their help in an emergency worthless, and their weight of inertia unbearable. Moreover, placing even the weakest in a constant attitude of antagonism is like leaving the smallest leak in a boat. In calm weather baling may serve to keep it going, but when in a storm all hands are busy with rudder and oar and sail the tiny leak may make all the difference. To get angry then, and pound it with regulation or non regulation police *in this* will only make matters worse. The trifling cost of mending a small leak in time will save much greater loss later on—this is a truth which I cannot believe British statesmanship does not understand. It is because it does, that the question of granting self government has arisen today.

But the baser side of human nature is blind. It only attaches importance to the present, and ignores what is yet to come. It thinks it mere weakness or silly sentimentality to talk of Truth and Right. Envoied by high hopes India is making too light of this enemy of British Rule. The Anglo Indian, who whether as government official or merchant stands for the greed of power or money, is too close to India to see clearly. To his near sightedness it is his power, his prosperity which towers, and the 300 millions of India with their joys and sorrows are only so many shadows, faint and unsubstantial. This

makes me afraid that any boy such as may have served to give back to India her strength of manhood, will be clipped and curtailed and bloodless when it does come, or perhaps, will perish on the journey and add to the skeletons of the unfruitful good wishes which strew the desert path of India's fate.

The Anglo-Indian who wields the weapon of obstruction is intoxicated with power, and out of touch with the life of India by layer upon layer of accumulated official tradition. To him India is but a Government or Mercantile office. While, on the other hand, he is connected by blood with those Englishmen over the seas who shape our destinies; his hand is in their hands, his lips at their ears; he has a seat in their council chambers, and access to the green room behind the political stage; he is constantly going back home to leaven the country with his ideas and is altering its very psychology. He swears by his grey hairs and the length of his experience, and claims special indulgence because of the pinnacle to which he claims to have raised the Empire. Where can our words, our hopes, even our existence be seen behind this towering self-assertion? How can we hope for any Englishman to have such abnormal keenness of insight as to succeed in spying out the humanity in these 300 millions over the encircling walls of officialdom?

The distant Englishman who, by reason of the free atmosphere of Europe is able to escape the illusions of blind self-interest and can see India with a breadth of vision, is cautioned by the Anglo-Indian that it is only through the dust-laden nether sky that a practical view can be obtained, and that the distant view from the pure upper sky is visionary. For the distant Englishman to take an interest in Indian affairs is reckoned, by the Anglo-Indian to be a piece of impudent meddlesomeness. Therefore the Indian should always remember that he is not governed by the Great English People of whom he has heard tell, but that he is the subject of an official sect who have been corroded into artificiality by the acid of Indian Government offices in which they have soaked for ages—not of men who are men in mind and heart and life, but who have been artificially docked and stunted for a special purpose.

The camera may be called an artificial eye. It sees very distinctly, but not the

whole view; it cannot see what is not immediately before it. So we may say it sees blindly. The natural eye, behind which there is a living person, however imperfect its vision may be for a particular purpose, is much better adapted for dealings between man and man. So we may thank God that He has not given us camera lenses in the place of eyes. But what is this that He has given us in the Government of India? The great Englishman, who is really and fully a man, lives, such is our fate, on the opposite shore; and before he comes over to this side he passes through the shears of expediency which lop off three quarters of his manhood, carefully cutting out all that makes man grow himself and cause growth in others. These expurgated men fail to understand why these perfect and expensive cameras of theirs are charged with seeing incompletely, because imagination also is one of the things they have left behind them.

Why is it that the inmates of work-houses in England are so discontented and try to run away if they can? Because the workhouse is neither a proper home, nor perfect homelessness. It gives only a bare minimum of shelter, rigidly calculated. Shelter is doubtless a very necessary thing, but because men are men they pine for a home, that is to say, they cannot live without many a thing which is not absolutely necessary, over and above the bare minimum; and if they cannot get these, they want to escape. The strict workhouse guardian, who is not a whole man with a complete vision, feels surprised and angry at this ingratitude of the indigent, and fails to understand their unwillingness to barter the boundless hope which agitates their soul for the peace of bare shelter, and so tries to suppress sorrowing by punishment.

The great Englishman is not in direct contact with India,—between 'them' is interposed the small Englishman. So, for us, the great Englishman exists only in History and Literature; and India exists for him only in Offices and Blue books, in other words, India is for him only a set of statistics in which are to be found exports and imports, income and expenditure; the number of births and deaths, of policemen to keep the peace, of goals to punish the turbulent; the length of railway lines, the height of educational edifices. But creation is not a

sky filling mass of statistical figures, and no account of the vital immensity of India beyond these figures reaches any living personality.

Nevertheless whatever may be the difficulties in the way of believing it I ask my countrymen to know for certain that there is a geographical locality where a people rightly called the great British people really exist. The injustice which the weak do to the strong is only a further proof of their weakness—it will redound to our glory if we can avoid such weakness. I can swear it that these great Englishmen are in every way true men. It is also certainly true that the same greatness of character which has made all great peoples great has also made these great Englishmen great. It is no use saying in a fit of pique that they have raised themselves on the points of their swords or by mounting their money bags. It is utterly unworthy of belief that any people can become great merely because they are good at fighting or money making and the proposition can be dismissed without calling for proof that any people have become truly great without achieving moral greatness. These great Englishmen sincerely cherish the ideals of Right and Truth and Freedom, they are expressed in various ways in their literature and their history, and these same ideals are giving them strength in the present-day war.

These great Englishmen are not stationary, they are progressing their lives are changing and expanding through their history. They are busy not only with their Empire and their commerce but their national life flows on in a full stream of literature science and art social life and religion. They are creative and are of the high priests of the great European sacrifice. The lessons of the war have not been lost on them and they are learning to read the history of man anew in the soul searching light of their martyrdom. They have seen the catastrophe that must inevitably result from the insistent setting up of false patriotic pride against insulted humanity. Consciously or unconsciously they are realising that the god of one's own country is the God of all countries and that to bring Him human victims is to see Him in His terrible wrath. And even if they have not understood it today, they will understand it someday that the storm centre is always where the air is thinnest, and there, where

are the weakest of the world's peoples, will always be the centre of struggle of contending nations drawn into the vortex by the lust of spoil, there man does not shine in his greatness, but grows laxer and laxer, carelessly allowing his manhood to slip away from him, there Satan usurps a seat and dares mock God for his weakness! The great Englishman, I say, needs must understand that castles cannot be built on sand and their power made permanent on the weakness of others.

But the small Englishman does not move on. He has remained tied for long centuries to the country which he has condemned to stagnation. On one face of his life he bears the imprint of office, on the other of pleasure. In the former aspect he keeps India at the length of his sceptre of power or his measuring rod of commerce, the other face, like the other side of the moon, is entirely beyond our ken. And yet he claims value for his experience in the measure of the length of its years. In the beginning of British Indian History he did some creative work, but ever since he has simply been watching over and enjoying a well established political and commercial predominance. His continual turning of the mill of routine has made him immensely wise in worldly wisdom, and he thinks the achievement of efficacy in his office to be the greatest event in the world. His constant intercourse with a weaker people makes him feel that he is the maker of the future as he is the master of the present. He does not stop at the assertion that he is here, he follows it up with the boast that he has come to stay.

Relying on the generosity of the great Englishman as a talisman our countrymen have begun to talk back to the small Englishman forgetting the strength of the power wielded by the latter, forgetting also that sometimes the cost of propitiating the priest below has to be even greater than the value of the boon vouchsafed by the god above. Let us recall instances of the power of this intermediary, the quality of his characteristic mood. Granted, for the sake of argument that Annie Besant was at fault,—but the great Englishman had pardoned her. For this the earth quakes engineered by the small Englishman reached and shook the Houses of Parliament. The small Englishman cannot overlook the crime of forgiveness, though

he may omit to call for the case of irregular punishments. Where a punishment has been awarded, the crime must be there to fit it, says he. He who holds the contrary is an Extremist! Then again, when in the Imperial Council chamber the Panjab Lieutenant Governor made indiscreet attacks on the people of India and the Viceroy felt compelled to read him a mild homily, it gave the small Englishman a shock from which he finds it impossible to recover. On the other hand, when Mr. Montagu, before taking up his office indulged in some plain speaking about the Indian Bureaucracy, there was such a cyclone of vituperation that it knocked the spire off the State Secretary's power and freedom of action. We have witnessed the power of the small Englishman, not only in the time of Lord Ripon and to some extent in that of Lord Hardinge, but also so far back as in the time of Lord Canning and of Lord Bentinck.

That is why I repeatedly warn my countrymen: "What makes you so defiant? Your strength? You have none. Your voice? It is not so loud as you think. Any supporter? He is imaginary. If your cause be righteous then that alone you may thoroughly rely on. None can deprive you of the right of voluntary suffering. The glory of consecrating yourselves to Truth and Right awaits you at the end of a stony road. And if, at length, you get any boon at all, it will be from your own conscience—the god that is within. Have you not seen how, suspecting the Government of India to be in collusion in regard to the proposal for a boon to India, the Anglo-Indian is inquiring with a sardonic smile: "What makes the Government so jumpy? What awful thing can have happened that the thunderbolt department should have taken to showering rain?" And yet when mere schoolboys are thrust into the lawless underground regions of darkness, then this same Anglo-Indian cries: "The state of things is so awful that British justice must confess defeat, and wild Tartar methods imported to take its place!" That is to say, the apprehension which is true when you strike, is false when you are called upon to apply balm to the wound,—for the balm costs money! But, say I, the bill of costs for hitting hard has a way of exceeding that of trying to heal. Secure in your strength you fancy that the portion of Indian History which

concerns the Indian is not progressing onwards, but goes round and round in an eddy which tends downwards. And when one day, on coming out of your office, you find the current passing beyond the line which was assigned to it in your plan, you fly into a rage and shout: "Stop it! Bind it! Hem it in!" Then indeed does the current sink beneath, and in your frantic efforts to check its hidden course you rip and tear the breast of the whole country.

I myself have recently fallen foul of the small Englishman. Some days ago I happened to write a short letter on the harshness of imprisoning hundreds of young people without trial. I was promptly charged with circulating falsehoods and dubbed an Extremist by the Anglo-Indian papers. These are, after all, government officials in mufti, so I forgive them their epithets. But even those of my countrymen who find no meaning in my poetry and no substance in my prose, but who nevertheless happen to have read my writings, will be constrained to admit this much, that from the days of the Swadeshi agitation to this day I have always written against Extremism. I have consistently urged this one thing that the wages of wrong-doing are never found to be worth-while in the long run, for the debt of sin always ends by becoming the heavier. Moreover, I have never been scared by ink-slinging, be it Indian or English. I emphatically assert that the Extremism which is neither decent, nor legal nor open; which means forsaking the straight road and taking to tortuous paths in the hope of sooner gaining a particular end, is always utterly reprehensible. I have consistently told my countrymen this with the full strength of my conviction, and so I claim the right to say with equal emphasis that this Extremism is also woefully wrong, even as a policy of government. The high road of law may sometimes prove a roundabout way of reaching the goal, but like riding roughshod over Belgium's rights, the Extremism of shortening the legitimate road is never seemly.

The taking of short cuts was the usual practice in ancient history. "Bring me his head!" was a favorite method of cutting the gordian knot. Europe prides herself on her discovery that the cutting of the knot is not the same as undoing it, and that much damage is wrought by the former process.

Civilisation has responsibilities to which it is incumbent on her to do justice even in times of trouble and stress. There is an element of ferocity in all punishment which is allowable in civilised society only after it has been softened, so far as may be, by passing through the filter of law, cleansed of all anger, spite and partiality; otherwise the rod of the judge and the cudgel of the hooligan remain insufficiently differentiated. I admit that the times are difficult. We are ashamed of the methods by which some of our youths have attempted to get rid of the obstacles to their country's progress. We are all the more ashamed of it because the idea of the divorce of Expediency from Right was taught us by the West. The open and secret lies of diplomacy, the open and secret robberies sanctioned by statecraft are looked upon in the West as the inevitable alloy in the gold which serves to strengthen the metal. Thus have we come to learn that it is foolish and feeble—mere silly sentimentalism—to allow Righteousness to bother and worry where Patriotic self-interest shows the way. We, also, have become convinced that civilisation requires to be stiffened by an admixture of barbarism, and the Right to be tempered by the expedient. This has not only led us to tolerate unrighteousness, but also to bend the knee to what is most unworthy in our teachers. We have lost the courage and independence to say from a higher platform than that of even our teachers:

सर्वज्ञं सर्वज्ञे तारुं वसी भद्राणि पश्यति ।  
ततः सपत्न्यां जयति समस्तं विजयति ॥

*Men flourish by unrighteousness, in unrighteousness appears their welfare, by unrighteousness they overthrow their enemies, but they are destroyed at the root.*

So I say that it is the greatest shame of all that our ideals should have owned such complete defeat at the onslaught of the teachings of the West. What high hopes had we that when the lamp of Love of Country should be lighted in our country, the best that was in us would be illuminated and shine forth; our age-long accumulation of error flee from the shelter of its dark corner; a fountain of hope gush forth through the stony crust of our despair; our awakened energies carve out for us, step by step, a way over the apparent hopelessness of our future; and

our "people" stand shoulder to shoulder, with upraised heads, relieved by the buoyant joy of mutual love from the weight of cruel conventions that have crushed and insulted our manhood.

But alas! what trick was this that our fate played us? The lamp of patriotism was lighted, but what was this scene it revealed of theft and robbery and secret murder? Did the god of our prayers appear before us to be worshipped by offerings of sin? Does not the same spiritlessness and inertia, the same self-mistrust, which led us to look to political begging as a panacea for all betterment and so to perfect ourselves in the art of petition-writing, now make us take to political crime in order to hasten the millenium? There is no cross-road where robbery and bravery meet. In Europe there may seem to be such a meeting of the ways, but the signposts on its roads have not yet been passed as correct in the survey of Providence. And let us pray to God, even if the whole world should believe immediate gain to be the be-all and end-all, that India may not share in such belief. If without it we can attain political freedom, well and good. If not, let us at least abstain from choking the way to a greater freedom with the garbage of political untruths.

But one thing we must not forget. If in the light of our awakened love of country we have seen robbery and murder, we have also seen brave men. We have never seen the divine power of self-sacrifice so resplendent in our youths as we have seen it to-day. They are ready with a wonderful devotion to cast aside all worldly prospects and consecrate their lives to the service of their motherland—a service which not only does not lead to advancement or Government favour, but bristles with the antagonism of their own kith and kin. It makes my heart thrill to see that there is no lack of young pilgrims on this strait and troublous path, and that their response was immediate when the call came from above. In more fortunate countries, where numerous avenues to the service of country and mankind spread in all directions, these unworldly, imaginative, determined, selfless boys are accounted the greatest assets. One has only to read the last letter of the detenu, Sachindra, who killed himself in despair, to feel sure that if he had been born in the country of

the Englishmen who punished them, should there, have lived a glorious life and died even a more glorious death.

In the past and in the present it was and is open to any king or any official of a king to paralyse a country from one end to the other by suppressing the vitality of its youth. That is easy enough; but it is not civilised, and, so far as I know, it is not English either. To cripple for life those who are innocent and likewise great, or even those who in a momentary perversion of a great enthusiasm have fallen, but only need a helping hand to rise again and justify their life,—what could be a more cruel waste of human life? What kind of statesmanship is it which can afford to hand over such youths and boys to the tender mercies of the secret service? It is like letting loose a herd of buffaloes in the night upon the tender shoots of springing corn; and while the owner of the field beats his breast in despair, the keeper of the herd exults that not a weed will be left showing!

And what makes the calamity greater is that any tender shoot once bitten by the police thrives no longer, and will bear neither flower nor fruit, for there is poison in their touch. I know a boy whose intelligence was as keen as his diligence in study, and equally noble was his character. He managed to get let off after having been mauled by the police, it is true; but he is now, in the first bloom of his youth, the inmate for life of a madhouse in Berham-pore. I can swear that the British Government never had anything to fear, but our country much to gain, from him.

Some time ago when my Shantiniketan boys went up for their examination to the Birbham Zilla school, the police used to take down their names. They had no need to do anything else to cause young spirits to droop; for none know the nature of their secret records nor can divine the purpose of their stealthy methods. Just as no one cares to eat a snake-bitten fruit, so none dare to hold commerce with a police-tainted person. Even that most desperate of creatures, the Bengali father with an unmarried daughter to get rid of,—to whom neither ugliness nor vice, nor age nor disease is a bar,—even he refrains from sending the matchmaker to him. If the one-time police-suspect tries to do business, the business fails. If he begs for charity, he may rouse our pity, but cannot

overcome our dread. If he joins any good work, that good work is doomed.

The authorities in charge of this Department of Terror are after all only men of flesh and blood, they are not saints, risen superior to passion and prejudice. And as we, in a state of excitement or fear, mistake shadow for reality, so do they. Their profession being to suspect all men, mistrust of all men becomes ingrained in their character; and to take action on the least trace of doubt gets to be their favourite policy; for they are not checked from above, their surroundings have been terrorised into silence, and the small Englishman behind them is either apathetic, or else hounding them on. If, to a lack of natural sympathy, prevailing passion or panic, and power practically boundless, there be added secret methods and stifled laws, then, can even the small Englishman really bring himself to believe that a situation has arisen in which strict justice and a righteous policy can be counted upon? I am absolutely certain that he does not believe any such thing, but what he believes is that all this is a convenient method of suppressing disturbance; just as we have seen, in Germany, the avoidance of international obligations reckoned to be the easiest way of winning the war, because there the small Germans predominate over the great Germans. The state policy of "Bring me his head!" may serve for a time, but not for all time. The policy which is good for all time is the policy for which great Englishmen have so often fought; and fired by their whole-hearted abhorrence for the opposite policy of the Germans, great young Englishmen, to-day, are rushing in their thousands to give up their lives on the field of battle.

It has been my steadfast endeavour that the boys of my Shantiniketan school should acquire a true vision of the history of Humanity as a whole, broad and untainted with race-hatred. With this in my mind, I have not hesitated to accept the services of devoted Englishmen offering to consecrate their lives to this work. But we live unnatural lives; our present scope, our future prospects, are both narrow; our latent powers are feeble in expression for lack of stimulus and want of facility. Any result we may achieve in our restricted field, overshadowed as it is by the might of the wielders of all power and

war bristling with big guns. If death be made an ally, then shall the Lord of Death come to our help. If we do not achieve power for ourselves, then the alliance between the weak and the powerful cannot be a real one, the union in which one part predominates is no union at all but the greatest of all disunions. The Empire in the building of which we are only as the bricks and mortar cannot be our Empire. That Empire alone can be ours of which we are the architects also. Only within such an Empire can we gain life for such an Empire can we lay down life. Oh, let not the power with which we would ally ourselves with the powerful be that acquired by begging or borrowing. May it be our own inherent power, the power of righteousness. May it be the power to bear unflinchingly endless sorrow and suffering. There is no power on earth which can bind in chains the power to suffer, to sacrifice self—the power of righteousness. In defeat it is victorious, in death immortal.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE

#### Note by the Author

Since the reading of this paper there has been a reference by H. E. Lord Ronald Shaye, in a speech of his in Council to a letter which I wrote to an English friend

I should like to make it clear that neither in that letter nor in this paper has it been my object to pronounce any opinion on the innocence or guilt of all or any of those who have been punished under the Defence of India Act.

What I want to say is that the policy of secret condemnation and punishment hitherto pursued has naturally led a very large number of my countrymen to conclude that a great many of those punished are innocent. Imprisonment in gaols, in some cases in solitary cells, savours to the public at large more of vengeance than of precaution. Moreover the harassment to which a detenu is subjected, even after his release, by reason of continued shadowing by the police may not be admitted by those who are responsible, but is too painfully patent to those who share the suffering.

The natural outcome of this policy is a widespread panic which paralyses the innocent whether in their efforts for self advancement or to render public service. In this unnatural state of things it has become difficult for us to maintain our accustomed relations with those whom we do not know well, with the further disastrous result that both hospitality and charity have succumbed to an all pervading suspiciousness.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

## ARATAMA SAN

BY E. E. SPEIGHT OF HANAZAWA, JAPAN

As I stole out of the gates of the compound a blinding flash of lightning over Vladivostock way spread along the horizon and filled me with awe. It was not yet four of a winter's morning and the stars were cold. I stumbled down the steep brookside to the frozen rice fields and made for a cluster of bamboos in which nestled a Japanese village with Polynesian roofs and a haunted shrine. One long building was dimly lighted.

I call "Aratama San!"

A burly figure moves silently out of the blackness and greets me, grasping my hand

firmly. "He is young and sturdy," with a bull neck and high cheek bones his face suggests the tenacity of the Negro and the dignity of the Mongol, but there is a strange gentleness in his manner and speech.

He leads me into a building where two haggard youths clad only in shirt-like garments are attending to a furnace. There are tiny bottles of milk everywhere a thousand of them in sight, and they are taking turn to be steamed to boiling point. Aratama gives some orders in another and deeper voice and brings me fire in a brazier. Then he surprises me by handing



me a difficult Chinese poem, but one educated Japanese in a hundred could read. He gave me the normal Chinese characters and the cursive; a transliteration in English spelling of the Japanese pronunciation of the characters, a translation into English and an illustrated description of the koto, the instrument to which the poem was sung. I put it aside and visit the cattle-stalls until he is ready. Seventy cows are happily munching in chorus: some of them have their calves with them, and the homely sight takes away the weird feeling of being in a remote region of the Far East.

I had noticed Aratama the first day I entered his class, and had marked him as a rough customer. He looked like a fighting man full of despair. But I was wrong. There was a natural refinement about him, and he was grateful for the least attention. At the first sign of restlessness in the class he was the first to call his comrades to order. He seemed to be alone, living aloof from his classmates. But his work in English was earnest, more promising than his place near the bottom would denote. The class is one of the better ones of the first year students of law, and the men hail from all parts of Japan.

One day in October I happened to look down as I was lecturing and caught sight of something full of meaning. Aratama had slipped off his boots, and what boots they were! Mere brickbats. It was easier for him without them, for his swollen feet were bare. That day I first divined the poverty of my pupils.

The next time I noticed him was a bitter day of driving snow. The wind came howling across from Siberia and set the city a-shivering. Gardens were straw-decked, and all men wore mufflers. He had on an old military coat, with the hood over his head. When he saw me coming along the deserted street he slipped off his hood in salute, nor would he replace it until we had walked far. I was well clad and set my course for the parade ground, the most exposed spot in the city. At every corner I expected him to leave me, but he held alongside. I asked about his home.

"I have not been to my native place for three years. I am the youngest of eight, Sir, and my parents are very poor."

He laughed, though somewhat sadly.

I spoke of great Englishmen who had risen from hovels.

He laughed again. "Ah, no, no, Sir. There was deep meaning in his accents. He knew that no one could be so poor as he. I was roused."

"What are you going to be after you leave the University?" I asked.

"I will be a statesman, Sir."

We reached the wide *renpeijo*, where companies of recruits snowball each other under their kindly officers. He plodded through the slush in his pitiful boots, which were now sodden beyond recognition. "Do you take exercise every afternoon?" I asked.

"I have to work for my living, Sir. I am a *gyuanyu*, what do you call it? A milkboy. It is difficult for study. I am drowsy—it is tired to work."

I remembered that once he started in class as if just awake. Even yet I did not realise the truth. We reached a turning.

"Good-day, Sir." He said, bowing low.

The next day he came to see me, shy, but courteous and full of strange Buddhist lore. As a result of that visit I was here among the patient cows.

He broke in upon my reverie.

"I am now ready to start, Sir."

A crate of warm bottles was put into a covered hand cart. He lighted a paper lantern, explaining its Chinese lettering to me, and then backed between the shafts. He had on his great coat, but neither cap nor shoes. As we crossed the courtyard I heard his bare feet crunching the ice of the pools. Every few seconds the north-western sky burst into electric flame.

"Have you had breakfast?" I asked.

"Breakfast and dinner—they are equal, Sir." He laughed joyously.

"You eat nothing until noon?"

"No, Sir."

I had filled my pockets with oranges fresh from the tree and shelled walnuts. We shared, and as he ate I drew the cart. Its inside rattled as we crossed the little bridges. We were soon in the darkest of bamboo-fenced lanes, I held the metal ends of the shafts. They were cold and the frost almost split my knuckles.

Thus began the strangest and most devious of wanderings in a city which is itself a labyrinth. Once every two minutes we turned a right angle, I know some of those alleys by day, but now I was lost.

Everything took an unnatural form the night air rustled with the sound of the shallow mountain river on whose bank that suburb stood, and those eerie flashes from a storm on the Japan Sea startled us anon. No soul was abroad, but we heard the sleepers snoring behind their paper walls.

Ill clad *Kurumaya-jiriksha* men—coughed in their dim stalls waiting for the telephone summons.

We had milk for fifty houses and the round takes three hours. On weekdays Aratama finishes at seven leaves his cart somewhere washes his feet in a brook puts on cap and boots and gets in an hour's study before school begins at eight. Finishing at two or three he pulls home the cart and washes bottles all the afternoon.

Infinite trouble these customers are. Every morning they find a wee bottle—five of them go to quart—hanging on a hook or hidden by the gate but little they dream of the man who serves them. To deliver

the last half pint we walked two miles through the business quarter of the city. I dug it out of Aratama that he has also to find the customers for his master, and that he has been keeping himself alive in this way for three years without a day's break.

"It spends very much time," he said "Sunday and any afternoons."

Once a month he collects the money, and his takings are forty yen (sixty rupees). Of this he receives a small percentage as wage out of which he must pay the school over three rupees a month. What he lives on is a mystery.

As we turned homewards a faint light made the Eastern stars pale.

"What do you call that in England?" he asked. "We say *bigashi ga shirami*."

"The day breaks," I reply.

That was Aratama's last round as a milk boy.

Corea is waiting for such as he.

## THE GOD OF WARRIORS

I have a God. His arm is the white sky  
Tattooed with starry beauty, and his proud  
Determined brow the dark and threatening cloud  
His sword gleams in a lightning flash. His eye  
Opens in the fiery Sun. The winds that sigh,  
His burning breath. The thunder bursting loud  
His mighty war drum. Lo! a gleaming crowd  
Of colours in His Rainbow Banner high.

He is a warrior beautiful and strong  
Through endless ages, dauntless in the fight  
He fights alone against the world's dark wrong  
And takes its people prisoners of right.  
Across my dreams bursts His victorious song,  
Out of the darkness march into the Light.

H CHATTOPADHYAY

## OUR FUTURE SHARE IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

*Circular Letter inviting suggestions :—*

THE Government of India has recently issued a Circular Letter to the local Governments making some tentative suggestions for the reform of the educational services in connection with the recommendations of the late Public Services Commission and inviting the opinion of the local Governments on them. The Supreme Government is at pains to tell us that it has an absolutely open mind in the matter and that it is not at all committed to its tentative proposals. As it writes:

"The Government of India must not be deemed to be prejudging the matter in issue. Their present object is merely to clarify these so as to assist in obtaining the well-considered opinions of local Governments. The alternative suggestions which follow are intended to elucidate opinion and not to forestall it."

The local Governments are now appointing committees to discuss this letter and make suggestions to it. These committees usually consist of three European officers of the I. E. S., and three Indians, two of the latter being senior officers of the P. E. S., and the third a non-official member of the local Legislature. The Director of Public Instruction presides. We thank the Government for the unexpectedly fair attitude it has assumed and the honest desire to consult the public that it has manifested.

The Circular Letter begins with a resume of the Islington Commission's proposals, which are familiar to our readers from our two articles, *The Education Service* (June 1917, pages 712-714) and *the Public Services Commission and the Educational Service* (Aug., pp. 177-186). The letter then summarises the criticism to which the public with a rare unanimity have subjected those proposals.

The Supreme Government doubts "whether a distinction between Class I. (old I. E. S.) and Class II. (old P. E. S.) can in practice be made according to the work done in the manner suggested by the Commission," and then it hopes that the local governments "will be able to suggest some practical means of distinction between

Class I. and Class II., which will not depend primarily upon racial grounds." We have shown, in the articles cited above, how false is Lord Islington's assumption that the Indian Professors are given a lower pay and status because they do a lower kind of teaching work, while every European enjoys the higher status and pay from the commencement of his service because he does a higher kind of work.

*Distinction between Class I. and Class II., Para 9 (a).*

In practice it will very often be found impossible to make a distinction between the two classes in a college on the basis of the work done, though such distinction can be very easily made in university or post-graduate work, viz. by creating a *Specialist Corps* and an *Ordinary Branch* as suggested by us below. The distinction drawn by the Islington Commission is impracticable for the following reasons:

(a) The same lecturer usually takes some of the upper and some of the lower classes at the same time.

(b) It is declared by the Commissioners to be desirable that "the teaching of the junior classes in colleges should be conducted by the more experienced and competent officers." But in Government service there are Indians of long experience some of whom take the lower classes and others do the higher teaching, and yet they are not, for either of these two reasons, placed in the I. E. S., whereas every European belongs to the I. E. S., irrespective of the class he takes, irrespective of his possessing or not possessing any previous teaching experience. Here, the line of demarcation is clearly one of race, and not one of experience or efficiency, unless efficiency be taken to be synonymous with a European degree.

(c) Certain Indian professors (P. E. S. men) have done the teaching work of European officers on leave for periods sometimes aggregating to 8 years during a service of 20 years, and yet the former are never recruited to fill any permanent vacancy in Class I. Experience is clearly on their side. Can it be contended

they are lacking in the requisite efficiency? If so, why are they entrusted with the higher work time after time?

*Equitable and practical means of distinction between Class I and Class II —*

(i) The initial 'qualifications' of the officers employed

(ii) The ability actually displayed by them in teaching, organisation or administration, and the type of character they develop during their service in case they were recruited young and are not special lists of mature age and known ability and character

(iii) The distinction in the field of original research ("professional distinction as understood in Europe") which they may attain.

(iv) The class of teaching work which an officer is normally found fit to under take, after he has passed through his probation and gained experience in service.

Now, only the first of these tests is applied to the Europeans. Young English graduates of 28 years of age are dark horses in respect of the other three points, which can be acquired only by a man fairly advanced in life who has taught for a number of years (whether in a Government College or any outside institution). Even when they afterwards fail to satisfy the last three tests, they cannot be removed from Class I, and the Government fails to get good value for its money, during the rest of the service of these officers.

This risk can be avoided either

(a) by recruiting to Class I, only teachers of experience and proved capacity at a higher age (say 35) than now, both in India and in England, or

(b) by dividing Class I, into two branches, viz., the Specialist and the Ordinary, as proposed by us, and declaring the ordinary branch to be the recruiting ground for a certain proportion of the specialist branch, (the residue of the latter branch being directly recruited).

If proposal (b) is accepted, then the maximum salary in the Ordinary branch need not exceed Rs 700 for persons trained in India and Rs 1000 for those educated in Europe, because only the failures of the service will qualify for pension, from the highest grade of the Ordinary branch.

*Proportion of Europeans and Indians —*  
There is a grave arithmetical error in

Government Letter, Para 12 (A) At present the Europeans in the I E S number 109-6-37-156. Even if all the 37 war vacancies and 65 proposed additions to the cadre of the I E S, are filled by Indians, their total number will be 6+37+65=108 only, and thus the Europeans and Indians will be in the proportion of 3 to 2, and not "nearly approximate" as hoped for in the Government letter.

In case our proposal for dividing the service into the specialist and ordinary branches is not accepted, and Government decides to have only one branch up to Rs 1050, and selection grades above that pay, then in fairness to the able Indians a rule should be laid down that officers will be eligible for promotion to the selection grades even before they reach the highest ordinary grade (viz., that on Rs 1,050). Otherwise, as all Indians will join on Rs 200 less than their European colleagues of equal standing in the service, they will be debarred by age from the selection grades, or succeed in holding only the lowest of such grades and that too for a short time on the eve of retirement.

But these official recommendations merely aim at tinkering, they do not attempt any abiding solution of the problem, as Vignos has clearly demonstrated in our August number. The Supreme Government is anxious to lay down a general policy for the future organisation of the Department, for without a definite goal in view it is impossible to devise any satisfactory scheme for the reorganisation of the educational services (Paras 13 and 11.)

Let us, therefore, clear the ground for our constructive programme by examining the root of the problem.

*The present position of the problem —*  
Government declare it to be "essential to attract the best possible material, European as well as Indian, into educational employ." But as duly qualified Europeans are unwilling to enter the I E S even when offered, as now, a salary of Rs. 500 rising to Rs 1000 in 10 years and Rs 1,100 in the 16th year for every one, — with still higher remunerations for select officers — it is clear that European educationists are a luxury too costly for the Indian tax payer and such officers should be employed only when they are indispensable, that is, when they are specialists the like of whom cannot be secured in India.

Financial reasons, if we compel us to restrict the corps of specialists, and exclude them from the class of mere college lecturers, to which most of them now belong by virtue of the work done by them.

The main bulk of educational work here must be done by Indians and the quality of that work must suffer if the pay and status offered to the Indians (i.e. the P.E.S.) are such as to attract only third rate men. The evidence of Mr. W. H. Sharp (D.P.I. of Bombay) and other high officers shows that for several years past no able Indian has cared to enter the P.E.S., and the result has been that in spite of a large expenditure of public money we have been getting only second class Indian M.A.s (the average of the P.E.S.) who keep in countenance third class Oxford Honoursmen (the average of the I.E.S.). In order to attract the best Indian talent to educational work, our graduates must have

(a) an initial pay more closely approximating to that of Deputy Magistrates and Munsifs;

(b) a definite period of probation and a time scale of increment of salary;

(c) eligibility for the prize posts at the top (like the "listed appointments" in the Executive and Judicial Services); and

(d) a status consistent with self-respect.

The policy announced by Mr. Earle in his letter No. T. 661 dated 19 July 1907, has made it impossible for any able or self-respecting Indian to enter the education service, and this policy should be publicly repudiated by the Supreme Government. According to Mr. Earle's scheme, Indians were to begin on Rs. 125 and Europeans on Rs. 500; Indians were to stagnate for an undefined period of probation, while Europeans rose by annual increments of Rs. 50; Indians were to be designated assistants and lecturers, while every European, including raw recruits, was to be immediately a professor.

The only means of securing the best Indian talent is to fuse Classes I. and II. into one service with an initial pay of Rs. 250, a clearly defined period of probation, a time scale of promotion to Rs. 1000 (or to Rs. 700 only for those who fail to show exceptional ability), and seniority according to date of entry into the service. In addition to this, the Indian officers should,

equally with the Europeans, be eligible for the special allowances (or what is a better plan, admission to the Corps of Specialists on Rs. 1000-1500). If this is done, there is not the least fear that the service might reach only a dull level of mediocrity.

**Advantages of our proposal.**—At present the I. B. S., though paid very high salaries, is not really a *corps d'élite*; it consists mostly of men called upon to do ordinary teaching work "as in the upper forms of an English secondary schools," and not work "of the professorial standard as understood in Europe." Hence this branch of the service can be, as it has during recent years been, stocked with 3rd class graduates of English Universities without the impropriety and wasteful prodigality of such a course becoming evident. But if European recruitment is definitely restricted to a Specialist Branch of the service consisting of "men of experience or of ripe scholarship," then it would be a challenge to Government to secure good value for our money, because every officer appointed to such a specialist corps must at the very outset have an established position in the learned world, and his name alone ought to convey to the educated public a true idea of what he is worth.

If the I. B. S. officers are in future to be normally restricted to mere undergraduate class lecturing, as is suggested in paragraph 10 (c), then their pay should not exceed Rs. 1000 (to which an overseas allowance of Rs. 200 may be added for officers trained in Europe)—because men doing the work of upper form masters in English schools, men without the least pretension to the professorial standard of distinction as understood in Europe, cannot reasonably demand more than £960 a year (with a right to pension), while a professor at Oxford usually gets £400 only (with no pension).

There is a second and stronger reason for confining European recruitment to the specialist branch. If Government continues the present policy of appointing raw European graduates (youngmen of 28 years with little or no teaching experience) *ab initio* to the superior service (I. E. S.), making them do mere class teaching (as distinct from research work or organisation), and yet placing them over the heads of Indian graduates, who inspite of their

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proved ability, and long experience are kept in the lower service (P. E. S.) simply because they were originally recruited for this lower service,—then no able or self-respecting Indian will enter the education service.

A third advantage of creating the specialist corps proposed by us is that these specialists can be very easily fitted into the work of the teaching universities of the future or of the concentrated post-graduate classes of the older affiliating universities of India. Mere class-lecturers, like most members of the present I. E. S., are unfit to be moved from their colleges to any university chair.

*Our proposals of reform.*—Government should openly accept the principle that European educationists should be recruited not as a matter of rule (which is the present practice), but as an exception *i.e.*, only when no similarly qualified Indian is available, (which was exactly the opinion of the Atchison Commission). The present writer had the honour of a conversation with Mr Gokhale when sitting on the Service Commission in December 1913, and that wise statesman expressed the following opinion: "Government, by importing Europeans on high salaries, have as a natural consequence pitched the scale of salaries very high for Indian officers who do similar work, and thus made the administration unnecessarily costly. If Europeans are restricted to *specialist* chairs the great body of college teaching can be done exclusively by Indians on Indian rates of pay, at an immense relief to the Indian taxpayer." This was quite in accordance with his remark in the Legislative Council that there is no place for the *ordinary* English graduate in the field of Indian education.

Secondly, Government should openly repudiate the principle of Mr E. A. Barlow's letter dated 19th July 1907, and attract the best Indian talent to the work of education by offering the same initial pay as to Deputy Magistrates and Munsiffs, and the same chances of promotion to superior (or 'listed') posts.

that the education service should consist of

A *The specialist branch of true corps d'élite*, 1000 posts on Rs 1000 to Rs 1500

These specialists should be men of some age and established reputation in European seats of learning, or educational organisers who have already given proof of their capacity. They would fill chairs of research, certain professorships, of science, and a fixed proportion of principalships and chief inspectorships. They should be given high or professorial pay. Select Indians would be eligible, for admission to this class by promotion after gaining experience and proving their capacity in India.

B *Ordinary branch*.—185 officers on Rs 250 to 1000, should be almost entirely Indian, and include all the lecturers (other than the specialists and subordinate service assistants or tutors), inspectors and principals not included in (A), and, for some years to come, a small number of younger European recruits. These Europeans should not, as now, be employed as perpetual college lecturers, but should be considered as going through a long practical training in India with a view to ultimate promotion to the *specialist* branch if found worthy.

C The Indians and Europeans in the *Ordinary branch* should form one service with time scale salaries ranging from Rs 250 to Rs 700 for all, and 20 p.c. selection posts with salaries rising from Rs 700 to Rs 1000. Europeans would draw an overseas allowance of Rs 200 in addition to their pay.

D The total number of Europeans to be recruited should, for the present, be one sixth or 97 out of 585. The remaining 488 posts should be held by Indians.

E Indians who have "done any striking piece of original work," or shown conspicuous success in teaching and influencing their boys or great organising and administrative capacity, as well as the successful ones among the European probationers in the *Ordinary branch*, should be promoted to the *Specialist branch*.



# THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS ARE WE TO HAVE ANY SELF-GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION? BY PRADIP K. HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, M.A.

WHILE we are arguing for the adoption of self-government as the guiding principle of British rule in India, efforts are being made in certain quarters to deprive us of the moderate measure of self-government we now enjoy in a very important sphere of work—the control of secondary education. It would be a great pity if schemes of imperial magnitude were to divert public attention from this subject, which involves questions vitally affecting our progress and well-being. And what makes the question an urgent one at the present moment is that an earnest effort is sure to be made to press the official view, which is set forth in the Report of the Bengal District Administration Committee (1913-14) upon the Calcutta University Commission. The proposals of the committee are of a most retrograde character, and are entirely antagonistic to the spirit of the magnanimous pronouncements of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the aims to be pursued by England in the government of this country.

The Committee consisted of five members of the Civil Service, three of them from provinces which are far behind Bengal in respect of educational and general progress. The line of action advocated by a Committee so constituted—a Committee without a single educationist or non-official on it—necessarily reflects the views of the Civil Service—the bureaucracy—the failure of which to recognise the growing strength of public opinion and to sympathise with the aspirations of the people has led to grave blunders in the past. And the acceptance of its recommendations on secondary education would be another grave blunder. In the Chapter of the Report dealing with the subject there is no trace of the slightest attempt on the part of the Committee to look at things from the people's point of view and to secure even the appearance of a compromise between a desire to augment the

powers of Government officials and sympathy with the demands of the people.

The attitude of the Committee towards English education is one of undisguised hostility. It regards Western culture as an evil since it has produced and must continue to produce 'some degree of social and political unrest.' It speaks of 'the dangers of spreading among an Eastern people a Western education cut down to the lowest possible cost with no regard to religious training and with little regard to moral training.' And the tone and temper of the Committee are so affected by a sense of these dangers as to make it ignore the actual condition of things. It speaks of an 'extended knowledge of English'—it says it has been shown broadest in a province where according to the Census returns only one male out of a hundred and one female out of eight hundred are 'literate in English', and the proportion of those who have a knowledge of English or the vernacular is less than 8 per cent. The unhappy significance of such an attitude would only be weakened by comment. It is worthy of note that, while the Committee have spoken so emphatically of the dangers of spreading a Western education among an Eastern people without religious or moral training, they have put forward no constructive scheme of a useful education other than Western or of religious and moral training. From the Committee's point of view, all these problems it appears, would be solved by depriving the University of the power to recognise schools and making them absolutely dependent upon the favour of the Education Department and of District Officers.

The Committee recognise that there is a growing demand for English education. The *Bhadralok*, they say, 'want Anglo-vernacular schools and are ready to pay for them; the reason being that it is in Lord Curzon's words 'the basis of all professional or industrial employment in

education must not be easily accessible. One of the chief arguments against schools is, that they are altogether forgotten that it is the aim of an enlightened educational policy to bring useful knowledge within easy reach of the people. Effort must be insisted on, and steady efforts must be made to promote schooling. But, in the first place, our efforts towards the ideal must be such that existing institutions may be given sufficient time to adapt themselves to the requirements of a new and more exacting system. Secondly, the fact that low fees are charged cannot by itself be taken as a proof that the instruction given is of an inferior quality. One of the most notable forms of philanthropic endeavour in the most civilised countries is an effort to reduce fees by munificent endowments or by grants by the state or by corporations. In the United States, for example, free public schools are established by law. In Scotland half the proceeds of the Carnegie Trust is devoted to assisting students. In England and Wales, the County Councils and other local authorities for higher education have authority to pay fees. And in a country so poor as India, there is far greater need of efforts, both public and private, in this direction than in countries which are immensely richer. We have a number of really good institutions where the cost of education is largely reduced by endowments and by the self-sacrifice of men who have taken to teaching as the vocation which would enable them to be most useful to their country. And what is needed is that such institutions should multiply. We have had very encouraging signs in recent years of a growing appreciation of the need of education and readiness on the part of enlightened men to spend money liberally for it. Within the last few years a number of good schools have been founded, and in numerous old schools more money is being spent now than before. School fees and other charges have risen everywhere, in some places considerably. What is cheap in the estimation of the highly paid foreigner is not cheap to the man with a monthly income of Rs 20 or less, who has to get his sons educated to save them from starvation. With 527 High Schools and 1295 Middle English Schools in a province of about 79,000 square miles having a population

of about 46 millions, we hear the committee speak of Anglo vernacular schools "abounding in villages," of "a multitude of English Schools flung far and wide" over the province. One school in 43 square miles is too many in the estimation of the committee. Such is their enthusiasm in the cause of education!

So far as the peculiar conditions of a country make it possible to reduce the cost of education, it is the duty of the people to take the utmost advantage of those conditions. The climate of this country enables us to cut down expenditure on some important heads without loss of efficiency. One of the points urged against schools by the Committee is that the buildings are frequently bad and that hostels are poorly housed. The Committee note with surprise that in a hostel they saw "20 young *bhadralok* were living in a collection of huts rented from a landholder for Rs 18 a month." If they had taken the trouble to visit the homes of these *bhadralok* they would have seen that their families were living in huts and that it was with the utmost difficulty they scraped together the little money needed for keeping these young men at school. If living in a hut disqualifies a boy for receiving education, let our model schools be emptied of three fourths of their pupils. "For the crowds of boys," the committee say, "who come to some High Schools from distant villages, there is hardly more than a pretence of satisfactory boarding arrangements." The boys live "under nominal and careless guardians." It would be found on enquiry that in most cases, these gentlemen who have to work hard for their livelihood, were allowing the boys to live with them because otherwise they would have no chance of receiving any education. As to school houses, we must be prepared to tolerate thatched houses in this country. We have every right to insist that there should be no overcrowding that class rooms should be dry, well lighted and well ventilated. But these essential things may be secured in houses that would look very shabby to high European officials. To insist on expensive *pucca* houses as a *sine qua non* for schools would be to hinder progress.

Teachers are, in most cases, ill paid and ill qualified. These are serious evils, but the remedy is not a change of system, but a much larger expenditure of money.

schools both by the people and the Government. As has been pointed out above the Committee have acknowledged that much has been done in Bengal by private effort to promote the spread of education and the Director of Public Instruction has acknowledged the increasing willingness of people to spend money for this purpose. Let schools as they are to day be compared with what they were ten years ago—a comparison for which the records of the University would furnish abundant materials—and it would seem that considerable progress had been made in respect of the qualifications and the salaries of teachers.

On the question of discipline in schools as affected by political agitation the committee have brought a very serious charge against the Syndicate. They say that the efforts of Government had failed to prevent this [the enemies of Government from attracting students] for power mainly lay with the Syndicate whose views of the situation and as to discipline and propriety were by no means always identical with those of the Education Department. It is a sufficient reply to this to cite the testimony of the Director of Public Instruction who in his report for 1913-14 (para 28) says that the University almost without exception endorsed the recommendations of the Inspectors. Government is powerfully represented in the Syndicate. No less than seven members of the Syndicate now are Government servants. The views of the Department mean those embodied in the reports of Inspectors of Schools which are forwarded to the Syndicate by the Director. Surely a body constituted like the Syndicate with about half the members belonging to the Education Department is no less qualified than the Inspector to come to a right conclusion as to the steps to be taken to preserve discipline. Could any instance be pointed out in which the Director and his subordinates in the Syndicate have dissented from the decision of that body? When has an appeal been made to the Senate—a body in overwhelming majority of the members of which are Government nominees—on a question of discipline so that facts might be freely discussed and the public might judge? And it is admitted by the Committee that discipline had improved owing to the subsidence of political agitation.

Another charge against the Syndicate

is that the Private High Schools of Bengal are not well regulated because 'they are under the control of a body of gentlemen ordinarily resident in Calcutta.' But for the gravity of the issues involved the humour of such a pronouncement by a committee of persons sitting in judgment on Bengal Schools, three members of which come from distant provinces would be delicious.

Certainly most of our schools are not what they ought to be. But the vital question is are they going forward or not? The committee judge from the Provincial reports that little material improvement had been effected in Anglo Vernacular private schools in the quinquennium preceding their enquiry. Let twenty of the older schools be chosen at random, and let their present condition be compared with what they were ten years ago. It will be seen how much has been done to raise them to a higher level. In a matter of such importance not general impressions but facts are the only safe basis to act upon.

One of the reasons assigned for taking away the power to recognise schools from the Syndicate is that the Matriculation standard is too low. This important question is now engaging the attention of the University and we must wait for the decision of the Senate. Personally I think that the Matriculation standard has been lowered (1) by the abolition of a text book in English as *part* (not the *whole*) of the English course (2) by the exclusion of English History from the curriculum (3) by making Geography an optional subject (4) by carrying the system of alternative questions too far. We are vitally interested in the maintenance of such a standard as may render efficient teaching absolutely necessary and if we are to be allowed to retain the small measure of self government which we now possess Government is bound to let the University take such steps as it may think proper for this purpose without seeking pretexts for curtailing the powers of the University. A text book in English was abolished in spite of vehement opposition from the Indian members of the Senate, it was said that it would have the effect of raising the standard. And now we find that it has really made the Examination much easier than before. We want to walk in the light of

experience and correct this <sup>that</sup> was made in spite of our protest. If "the Matriculation standard is too low," the much-needed improvement of secondary education would not be effected by the creation of an alternative examination. For the majority of students as the Committee admit (para 1), would seek to qualify themselves for admission to Colleges by passing the examination and would continue to suffer from an unsatisfactory system. And <sup>more</sup>, if a reform is necessary, it must <sup>come</sup> out through the University.

It is admitted that the Education Department is "hardly strong enough to undertake a school-leaving-certificate examination," and it is therefore urged that it should be re-inforced. The Committee also admit that "the necessary curriculum cannot attain general success" until the majority of High Schools have more efficient teachers, which, the Committee coolly declare, is improbable "as long as recognition rests with the University." Accusations like this, made in the face of the fact that the University has compelled schools to employ better qualified teachers and to raise their salaries, deserve no answer.

The Matriculation Examination with its purely literary syllabus cannot of course satisfy the growing demand for industrial education. But the proposed school final examination would not meet the requirements of the case. The recent outcry against the School Leaving Certificate Examination in Madras and the opposition which an attempt to deprive the University of control over the Matriculation Examination has encountered in Bombay show that the Committee made a rash prophecy in saying that an examination conducted by the Department would "make its way" in Bengal. It is worthy of note that the "middle school scholarship examinations," which are entirely under the control of the Department, "do not meet with general favour." (Director's Report for 1913-14, para 31). If "the need for an alternative education to the Arts course is realised by advanced Indians themselves," that need would not be fulfilled by a scheme in which there is even less "possibility of intellectual stimulus or emotional appeal acting upon the emotional nature of the Bengali boy" than there is in the Matriculation Examination. The B

classes introduced by the Education Department in 1901 have, the Committee admit, failed utterly. The problem of industrial education cannot be solved without a large body of thoroughly efficient teachers and a large number of technical schools with courses of instruction which, while giving a useful training to those who cannot proceed further, should at the same time qualify their pupils for advanced teaching in technology, commerce and agriculture, the demand for which is strikingly shown by the numbers of our young men going to other countries to seek it. In Japan, which has a population of 54 millions, there are 6,647 special and technical schools. The B classes have failed because they lead to nothing. The industrial progress of India and the development of its resources cannot be achieved without the expansion of our Universities on lines adopted by foreign Universities. The District Administration Committee, in dealing with a question of such magnitude, have aimed at little more than placing schools under the absolute control of the Department and of District Officers.

Another reason assigned in support of a school final examination is that it "would largely substitute oral tests and school marks awarded on all round work and conduct, for proficiency in a written examination." As to character and conduct, a certificate from the Headmaster is insisted on by the University. Proficiency in a written examination is not a thing to be despised. But it may be, and ought to be, supplemented by oral tests and school work on useful subjects on which a written examination is impossible. There ought to be examinations and prizes on elocution in every school. The "disdain of manual labour" created by English education is a real evil, and it would be an excellent thing to introduce training in manual labour of some sort in optional classes in all schools, prizes being given for proficiency in it. If a few enlightened guardians were to set the example by compelling their boys to join those classes, others would follow. There can be no doubt that the University would cordially co-operate with the Government in encouraging the development of our schools on such lines. Measurement, surveying and drawing were at one time taught as optional subjects in our schools, and there was an examination on them in addition to the University

Entrance examination It would be a very good thing to revive the system of optional classes for teaching these or other subjects, certificates being awarded on the results of examinations which would be supplementary to the Matriculation.

It has been urged by the Committee that all schools ought to be placed entirely under the control of the Department, as Government 'has an indefeasible responsibility in regard to private schools.' What is the University but an organ of the Government, created by it for stimulating and controlling high education? And why cannot necessary reforms be effected through it—a body reorganised and officialised in the face of strong public opposition in order that it might be a fit instrument for promoting efficient teaching? To turn a Senate that has been in existence for a half a century out of office as an unwieldy assembly to create in its place a compact body filled with the best men the Government can find and then to take away all control over schools from the University, in order, it is said to improve them is to display signal incapacity and to act in a most arbitrary manner in dealing with a matter of the most vital importance. It is acts like these which fill the public mind with bitter resentment and create a wide gulf between the Government and the people. Is the indefeasible responsibility of Government confined to secondary education alone? Does it not extend to collegiate education? And it would be an equally valid reason for placing the colleges entirely under the Director of Public Instruction.

The Committee are not satisfied with recommending that the recognition of schools should rest solely with the Director—I say solely, because he already has a potent, and almost irresistible voice in the matter, as is apparent from his own testimony cited above (Report on Public Instruction for 1913-14 para 28). The Committee have proceeded further and proposed that teachers should be registered and that District Officers should have the power to veto the appointments of teachers and members of school committees. Recognition by the Director would be 'too slow' a process 'for the grave needs of the situation' while the Committee are eager to provide 'a remedy which will go with all speed to the root of the mischief.' It is entirely ignored by the

Committee that "the situation" may have other aspects, that the people may have some rights and aspirations, that the Government may have other duties than that of asserting itself with absolute power to crush schools without a hearing, nay, without a verdict. If 'persons of pernicious political antecedents' have found their way as masters into Anglo-Vernacular schools (para 187), when were they reported to the University without being properly dealt with? All civilised government, all government that leaves people free to choose any lawful calling they like and let them pursue their vocations until something has been proved against them, all government that is anxious to secure the chance of a fair hearing to a person before depriving him of a right, is 'slow'.

'All Anglo Vernacular schools,' the Committee say, 'should be under one authority only.' Is the proposal to place schools under the Education Department and also under the District Magistrate consistent with this? In seeking to make the bureaucracy all powerful, the Committee do not hesitate to go against doctrines which they have gravely laid down. That men should win the good opinion of the police—the District Officer means that—or should avoid incurring the displeasure of the executive in any way in order to be teachers or to join committees is a proposal which would strike at the very root of social progress and political advancement. That men should be required to prove their innocence before being allowed to do useful work is opposed to the very fundamental principles of civil freedom.

Is the country to go forward or backward? The Hon ble Mr Lyon said some time ago in an address to students 'National development in politics is summed up in one word—self government.' 'It must begin low down and grow.' Again, 'the government want to teach the people to govern themselves' and 'are showing their sincerity by providing the machinery.' "The members of the government, all government officials, whether Englishmen or Indians, are one in their desire to forward the advance of your country, and we are standing beside you and will go along with you as comrades to help in the labour which you are taking up" (The italics are mine). Let the Committee's scheme be judged in the

light of these words. Let it be the light of the weighty proposal that "good government is a substitute for self-government." If we propose to deprive us of rights to the meanest citizen of the country, to throw the country back away from the moderate measure of self-government which we now have in a machinery provided by the Government itself for that purpose. The people of Bengal cannot be accused of apathy in the matter of education. It is admitted that their interest in the spread of education has been keen and it is becoming keener every day. They are displaying an increasing readiness to spend money for securing the inestimable advantages of education. And is the response of Government to this spirit of self-help to be the destruction of the very germs of self-government and of friendly co-operation between the people and their rulers? Are the nation to have no voice in the organisation and control of secondary education, because education is, as the Committee declare, "a great national concern"? Is it because education is "the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things" that those who are in intimate contact with the starving seekers of employment, who burn with desire to promote national progress, who hunger after

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employment, who burn with desire to

promote national progress, who hunger after

the higher things, are to be deprived of what little power they now have in regulating and extending it?

The demand for education is increasing. The schools are overcrowded, and unrecognised schools multiply. The committee have nothing to say how this demand is to be met. Government has not the money to establish a sufficient number of schools to cope with the demand, and yet new obstacles are to be thrown in the way of the establishment of private schools. It is unable to give aided schools "all the money that is required. Anglo-Vernacular education is going far ahead of any financial efforts that Government can make." And yet in the next paragraph we are told that schools "should be under the control of one authority only, the authority which can help them with money." It is the people's money the Government spends, and the people are spending more and more themselves. The money argument is in favour of an extension of self-government, not a curtailment of rights which the people now enjoy.

The proposals of the Committee are entirely one-sided, and as a necessary consequence, in the sharpest conflict with the needs and aspirations of the people. The adoption of such a policy would be as disastrous in its effects on the relations of the people and the Government as the partition of Bengal, and it would incalculably retard the social and political progress of the country.

## THE COMING REFORMS, PART I: I

### AMENDMENT OF COUNCIL ELECTION RULES.

BY THE HON'BLE BABU SURENDRANATH ROY.

LET me now say a few words about the amendment of the Council Elections Rules, because the success of the Elections greatly depends on the way in which they are held. Now that we expect substantial changes in the Legislative Councils, whether Provincial or Imperial, it is but meet and proper that the rules which will

be framed should be such as would commend themselves to all.

#### EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.

It has been suggested that the franchise should be more liberal, so that the masses of the population may take an interest in the elections. As regards the election

been guilty personally of corrupt practices is incapacitated for 7 years from being elected for any constituency and for ever from sitting for the constituency where the corrupt practice took place a candidate who is guilty by his agent of corrupt practices is incapacitated during 7 years from the date of the report from being elected for the constituency where the corrupt practices took place and that any person who is convicted on indictment or who is reported by an Election Court or by Election Commissioners, is incapacitated for being elected to any constituency for seven years. These incapacities are imposed in addition in the election being avoided.

I would suggest the following rules to be added to the present rules as regards corrupt practices — Whoever makes any payment or promise of payment to any institution whether public or private, charitable or religious or employs or offers

any money to a voter or his relation within the constituency for which a giver of the money is a candidate within a year before or after the date of election shall be deemed to have committed a corrupt practice within the meaning of the regulations of 1911.

Where no election is set aside on the ground of corruption on the part of any candidate such person shall be disqualified for election for 70 consecutive terms and that the Local Government shall be at liberty to pass an order disqualifying the constituency from electing a representative where such corruption has been found to be general.

My simple desire is that corrupt electors should be disenfranchised for a sufficient period and that corrupt candidates should be unable to carry on their corrupt practices to the degradation of voters.

## THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

BY NARENDRANATH LAWMAHAL, FRENCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR

### XVI

It is not probable judging from the religious bent of the ancient Hindus that their political thoughts, aspirations, and activities should have remained in absolute isolation from religion.

#### POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICAL LIFE.

As a matter of fact, they were mixed with religious feelings and forms in a large measure. This is manifest principally in

(A) The conceptions of the State and its ideal the monarch the relations between the monarch and the people &c

(B) Minor ceremonies (mainly Atharva Vedic) for the promotion of welfare of the State either directly or indirectly through that of the king's welfare

(C) The politico religious ceremonies of a more or less elaborate nature for the inauguration of the emperor, king crown prince and state officials to their respective

offices restoration to lost regal office, assertion of political power, and such like.

#### THE NOTE WORTHY FEATURES OF THE CONCEPTIONS AND CEREMONIALS.

The conceptions and ceremonials were not synchronous in their birth. The former are examples of assimilation of political thoughts to religion while the latter, inclusion of those thoughts with religious incrustations. Both represent the lines of touch between religion and politics while among the latter would be noticed competition for the attainment of the highest importance, evolution of one from another, fusion of two into one or mutual elimination growth into complexity from simple origins, differences as to the eligibility of the performers and their objectives and harnessing of purely secular or religious ceremonies to political purposes. An analysis of these can lay bare many political ideas and facts not discernible elsewhere perhaps in the whole range of

evidences bearing on polity. This inner significance, some of them in their outer influences upon the peoples. An *asvamedha* for could shake the foundations of all states upon which its performance asserted his sway, each sacrifice a source of anxieties and a large number of princes with numerous under their rule. The *rājasūya*, performed with a political end, to be a similar disturbing agency in by reason of its inclusion of the subject of territories as one of its rituals. The political significance of the other ceremonials need no explanation, obvious as it is from their immediate purposes, leaving out of account other aspects of their nature.

Re. 1 :

(a)

## THE CONCEPTION OF THE STATE AND ITS IDEAL.

The ideal of the State as set forth in the epics and later Sanskrit literature is the attainment of the *summum bonum moksha* (salvation) through *dharma artha* and *kāma*. In other words, the State is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (*moksha*) by the people under its care through the fulfilment of their legitimate desires (*kāma*) in a legitimate way (*dharma*) through *artha* acquired also in a legitimate way, *dharma* regulating both *artha* and *kāma*. The legitimate method of acquiring "means" consists in the performance of duties in the stages of life prescribed for the four castes *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣhattriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra*. The branches of learning which may be regarded as four, viz., *anvikṣiki*, *trayī*, *vārtā*, and *dandanīti*<sup>1</sup>, have a bearing on the attainment of the ideal. The first is intended to create non-attachment to this world, the second to show the difference between right and wrong, the third to teach the production, preservation and improvement of wealth and the fourth the conduct of government. They are to be learnt by the first three castes alike, the practical application of *trayī* falling to the first caste, *dandanīti* to the second (above all to the sovereign who comes from this caste) and *vārtā* to the third (according to Kautilya to the last also).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These terms have been explained in the chapter "The Ideals of the State" along with the citations of authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Kautilya, *Bl. I, Vidyāsūmudesa*, p. 7

The State, therefore, under the direction of the sovereign leads the people under its protection to the final goal of human existence—emancipation—furnishing at the same time means therefor.<sup>3</sup>

This conception of the ideal of the State, on the one hand, cannot be earlier than the development of the doctrine of emancipation in the earliest Upanishads; on the other, it appears full-fledged in the epics. It must have therefore taken shape within these two chronological limits. It is not clear what the ideal had been before the addition of emancipation to the three other members of the quatern, found in use in pre-Upanishad Sanskrit literature, but so far as I find, not expressly as the ideal of the state.

Re. (1) :

(b)

## THE DEIFICATION OF THE MONARCH.

The conception of sovereignty was likewise religionized. The deification of kings has been observed by anthropologists to be common to the primitive peoples now extant, whatever may be the causes therefor; and some of them argue that the tendencies of the primitive mind being the same irrespective of time and space, the primitive ancestors of the Indo-Aryans had also the same conception of their kings' divinity.<sup>4</sup> The monarch, however, appears as human and not divine in early Vedic literature. In the *Rig-Veda*, for instance, the description of the monarch (x, 60, 173, 174) do not clothe him with divinity.<sup>5</sup> In the *Soma-sacrifices*, dealt with in the *Yajur-Veda* and its *Brāhmaṇas*, he as the sacrificer becomes identified with Prajāpati or other deities during their performance, but this is only *pre tempore*,<sup>6</sup> though it might have served as a factor, towards the ultimate formation of the conception. I am not in a position to discuss the question why the divinity of the monarch, which, according to anthropologists, had its origin in primitive

<sup>1</sup> I have gone into this subject in detail in the chapter "The Ideals of the State."

<sup>2</sup> Prof. A. A. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See the chapter "Theories of the Evolution of Kingship."

<sup>4</sup> Neither does the monarch appear therein as a magician able to carry out his intentions by bringing compulsion to bear upon the deities.

<sup>5</sup> *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, (S B E.), Pt. III, pp. 108-110 with fnn



THE PUBLIC RELATIONS INFLUENCING  
RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS

The mutual public relations of the king and four castes under the influence of a good deal influence of other religious conceptions, especially those castes from the high and feet which assisted in particular rank. The king is with the aforesaid eight castes has to emulate the actions of seven, including Kubera with whom identification is limited only to possession of wealth. In addition he has to emulate the Earth's action. Like Indra pouring down copious rain during the rainy season he should shower benefits on his kingdom, like the Sun imperceptibly drawing up water during the remaining eight months he should gradually draw taxes from his realm, he should through his spies penetrate everywhere like the Wind present as vital air in all creatures, he should like Yama (God of the Dead) exercise control over all his subjects bringing under his rule both friends and foes like Vātana penalizing the sinner, he should punish the wicked, he should follow Moon's example by being a source of joy to his subjects, he should be firm in his wrath against criminals and wicked vassals, and the all supporter Earth in his support to all his subjects.

The king's divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office. In fact his divinity requires that he should in reality possess a godly nature. The rules framed with this purpose in view perhaps contemplated a possibility of abuses of his power rendered indefinitely greater by the popular conception of his godhood, and hence considered it wise to deal minutely with the subject of his self-discipline, hedging it in by several warnings and sanctions. His principal duties have also been similarly treated. The king committed sins and no mere infringements of salutary secular rules or conventions by breaches of his principal obligations. *Danda* (Punishment) which the Lord created as his son for king's sake for the protection of creatures destroys the king himself with his relatives for mis carriage of duties. The king is enjoined to

behave like a father towards his children in his treatment of the people, observe the sacred law in his transactions with them, and arrange for the collection of revenue by competent officials. The protection of subjects is as sacred a duty as the performance of a sacrifice, and secures the monarch from every person under his protection a sixth part of his spiritual merit. Remissness in this duty brings on him a sixth part of the demerit of each of his subjects running his spiritual prospects and depriving him of his right to revenue tolls duties, daily presents and fines. The ensurance of safety of his kingdom may involve him in battle in which death should be preferred, to ignominious retreat. Failures of justice threw him into perdition as also unjust seizure of property.

## BRAHMANAS

The Brāhmanas, though gods of gods, were not exempt from the king's control, though in the *Satapatha Brāhmana* a *rājā siya mantra* repeated once or twice hints at such an exemption. This man (king). O ye people is your king Soma is the king of us Brāhmanas. They might not have enjoyed this immunity in practice yet they had many privileges, and were treated with great respect and lenience. The king is enjoined to be lenient towards Brāhmanas to give them jewels of all sorts and presents for the sake of sacrifices, never to provoke them to anger which can instantly destroy him with his army and vehicles and not to levy taxes on Srotriyas even in times of extreme want. (The king should provide for the maintenance of these Srotriyas that pine with hunger for the kingdom would otherwise be afflicted by famine. The religious merit acquired by the Srotriyas thus maintained procures for the king long life, wealth and increase of territory).

- 1 Manu v 80
- 2 Ib d v 303
- 3 Manu v 304 309 12, 253
- 4 Ib d v 87 89
- 5 Ib d v 18 316 317 343 344 346 386, 387
- 420 12, 249 254
- 6 Ib d v 48 vi, 171, 12, 243, 244 246, 247
- 7 Satapatha Brāhmana v 3 3 12, v, 4, 2, 3
- 8 Manu v 37
- 9 Ib d x 4
- 10 Manu x 313 316
- 11 Ib d vi 133
- 12 Ib d, v 134 136

1 Rg Vedā 2, 90, 12.  
2 Manu ix 303 311 Cf Śūtra Nī 1 cl, 1, 73-78  
3 Manu v 41 A 6, 51, 53  
4 Ib d v  
5 Ib d vii

## SUBJECTS

The various differential treatments<sup>1</sup> pinned into substantive law and its administration and proportioned to the grades of the castes had also their roots in religious conceptions. Instances of these are met with in connexion with the right of personally interpreting the law to the court of justice,<sup>2</sup> order in which the suits were tried,<sup>3</sup> appropriation of treasuretroves,<sup>4</sup> punishments for false evidence,<sup>5</sup> infliction of corporeal punishments,<sup>6</sup> defamation,<sup>7</sup> insolence,<sup>8</sup> assault,<sup>9</sup> illicit intercourse,<sup>10</sup> and repayment of debt by personal service.<sup>11</sup> An exception to the ordinary rule is found in regard to the punishment for theft which was severest for Brāhmanas and gradually lesser for the other three castes.<sup>12</sup> The condonation of some offences is also dictated by religious considerations,<sup>13</sup> e.g. forcible seizure of sacrificial articles. The Sudras were interdicted from collecting wealth,<sup>14</sup> while the prohibitions imposed on them necessarily excluded as a rule their participation in the cadre of higher state offices.

It is the sacred duty of the subjects to submit to the king's orders,<sup>15</sup> and guard against showing him hate, or incurring his anger and displeasure full of dire consequences.<sup>16</sup>

Their co-operation in the administration of justice is enjoined in several rules with their usual warnings,<sup>17</sup> false evidence<sup>18</sup> being treated with the greatest emphasis. The distribution of sin incurred by unjust decisions takes place thus. "One quarter of the guilt of an unjust decision," says the code, "falls

on him who committed the crime, one quarter on the king, one quarter on all the judges, and one quarter on the king. But where he who committed the crime is free from guilt, and the judges are freed from sin, the guilt falls on the perpetrator of the crime alone."<sup>19</sup> Just punishment of offenders purifies them like those who perform meritorious acts, and make them eligible for heaven.<sup>20</sup> The mutual good relations between the Brāhmanas and Kahattriyas are pointed out as essential to the welfare of both, while the injunctions for adhering each of the castes to its duties giving rise to the political harmony contemplated by the law-giver attach formidable punishments to the sins of deviations therefrom.<sup>21</sup>

Parallels to many of the above provisions are met with in other legal systems<sup>22</sup> and in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>23</sup>

The extent to which religious ideas influenced polity and political thoughts, will now be apparent. They coloured the whole system from the State-ideal to the innermost strata. The caste-system which was imbued with religion and had perhaps originated in religious exigencies supplied the framework of Hindu society not excluding its polity, the rights and privileges of the king and the people detailed above could not have had their origin except in that socio-religious institution, and subsequent politico-religious conceptions. The polity

1 Manu, viii, 18, 19.

2 Ibid., viii, 318.

3 Ibid., ix, 320-322.

4 Ibid., xii, 70-72.

5 Baudhāyana, i, 18, 78, 18, 17; 19, 8; 19, 12; 11, 5-10, 1, 17; 3, 57, 58.

6 Gautama, viii, 13; x, 9, 44, xi, 14; xii, 1-13; 17, 44, 47; xiii, 11, 14-16; xiv, 45, xviii, 24, 27, 32.

7 Vasishtha, i, 43; 44; ii, 14; xvi, 33, 34; xix, 36, 23, 43, 45, 48; xx, 41; xxi, 1, 5, 16.

8 Vishnu, vi, 6, 26, 27, 44, 45, 50-52, 58, 70, 71, 79; iv, 96; v, 2, 8, 19, 23, 25, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41; 43, 150, 190; xxi, 48-50; xxxv, 6; lii, 2.

9 Apastamba, i, 19, 16; 24, 22, 25, 4, 5; ii, 25, 11, 26, 2, 3; 16, 10; 26, 20-27, 9; 27, 14; 215.

10 Yajñavalkya, i, 311-313, 321-323, 333, 334, 335, 353, 356; ii, 34, 43, 81, 103, 205, 207, 285, 286, 294; iii, 27, 23, 44, 44, 257.

11 MBh., Sānt-Parva, ch 56, ślks 24, 25; ch 78, ślks 21-23; ch 75, ślk 7; ch 105, ślk 4, 7-10, 13, 18, 20.

12 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

13 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

14 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

15 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

16 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

17 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

18 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

19 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

20 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

21 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

22 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

23 Anuśāsana Parva, ch 61, ślk 30; ch 132, ślks 16, 21-23.

1 It is not meant here to discuss whether or not these differential treatments were justified and balanced by the self-abnegation or responsibilities of the castes enjoying the preferences.

2 Manu, viii, 20.

3 Ibid., viii, 24.

4 Ibid., viii, 37.

5 Ibid., viii, 123.

6 Manu, viii, 184, 185.

7 Ibid., viii, 267, 268.

8 Ibid., viii, 270-272.

9 Ibid., viii, 279-281.

10 Ibid., viii, 374-385.

11 Ibid., ix, 229.

12 Ibid., 337, 338.

13 Ibid., xi, 11-15, 21, 31; viii, 242, 339.

14 Ibid., x, 129.

15 Ibid., viii, 13.

16 Ibid., viii, 9, 11-13.

17 Manu, viii, 13, 16.

18 Ibid., viii, 81, 82, 93, 95, 98, 99, 111.

LIST OF AVAILABLE

therefore received its religious semblance through

- (1) the caste system,
  - (2) the politico religious concepts,
  - (3) the inclusion of polity in the sacred law,<sup>1</sup>
  - (4) the treatment of both political rules as sins, and a to of those sanctions (of both) that are prescribed for religious proper.
- This feature is not so in evidence in special treatises of polity the *Kautiliya*,

1 Cf Manu, 1, 2

*Kāmandakiya* &c., as in the 'systems of sacred law' like *Manu*,

(5) the inclusion of *arthaśāstra* in *itihāsa* which comprises along with it five other subjects, viz, *purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, *akhyaikā*, *udāharana* and *dharmaśāstra*. This *itihāsa* constitutes the fifth *Veda* and *polity* dealt with as part of both *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* assumes thereby a religious appearance by being one of the sub-constituents of the fifth *Veda*

- 1 Kautiliya *Viṛḍḍha samyogah*, p 10
- 2 *Ib d.*, *Vidyasamuddesah* p 7—"atharva vēde tihāsa vedāncā vedāh"

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

(49) DUTAVAKYAPRAHANDHA, author not mentioned, in the possession of Maharaja of Travancore

On *nitisāstra*

*Ibid*, MS No 5997, p 470.

(50) PRAJAPADDHATI, author not mentioned, in the possession of Pichudikshitar of Akhilandapuram

On *nitisāstra*

*Ibid*, Vol II, MS No. 5231, p 319

(51) SATRU MITROPASANTI, no author mentioned P D as above

On *nitisāstra*

*Ibid*, Vol. II, MS No 5270, p. 321

(52) CHANAKYA SLOKA, in Maithila character.

H P Sastri's *Catalogue of Palmleaf and Selected Paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, MS. No. 1475 GA, p 60 [See preface to the catalogue XLIII XLIV]

(53) HITOPADESA

The first manuscript is a fragment in Newari and the second was copied in the reign of Yakshamalla in the year 594 of the Nepal era, i.e., 1174 A D

*Ibid*, MS No. 1583 kha, p 72,

and MS No 1608 A, p 75

[See also preface as above]

(54) EKADASADYADHIKARANA,

by Murāri Misra, Mahāmahopādhyāya. Unique The manuscript was copied by Harikara, son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Sri Ratnakara.

On domestic and foreign affairs, as a sequel to the author's work on *Badrabhyuchchaya Lakshana*, i.e., on the political obstacles.

*Ibid*, MS No 10,6 KA, p. 30

(55) KUSOPEDESATIKA,

by Bādhava Sena. In Newari character Copied

in N S 644=1524 A D The small poem in 8 verses known as Kusopadesa or Gunāśhtaka is said to have been composed by Angada kumara, and the commentary is by a Buddhist, Vajracharya Bādhava Sena belonging to the Mahāvihāra to the east of Kāshīhamandapa. It was composed under a tree within the compound of the Mahāvihāra.

On politics

*Ibid*, MS. No. 1647 Cha, p 85

Preface XLIV

(56) RAJAVIDHANASARA.

A work on politics in two parts by Ranganātha Suri the son of Panditargya Bajanātha for the benefit of Maharājadhīra Yuddhagīrvāna Sāhi of the Gorkha dynasty of Nepal (1799 1816) at Kāntipura, which is another name of Kāthmandu. The first part treats of the court (sāngopāga) and the second part the duties of the king. Unque

*Ibid*, MS, No. 231, p 244,

(57) TANTRAKHYANAKATHA,

copied in N S 725 perhaps by a Buddhist scribe.

An abstract of the *Panchatantra* with a Newari translation

*Ibid* MS. No. 1534 Ja p 64, and MS No. 1584 Ka, p 74

The following manuscripts with their descriptions are mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*:

(58) AGNI PURANA, RAJANITI

Barnell 187

(Aufrecht, Pt 1, p 8)

(59) KATHAKRITANIDHI

An epitome of the *Panchatantra* by Anantabhatta: Hall, p. 183 (Aufrecht, Pt 1, p 78)

(60) KOTAYUDDHANIRNAYA.

K. 224 (Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p 130)

(61) KAUTILYA'S NITISARA.

Oppert, II, 6246.

of their statistics and geu. The results of the economic en made under very arduous conditions by the officials have been poohpoohed by the Government and the European University Professors of India. The sample of India ought to set a high example of accuracy and regard for accuracy. So, will the Government of India revise their false estimates in their next year's report? It may disturb their self-accusation a bit and their prestige much, but it can't be helped. Prestige must bow down before truth.

The underestimate works great harm in another direction. The ideal is not set as high as it ought to be. Effective and sincere work demands an ideal; we must know what to work up to. Lower the ideal and the effort slackens. This is as true of an individual as of a government. So the government ought to raise its ideal that it may set to its work more vigorously.

SANK.

## BERTRAND RUSSELL'S PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

MR. Bertrand Russell's "Principles of Social Reconstruction" is a book in which the author diagnoses, like a true physician, the nature of the malady which Europe suffers from and suggests remedies which would act not merely as palliatives providing temporary relief but effect a radical cure, at least for sometime to come. The book has been praised for its felicitous literary style; but although I am an admirer of Russell's writings because they reflect clear reasoning, depth of understanding and breadth of vision, I fail to discover in them any remarkable imaginative qualities, such as flashes of humour and satire, subtlety and delicacy of expression, or balance and rhythm of speech. His style is undoubtedly vigorous and animated, but then, his vigour is the vigour of thought, his animation is that of his soul. The manner of the writer does not captivate so much as that of Mr. Wells and Mr. Chesterton does; it is the matter, the thought, which arrests the attention of the reader from the beginning to the end.

In the preface, he explains the purpose of his book. He intends to suggest "a philosophy of politics based upon the belief that impulse has more effect than conscious purpose in moulding men's lives." He takes the instance of the present war in his very first chapter and points out that whatever the views of the war may be, and whether those views are based on

false beliefs or not, no amount of reasoning against them is able to prevent such a catastrophe as the war. For, certain impulses that lead to war, can only be controlled and checked by contrary impulses and not by cold and negative reason. So, it matters little whether the war is due to the wickedness of the Germans or to the diplomacy and ambitions of governments. The fact remains that the war is accepted by people who are neither Germans nor diplomats. It may be argued that they have been led to believe certain things which are not wholly true and consequently they think that it is their duty to prosecute the war, but then, these very beliefs are an index to their impulses. Mr. Russell writes: "Grown men like to imagine themselves more rational than children and dogs, and unconsciously conceal from themselves how great a part impulse plays in their lives." "Impulse," he says, "is at the basis of our activity, much more than desire."

Mr. Russell admits that impulse is 'erratic,' 'anarchical' and 'blind', and that men, who are serious about their business, are generally led more by desire than by impulse. Thus all paid work is done from desire, for there the payment is more desired than the work itself. But impulse does not reckon at all the desirability of an activity; it scorns all consequences. Hence, it may lead to the greatest as well as the worst things of the world. It may

be led to war and havoc; it may also lead to art and literature. It will, therefore, never do to promote the life of well-regulated desires instead of the life of impulses. We have only to turn the channels of impulse from death into life, from decay into growth. However much, moralists and economists may preach of controlling impulse by will and of governing life by purposes, a nation cannot follow this preaching without running the risk of enfeebling its own vitality. For instance, he says, "Industrialism and organisation are constantly forcing civilised nations to live more and more by purpose rather than impulse." Such institutions may either kill vitality or create certain impulses which may be worse in their effects. For, it must be remembered, that modes of life and outward circumstances modify and affect impulses to a very large extent. In fact, these modifications are the most interesting studies to the students of political and social institutions.

What impulses, then, are there at the source of the present war? Mr. Russel names two impulses, one of 'aggression' and the other of 'resistance to aggression'. The first impulse, again, generates certain beliefs: for instance, the belief of a certain superiority of a people over others which makes them feel their own concerns as of paramount importance and regard the rest of the world simply as "material for the triumph" or salvation of the higher race." Mr. Russel points out that "in modern politics this attitude is embodied in imperialism. Europe as a whole has this attitude towards Asia and Africa, and many Germans have this attitude towards the rest of Europe." The second impulse, viz. that of resistance to aggression also brings a train of beliefs in its wake—such as, the belief in the 'peculiar wickedness' of a people whose aggression is dreaded.

But Mr. Russel, for one moment, does not support those people who do not share the above impulses of war, because they are passive and pacifist people, in other words, because their impulsive nature is more or less dead. He rightly says: "Impulse is the expression of life and while it exists, there is hope of its turning towards life instead of towards death; but lack of impulse is death, and out of death no new life will come." The passive and pacifist attitude towards war

is, absolutely to be condemned. But the life may be an active type of pacifism, that pacifism should never be considered as passionless or bloodless. For, "it is not the act of a passionless man to throw himself athwart the whole movement of the national life, to urge an outwardly lifeless cause, to incur obloquy and to run the contagion of collective emotion." This very passionate utterance is a clear proof that it was not prompted by cold reason. Mr. Russel is not a closet philosopher. I wish to remind my readers in this connexion, that this noble and large-hearted seer and savant of England has recently suffered internment owing to his bold and fearless pronouncement against the policy of conscription that England has been compelled to adopt during the war.

Mr. Russel condemns the war on the ground that the impulses embodied in it, do not make for life. A man endowed with fine and high impulses of art and knowledge—impulses that lead to creative activities—can never possibly suffer himself to be swayed and governed by the passions of war which only lead to death and decay. But the question here inevitably arises, why are the majority of men not guided by what Russel designates as life-giving impulses? Why are those nobler impulses submerged and lost and the baser impulses surge high in the current of modern life? Mr. Russel lays the blame at the door of the existing social and political institutions. "There is something rotten in the state of Deumark," he asserts, and we have not fully enquired into it. We have not sufficiently analysed or examined the principles that are at the bottom of the social institutions—we have allowed things to drift and to take their own course, as we say. The war has brought about a critical turning-point of thought; we are now forced to review the social institutions and to formulate new 'principles of social reconstruction.'

This very effort of analysing and examining the principles that are at the bottom of social and political institutions, subjects the author to criticism with regard to his philosophy of impulses. If, as Mr. Russel is inclined to think, men were more guided by impulse than by reason in social and political activities, what would be the use of analysing those activities in order to formulate certain 'principles' which would

be operative in bringing an order of society? Obviously, Russell sets much greater store on principles than by blithely. But then, he would discriminate impulses that make for life from those that make for death. He emphasizes and impress this on the minds of the people by reasoning, as discrimination supposes reasoning? He says that any attempt at social reconstruction must be first of all preceded by a rational search for certain principles, and then, as its sequel, must spring up to operate on those principles. 'Blind' impulse can never be at the basis of a scheme of social reconstruction such as Mr. Russell brings forward before us.

In criticising the institutions, Mr. Russell very forcibly points that they are 'inherited from a simpler age,' when new possibilities of growth had not come into existence. In spite of the movements of Renaissance and Reformation, the medieval idea of authority has not completely broken down and hence, even today, there is not much adequate scope for the growth of the individual as there ought to be in a scheme of organic society. Much of medievalism still persists in all institutions. If now, it is urged that institutions must be based upon voluntary combination rather than the force of law or authority, there is bound to come fundamental changes in all institutions.

To take a concrete instance of the institution of the state, it may be shown how extremely harmful some of its powers are. Mr. Russell writes:

"It can seize men's property through taxation, determine the law of marriage and inheritance, punish the expression of opinions which it dislikes, put men to death for wishing the region they inhabit to belong to a different state, and order all able-bodied males to risk their lives in battle whenever it considers war desirable. On many matters disagreements with the purposes and opinions of the state is criminal."

In recent years, men were imprisoned in England for expressing 'disagreement' with the Christian religion. It is, therefore, quite a matter of surprise to Mr. Russell, as it must be to all thoughtful people in the world, why the state should have the power to command men to go to the battlefield. He cites two hypothetical cases of a French artist and a German musician who have been called upon to fly at each other's throat. It is not consider-

ed what a loss it will be to civilisation if either of them is killed. If these two people refused to kill each other, they would be shot down. "This is," writes Mr. Russell, "the politics of Bedlam." Not much of difference one notices between this kind of despotism of the state and the despotism of mediaeval kings and Popes.

But the question here may be fittingly asked: "Why do men acquiesce in the power of the state?" Mr. Russell thinks that there is a traditional reason for this obedience and that simply is the personal loyalty to the sovereign. For, it must not be forgotten that European states grew up under the feudal system. Therefore, tribal feeling has been one of the greatest sources of the power of the state. "The fear of crime and anarchy within and the fear of aggression from without" have strengthened that power considerably.

The tribal feeling, though it generates a narrow type of patriotism, is natural; and the fears, mentioned above, are quite reasonable. But, as soon as the state is vested with the power of promoting efficiency in war, the original purpose of self-protection may be altogether lost sight of, and the mere inclination to use its power, for good or for evil, may become irresistible. "It is of the essence of the state to suppress violence within and to facilitate it without," writes Mr. Russell. "The state," he goes on to say, "makes an entirely artificial division of mankind and of our duties towards them: towards one group we are bound by the law, towards the other only by the prudence of highwaymen."

Besides war, the modern state is harmful on another ground. It is lacking in individual initiative. A number of officials will decide all important questions and the few others that remain, will be decided by mob-psychology in the form of popular vote. There is hardly any room for individual initiative. It must not be thought that the officials are always the best and the ablest representatives of the people. Men who achieve distinction in politics may be ambitious and power-seeking and full of cajolery and craft, but may not be equally upright and idealistic, selfless and high-brained. Therefore, "the principal source of the harm done by the state is the fact that power is its chief end."

I wish to disabuse my readers of the notion that Mr. Russell wishes to

deep into the whole question of the hold of the fundamentals. It is not a dream of a utopia in which justice and irregularity will be swe, and only peace and good will. He is absolutely convinced that the whole fabric of society is based on the very foundation, reaching changes in education, in economic structure of society and in moral code by which public opinion controls the lives of men and women. We may add, in ideas of religion also we can never hope of better times to come. War will follow war and civilisation will totter at its very basis.

I do not intend to take a survey of the whole book, for it is impossible to do so within the limited compass of an article. He has touched on the questions of property, marriage, education and religion in the succeeding chapters. I merely intended to introduce the book to readers who might not have heard about it and I hope that this hasty introduction will awaken their interest to peruse the book to their own satisfaction.

Tracing the philosophy of impulses with which the author began his work into the various departments of education, property, etc., Mr. Russel concludes thus in the end :—

"Men's impulses and desires may be divided into those that are creative and those that are possessive. Some of our activities are directed to creating what would not otherwise exist, others are directed towards acquiring or attaining what exists already. The typical creative impulse is that of the artist; the typical possessive impulse is that of property. The best life is that in which creative impulses play the largest part (and possessive impulses the smallest). The best institutions are those which produce the greatest possible creativeness and the least possessiveness compatible with self preservation."

In times, when the gloom of war and its harrowing sights of havoc and destruction so completely overpower men's minds that it is impossible to look ahead and cherish hopes of brighter days yet, such books as this are so inspiring and refreshing! It helps to rekindle the faith that sometimes wanes and flickers in us, when gusts of doubt rise and the night of despair deepens. If then, some seer like Mr. Russel were suddenly to appear and sing that he was

"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,

Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong  
would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,

Sleep to wake"—  
we, whose hopes and faith had faltered, might yet "stretch out our lame hands of hope" to him and wait with him for the coming dawn.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY.

## MUNICIPALISATION OF OUR TRAMWAYS

THE history of the introduction of the Tramways in Calcutta which is still within the memory of every middle-aged man, is soon told: but all the same it is not of small value to the reader who takes more than an ordinary interest in the affairs of the Second City in the British Empire, the erstwhile Capital of the British Indian Empire and till now the "Premier City in India."

The first section of the Calcutta Tramways from Sealdah to the Dalhousie Square, which used to be worked by horses was opened in November, 1880. The cars were double-storied. The fare for a ride in the first storey was a pice only,

while that for travelling in the second was the double of that sum. A Mr. Smith, formerly of Messrs. Thomas & Co., the livery stable-keepers of Dhurrumtolla Street, had charge of the company's stables, and Messrs. Finlay Muir & Co. were their managing agents. The Calcutta Tramways were constructed by the concessionaires, Messrs. Parish and Soutar, the latter being a brother of the Bengal Civilian who happened to be at one time Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. The engineer who laid the track was a Dane named Daniel Larsen, who had built the tramways in the city of Melbourne in the Commonwealth of Australia. Late

and all kinds of roses were planted. In a large tree there was a white slab, which my wife used to wash her face a day when she was in good health. It was the place where she was in the habit of sitting on summer evenings when the work was finished. From there she could see the river but was herself invisible to the passengers on the passing steamers.

One moonlight evening in the month of April, after having been confined to her bed for many days she expressed a desire to get out of her close room, and sit in her garden.

I lifted her with great care and laid her down on that marble seat under the bokol tree. One or two bokol flowers fluttered down and through the branches overhead the chequered moonlight fell on her worn face. All around was still and silent. As I looked down on her face, sitting by her side in that shadowy darkness filled with the heavy scent of flowers, my eyes became moist.

Slowly drawing near her I took one of her hot thin hands between my own. She made no attempt to prevent me. After remaining like this in silence for some time, somehow my heart began to overflow, and I said, "Never shall I be able to forget your love."

My wife gave a laugh in which there was mingled some happiness, and a trace of distrust, and to some extent also the sharpness of sarcasm. Without her having said anything in the way of an answer, she gave me to understand by her laugh that she neither thought it likely that I would never forget her, nor did she herself wish it.

I had never had the courage to make love to my wife simply out of fear of this sweet sharp laugh of hers. All the speeches which I made up when I was absent from her seemed to be very commonplace remarks as soon as I found myself in her presence.

It is possible to talk when you are contradicted, but laughter cannot be met by argument, so I had simply to remain silent. The moonlight became brighter, and a cuckoo began to call over and over again till it seemed to be demented. As I sat still I wondered how on such a night the cuckoo's bride could remain indifferent.

After a great deal of treatment my wife's illness showed no signs of improvement.

The doctor suggested a change of air, and I took her to Allahabad.

At this point Dokhin Babu suddenly stopped and sat silent, with a questioning look on his face he looked towards me, and then began to brood with his head resting in his hands. I also remained silent. The kerosene lamp in the niche flickered and in the stillness of the night the buzzing of the mosquitoes could be heard distinctly. Suddenly breaking the silence Dokhin Babu resumed his story:

"Doctor Haran treated my wife, and after some time I was told that the disease was an incurable one, and my wife would have to suffer for the rest of her life."

Then one day my wife said to me, "Since my disease is not going to leave me, and there does not seem much hope of my dying soon, why should you spend your days with this living death. Leave me alone and go back to your other occupation."

Now it was my turn to laugh. But I had not got her power of laughter. So, with all the solemnity suitable to the hero of a romance I asserted, "So long as there is life in this body of mine...."

She stopped me saying, "Now, Now. You don't need to say any more. Why, to hear you makes me want to give up the ghost."

I don't know whether I had actually confessed it to myself then, but now I know quite well that I had even at that time, in my heart of hearts, got tired of nursing that hopeless invalid.

It was clear that she was able to detect my inner weariness of spirit, in spite of my devoted service. I did not understand it then, but now I have not the least doubt in my mind that she could read me as easily as a children's First Reader in which there are no compound letters.

Doctor Haran was of the same caste as myself. I had a standing invitation to his house. After I had been there several times he introduced me to his daughter. She was unmarried although she was over fifteen years old. Her father said that he had not married her as he had not been able to find a suitable bridegroom of the same caste, but rumour said that there was some bar sinister in her birth.

But she had no other fault, for she was as intelligent as she was beautiful. For that reason I used sometimes to discuss with her all sorts of questions so that it was often late at night before I got back home, long past the time when I should



had I imagined such a ghost possible. It was as if with there was the limitless sky, no matter how far the soul could not get outside my skull when it had got almost unbearable, I thought, unless I extinguished the light I shall not be able to sleep. I put out the lamp than, sooner had I heard in the darkness that hoarse voice saying 'O key? O key? O key?' My heart began to beat in unison with the words, and gradually began to repeat the question, 'O key? O key? O key?' In the silence of the night, from the middle of the boat my round clock began to be eloquent and pointing its hour hand towards Monorama ticked out the question, 'O key? O key? O key?'

As he spoke Dokhin Babu became

ghastly pale, and his voice seemed to be choking him. Touching him on the shoulder I said, "Take a little water." At the same moment the kerosene lamp flickered and went out, and I saw that outside it was light. A crow cawed and a yellow hammer whistled. On the road in front of my house the creaking of a bullock cart was heard. Then the expression on Dokhin Babu's face was altogether changed. There was not the least trace of fear. That he had told me so much under the intoxication of an imaginary fear, and deluded by the sorcery of night seemed to make him very much ashamed, and even angry with me. Without any formality of farewell he jumped up and shot out of the house.

Next night when it was quite late I was again wakened from my sleep by a voice calling, "Doctor, Doctor."

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF H. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

By G. A. CHANDAVARKAR.

THE world of science is progressing, and industry, the hand-maid of science, is keeping pace with its march. The wave of industrial development that swept over countries like England, America or Japan is touching the shores of India too. But the day for the industrial evolution of the type noticeable in those countries seems yet distant. Consequent on the impact of western civilisation there are unmistakable signs of industrial awakening throughout the length and breadth of this country. While the British Government is doing what it can for advancing the cause of industries in India, the governments of the different native states too are evincing great interest in utilising their raw products to the best advantage and are earnestly endeavouring to accelerate the growth of industries in their respective states. Social and economic conditions in some of these native states render the process of industrial evolution a slow and a difficult one. But the fact that there is an awakening is undeniable. Equally incontrovertible is the fact that the cause of

industries in the native states is the cause of the industries of British India, nay, of the whole of the British Empire. Of the many factors that go to form the basis of national greatness, economic prosperity of that nation is the one. That economic prosperity depends mainly on the following items:—

(i) Physical resources, (ii) Industrial ability, (iii) Financial organisation, (iv) Progressive Government, (v) Highly developed transportation facilities, (vi) Sufficient industrial leaders, (vii) Popularity of technical education, and (viii) Skilled labour. In this paper we propose dealing briefly with some of these factors as affecting the vast area comprising His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

### AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The physical resources of this state are abundant and agriculture is the main industry. But the agricultural labourers suffer from various disabilities, chief of them being their illiteracy and indigence. Scientific methods of agriculture are prac-

had I imagined such a ghost possible. It was as if with a skull there was the limitless sky. I called it no matter how far the sound. At last I could not get outside my head. When it had got almost unbearable, I thought, unless I extinguish the light I shall not be able to sleep. I soon had I put out the lamp than I was more close to my mosquito curtain. I heard in the darkness that hoarse voice saying 'O key? O key? O key?' My heart began to beat in unison with the words, and gradually began to reel at the question, 'O key? O key? O key?' In the silence of the night, from the middle of the boat my round clock began to be eloquent and pointing its hour hand towards Monorama ticked out the question, 'O key? O key? O key?'

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